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By Sergei Morozov



key documents on June 1, the gesture did not seem out of place: Gorbachev had made the swap before with Ronald Reagan after signing the INF Treaty in 1987. Apparently another tradition is emerging—the chief executives of the USSR and the United States are collecting pens, the more the merrier.

But swapping handshakes of trust, signing agreements, and exchanging ideas on how the two powers can head for the future together top it all. In this sense, the latest summit has had no precedent. And the two presidents agreed that there was a hint of even more to come.

The background of the summit was not as dazzling as the smiles flashed by the two presidents: Many major problems cloud relations between the

Two presidents take the floor at the signing of the Soviet-American documents.







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two superpowers, and the global climate is not free of calamities either. Just a few years ago, it was unimaginable that the two world powers would state their disagreement on a major international issue, such as German reunification, yet abstain from political and diplomatic steps in the best traditions of the cold war. In Washington, Gorbachev and Bush set an example to emulate. They debated, quietly and benevolently, their differences, while seeking mutually acceptable solutions. Truly, the times they are a'changin', as are the USSR and the United States and East-West relations in general. The main trend toward confrontation is finally giving way to cooperation and partnership.

The obvious question is: Is the internally embattled Soviet society adequately reacting to the epic transfor-

#### Summit talks in the White House: New hopes for a better world.

mation in international relations? I'm not sure it is. The obvious explanation is that Soviet society is concentrating, yogalike, on itself and its own headaches, a patently dangerous position.

Soviet public opinion seems to overlook the effect *perestroika* has had on foreign relations. Over the past five years, the eventuality of nuclear war has become much more remote, and the Soviet public is breathing easier. What no one seems to see is that the new thinking is bringing tangible political and economic returns. The Washington summit provided ample proof. A healthy international climate seems to be a must for *perestroika*; its international aspects are like a warm lining for the internal reforms.

People who concentrate on themselves tend to ignore others. Under the circumstances, Soviet society's latent conservatism may bloom in all fields of life—political, social, and others. Some people may become convinced conservatives, rejecting out of hand all objective processes and insisting that everything is black and white.

Many more people may be content with the present level of security, fearing further progress along the path toward international cooperation, dialogue, and new approaches in East-West relations. Yet dialogue and compromise solutions seem to be the only way to go, for the Soviet Union must integrate itself into the global economy, and it must do so rapidly.

Perestroika has proven to be a dou-

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ble-edged sword: It looks as if the United States is also coming to appreciate the need for new relations with the USSR. During the Washington meetings, President Bush specified that the underlying reason was a new understanding of the United States' national interests.

Clearly, the problems haunting Soviet-American relations will not disappear even if we close our eyes to them. An example is the German question, which was prominent on the agenda at the Gorbachev-Bush summit. What we need is a balance of all interests, Soviet interests included.

Trust seems to be the key to better Soviet-American relations. The projected strategic offensive arms treaty (in which verification is the apple of discord), the agreement to scrap chemical weapons, and the trade agreement will only work on the basis of mutual trust. Meetings between the chief executives help to raise the level of trust between the two powers to new heights.

Both global giants seem to appreciate the special responsibility they bear before the world community for burying the cold war and helping to resolve a host of international problems, some of them mind-boggling. To reach that goal, the two nations should complement their political cooperation with interaction in the areas of trade, science, technology, and culture. They understand that they will have to sweat to reach the shining heights, and neither claims they cannot do it.

Nowadays summits are not as spectacular as they used to be, but never mind—confidence is what counts. Confidence is a boon for all sensible people whose motto is not "the worse, the better."

"See you," said Bush. "Do svidaniya," replied Gorbachev, and both smiled.

Americans welcome Mikhail Gorbachev.



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## **Summing Up the Summit**

fter his visit to the United States, President Mikhail Gorbachev delivered a special speech to the USSR Supreme Soviet where he told the deputies about the results of the Soviet-American summit. Excerpts from this speech follow.

A whole package of agreements and protocols dealing with economic, scientific, technological, and other issues has been signed. These agreements have been set out in the press. All of them are extremely beneficial to the Soviet Union. The content of this package is unprecedented.

The trade agreement deserves special mention. It wasn't easy to reach it. Until the last moment we were not sure that the Americans would agree to sign it. Nevertheless, President Bush took this step and even suggested that the agreement be signed by the two presidents. I appreciate this fact, for at the moment it is not the economic aspect that matters. In practice, a long time will pass before we feel the advantages offered by this agreement.

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The most important thing is the political significance of this act at the current sharp transitional period of perestroika in the Soviet Union. This means that the American leaders really trust us and that they are passing from purely rhetorical support for perestroika, and from mere wishes of success, to action.

You know that the United States made a condition concerning the conclusion of a commercial agreement. This condition is that the Law of Exit and Entry into the USSR be adopted by the Supreme Soviet. The law has already passed its first reading and will be adopted.

The commercial agreement envisages unconditional MFN (most-favored-nation) status for both countries for three years, with automatic extension for a second term. This agreement will provide a better business

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environment for U.S. and Soviet partners, including direct employment, advertising using all mass media and mail, direct contacts, and marketing on each other's territory.

The agreement contains a special section governing intellectual property, which covers computer software, trade secrets, records, and so forth.

We have concluded a five-year Grain Sale Agreement (as of January 1, 1990) that will improve our flexibility in purchasing grain from the United States.

The Civil Aviation Agreement envisages intensified and expanded air services between our countries. The number of flights on each side may increase from 30 to 84 a week, with up to 500,000 passengers carried annually. The current total is 130,000 a year. Aeroflot will be able to fly to Chicago, San Francisco, Miami, and Anchorage, and U.S. airlines will fly to Kiev, Minsk, Tbilisi, Riga, Khabarovsk, and Magadan.

The Maritime Transportation Agreement radically improves conditions for the Soviet merchant fleet on routes to and from the United States. It creates certain privileges for port calls by either side.

We have also signed a memorandum of understanding on the "Culture, Science, Education: USA-USSR" project, with a view to extensive computerization in education, the training of Soviet personnel, and the preservation of cultural values. At the initial stage, IBM Corporation will supply more than 13,000 personal computers-PCs-for high schools, for training disabled people, deaf and blind children, and for managers.

An agreement on broader cooperation between the Soviet foreign economic consortium-including 22 entities-and the U.S. trade consortium includes major U.S. firms with a multibillion-dollar turnover. It envisages 20 to 25 joint ventures producing consumer goods, passenger automobiles, and medical equipment. It also envisages radical modernization in the food-processing, medical, machine-building, and oil industries. The agreement will contribute to regional development and to the accomplishment of social and economic programs in the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic.

In my talks with President Bush, we discussed the vast potential for our scientific and technological cooperation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy. We signed a joint statement on an international experimental thermonuclear reactor. We also signed an agreement on ocean studies.

The agreement on broader student exchanges has been enthusiastically welcomed in the United States. This will mean the exchange of as many as 1,000 students from each side every year, not just small and isolated groups, as in the past.

Conversion is another channel of expanding Soviet-American economic cooperation. Taking into account the advanced level of military technologies, conversion opens up many new areas of cooperation, including electronics and computer science, space research, and many related fields.

The American business and scientific communities, in particular on the West Coast-in San Francisco and Stanford-have not remained indifferent to our offers to exploit jointly the natural wealth of Siberia and the Far East. They are also interested in the free enterprise zone in Nakhodka and in other regions.

In a nutshell, the broader bilateral relations promoted by the summit offer us a better opportunity to integrate the USSR into the world market.

This issue has another important dimension, however, I refer to the material basis for Soviet-American relations and their development.

Everybody realizes today that we can only make these relations stable and dynamic if we expand our cooperation in the scientific and technological sphere and if we establish intensive economic links.

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Front Cover: American and Soviet students perch in the Friendship Tree in North Brook-field, Massachusetts. See story on page 18.



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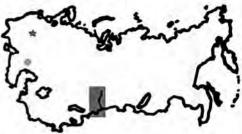
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- Volgograd
- Katun River



Volgograd residents fire the head of the regional party committee.



28 Concerned citizens come to the rescue of the Katun River.



63 A Soviet-American film company

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### EDITOR'S NOTES

 $\mathbf{T}$  he peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet leadership enjoyed the nation's unanimous support, your propaganda said for years on end. Now you openly admit that this policy was not so peaceful as it was described, and not all Soviet people supported it.

"The current Soviet foreign policy, as conducted by President Gorbachev, really deserves every support. Yet when your propaganda again harps on its unanimous support by Soviet people, one can't but recall the old times and feel doubtful."

This quotation is typical of several letters we have recently received from SOVIET LIFE readers. I'd like to comment on them.

To start with, our readers have made a slight mistake: The Soviet media no longer rhapsodize over all the foreign political initiatives taken by our leaders. Journalists prefer more profound analyses. But if these actions are praiseworthy, why not praise them? At the same time, the Soviet press publishes opinions running counter to our international policies, whether in general or in some particulars. A popular television host, for instance, said in a recent interview with the weekly Ogonyok that detailed TV reports on Mikhail Gorbachev's visits to Western countries irritated some of our audiences with the contrast between the poverty of their own surroundings and the luxury of official receptions.

This is a small matter. More fundamental objections are sometimes raised. Those concerning Soviet-American relations can be summed up as follows: The Soviet Union used to denounce everything American. Now the sweeping rapprochement with the United States brings our country to the other extreme: We are complimenting and imitating everything American. We seem to forget that the Soviet Union has its own road, and market relations and other things that work well for the United States may be utter failures in the USSR.

Debates are bubbling up around many other issues. Naturally, opponents of the rapprochement can be found in both countries because of past misunderstandings and the complicated current situation—especially in the Soviet Union.

Yet the majority of Soviet people support Gorbachev's foreign policy and favor rapprochement with the United States and its people. True, now we are more concerned about our domestic problems, and foreign policies have receded into the background in the public mind perhaps because things are smooth and promising in that sphere.

Robert Tsfasman

### **Communist Party In Transition**

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) will hold its Twentyeighth Congress in Moscow early in July. A precongress discussion focused on the Central Committee's draft platform for the Twenty-eighth Congress, which reflects major political and socioeconomic problems.

The Central Committee's platform aroused a great deal of controversy. Members and nonmembers of the CPSU expressed different and sometimes mutually exclusive views. Some see the platform as inadmissibly revolutionary; others, as unbearably conservative. Most of those involved in the discussion, however, supported the program. Even though some opinions were sharply expressed, the speakers were motivated, for the most part, by the desire to find a constructive solution to the problems raised in the platform.

The discussion showed that the problem of reforming the party itself caused the greatest controversy. Most of the participants in the discussion are for removing the Communist Party from the state structures, for putting an end to its monopoly on power, for limiting its activity through the framework of a civil society and of a multiparty system, for political plurality, and for a competition of programs offered to the public.

This issue has several articles dealing with the current situation in the CPSU. The process of renewal is rather difficult. After reading the article on the events in Volgograd ("Rebel City Fires the Boss"), you will see this for yourself.

Most of those involved in the discussion believe that the CPSU should stick to its old-time goal of building a communist society. The word "communism," however, is interpreted differently. It means not equality in poverty, as it did in Stalin's time, but the utilization of all achievements, first of all in the sphere of human rights and freedoms.

The Twenty-eighth Congress has an enormous job to do. It must analyze and generalize thousands of proposals made during the discussion by the members and nonmembers of the CPSU and adopt a program that will decide the future of the party. There is every reason to hope that the party's renewal will continue.

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### Rebel City Fires the Boss By Yelina Zonina Photographs by Pavel Krivtsov



Volgograd was the first of the "rebel" cities to demand the resignation of the regional party boss. Posters and banners urge the old leaders to resign.

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Kalashnikov was a symbol of the old system. Below: Leaving the stage of politics after his resignation as head of the region's party committee.



he Soviet people entered the period of *perestroika* discontent with their everyday life, angered by mounting economic and social problems, and mis-

trustful of the authorities responsible for the lamentable state of affairs.

Last winter and spring, widespread grassroots pressure forced party bosses to resign in a number of Soviet cities. Some used the face-saving excuse that they were retiring, others suddenly alleged a serious illness and resigned "for reasons of health." Official explanations did not deceive anyone because the public simply had stopped believing local party big shots. They left their high positions against their will.

Volgograd was the first of the "rebel" cities.

Volgograd's million citizens exploded suddenly, demanding the resignation of the regional party boss, Vladimir Kalashnikov. The last straw was an article in the weekly *Ogonyok*, about outrageous practices by the regional party committee and Kalashnikov. The *Ogonyok* article was reprinted by regional newspapers. This time Kalashnikov was not able to



ignore criticism, as he had in the past, because tensions were running high, and many pressing problems had been left unattended.

The first step toward major political changes in this Volga Region was taken by young people—a Young Communist League (Komsomol) conference prepared by Alexander Kiselyov, one of the leaders of the Volgograd Komsomol. (An article about him appears on the following pages.) The conference expressed no confidence in the regional party committee and its first secretary. Kalashnikov reacted in a way that surprised even hard-core party bureaucrats. "The dogs bark, but the caravan goes on" was his reply, which appeared in the newspaper Volgograd pravda.

This reaction triggered a wave of public indignation. Mass meetings, a sign that Communists of the region increasingly distrusted their political leaders, were held. Relations between the party committees and the Komsomol were approaching a critical point.

Tensions surrounded an extraordinary plenum of the regional party committee. Disembarking from chauffeur-driven cars outside the pompous building of the regional party committee, plenum participants saw young workers and students waving posters

demanding, "Resign-we don't believe you!" "Listen to the people!"

The resignation of the first secretary was accepted in no time. Volgograd residents watched the ceremony live on TV. At night the TV news program "Vremya" showed the nation the former first secretary leaving the presidium, his face contorted with anger. An incompetent bureaucrat, Kalashnikov had led the region to the brink of ecological disaster-100,000 hectares of irrigated land are in a deplorable state. Though he was indifferent to public needs, he never forgot about himself—he had a personal garage with four cars. That "Kalashnikov bastard," as people called him among themselves, had to go.

Three plenums were held in the course of a month. Debates continued until the wee hours. At times the plenum seemed to seal itself off from the alarming developments in the streets; it seemed not to hear the calls of the massive rallies going on outside. But ultimately public pressure forced all the members of the regional party committee to resign.

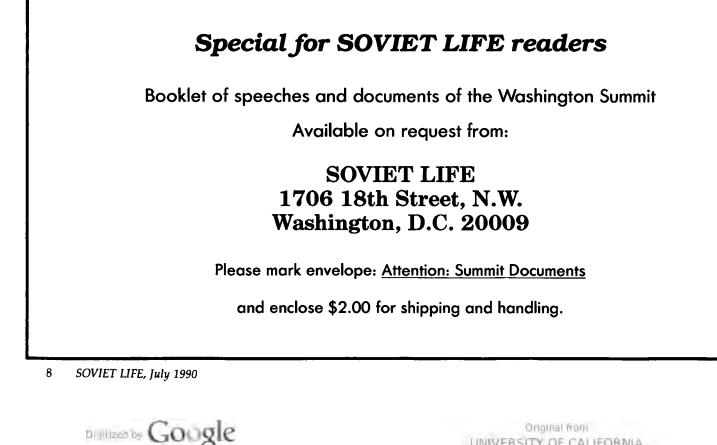
Delegates to an extraordinary regional party conference were elected by secret ballot. A provisional committee was elected to prepare the conference. Kiselyov, a member of the

committee, said: "When will we throw off the burden of the past? When will officials learn to respect other people's opinions and understand that things should not be allowed to reach the point of crisis?'

Many party chiefs in the provinces shun the public. They ignore public opinion, hate criticism, and avoid contact with the people they are supposed to represent-conditions that are all part of the same pattern of behavior. Other elements are being permissive and irresponsible, faring well at the public's expense, and brazenly ignoring grassroots pleas.

All things come to an end, however, sooner or later. The provisional committee ruled that the vacation cottages (dachas) built for the local party elite should be converted into a maternal-and-child health center. An excellent clinic, once open only to highlevel bureaucrats, will instead serve the needs of war veterans and pensioners. The hotel, once reserved for party big shots from Moscow, now houses a medical school.

Central TV described the events in Volgograd as "a regional revolution." The aim of the revolution was not to smash old institutions but to preserve all the progressive elements these structures retained despite a long stagnation.



# A Politician for the Future

By Yelena Zonina Photographs by Andrei Solomonov

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n the spring of 1989, six contenders vied for a Supreme Soviet seat in the national territorial electoral district of Volgograd (formerly Stalingrad), a major industrial and cultural center on the Volga. This district, which includes Saratov Region, has more than 3.5 million eligible voters. Alexander Kiselyov, an "apparatchik" who is the second secretary of the regional Komsomol committee, began the election race with five other contenders: the famous writer Yuri Bondarev, a prominent economist, a member of the government, a local

writer, and a plant manager. Four of the contenders withdrew from the race, leaving Bondarev and Kiselyov to slug it out. Many thought Kiselyov was too young (31) and had practically no chance of winning. They advised him to quit. Kiselyov's enemies even resorted to dirty tricks to make the "disrespectful parvenu," as they called him, give up. They tore down "Vote for Kiselyov" election posters.

But the difficulties did not discourage the young man. He had 98 meet-

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ings with his potential voters, gradually improving and clarifying his election program, which he called a return to common sense.

"I'd rather lose the election than

surrender without a struggle," Kiselyov said. "Once a man decides to take up politics in earnest, he should get rid of the 'little man' philosophy, which paralyzes the will and

demands obedience and servility." The students of the polytechnic institute were particularly worried when their candidate and Bondarev were to take part in a television debate. Would Kiselyov lose his nerve facing such a famous opponent? During the debate the contenders were asked: sively throughout the constituency. At

"Should the Church take part in

the upbringing of the young?" Bondarev replied, "I strongly doubt

that it should. What can the Church teach young people?" Kiselyov answered, "Why not? The

Church has never taught its followers anything evil."

To the question, "Should Volgograd take back its previous name?" Bondarev replied, "The whole world knows the Battle of the Volga as the

Battle of Stalingrad. History must not be rewritten; Volgograd should be renamed Stalingrad."

would never live in a city bearing the name of a criminal." French journalists who were in Vol-

gograd at that time pointed out that

though the two contenders were both

members of the Communist Party,

they had very different views. Mem-

bers of the Communist Party are as

Kiselyov's supporters feared that

free to express their views as others.

the young man would not last out the

campaign. He had to travel exten-

first he had trouble facing large

crowds of people because he wasn't

the best of speakers. But by the end

of the campaign he had learned to

handle himself pretty well, winning

But Kiselyov answered, "Never. 1

ers, students—after each meeting. Eventually the hostile campaign the local party apparatus bureaucrats launched against Kiselyov backfired. On March 26, 1989, Kiselyov received 2,213,170 votes, or 72 per cent of the total.

new supporters-intellectuals,

work-

The famous Pavlov House is the only building in Volgograd that has not been restored since the war. It stands as a monument to the suffering experienced in this city. Top: Kiselyov and his wife, Larisa. Facing page: At work with his advisers. Before becoming the second secretary of the Volgograd Regional Komsomol Committee, Kiselyov was for four years the head of the Komsomol in Volzhsky, a town near Volgograd. He initiated a bank to finance housing construction, cost-accounting organizations, centers of scientific and engineering projects, and the first pop music festivals in the town. In an opinion poll sponsored by the national newspaper Komsomolskaya pravda, Kiselyov was named one of the best Komsomol leaders in the country.

Having "promoted" the young man, the bureaucrats soon realized that they had made a big mistake. They were used to having their protégés either obediently kowtow to their superiors or at least keep a low profile. Not Kiselyov.

He became one of the founders of a group that advocates major reforms in the Komsomol. "Neither the central government nor the Komsomol Cen-

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tral Committee should decide how many rights and freedoms grassroots organizations may have. The grassroots organizations themselves should decide what kind of central committee they need and whether they need one at all," says one of the movement's documents.

"It's a funny situation," Kiselyov says. "I know I work for an organization that is virtually doomed. The Komsomol is in the midst of a deep crisis, losing members and supporters. In a year at the most an altogether new youth organization will have to be formed." The Volgograd Regional Komsomol Organization has 220,000 members and probably just as many problems.

There are 3,500 veterans of the shameful Afghan war. Many of them have no permanent job or decent housing. All attempts to improve the conditions of these young men have encountered a wall of indifference. The local Komsomol decided to organize an initiative group to draw the public's attention to the problem. That helped get things started.

In about a year he has received more than 3,000 letters from his voters and has sent out more than 2,000 inquiries to various authorities.

A third of his election program has already been reflected in resolutions passed by the new Supreme Soviet of the USSR-deferment of military service for students, extended paid leaves of absence for mothers to take care of their sick children, and higher minimum pensions.

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Kiselyov has to handle an array of requests coming from his constituents. He has to deal with the USSR Council of Ministers, trying to suspend construction on the second Volga-Don Canal, which could cause irreparable ecological damage to the region. Today he may take up the case of a young architect who was fired for criticizing his superiors; tomorrow he may summon for a briefing some people he asked to investigate the real situation with AIDS in Volgograd (according to official statistics, only 41 people in the region test positive for infection; there is reason to believe, however, that the real figure is much higher).

It is difficult for Kiselyov to get the

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12 SOVIET LIFE, July 1990 work done. Everything he wants to do is complicated by bureaucratic obstacles. "We have a very conservative party committee in our region. The health-care system and culture are in shabby condition. The region is just one step short of an ecological catastrophe. Sugar, butter, meat, and soap are rationed. But the party committee pretends to see nothing, continuing to issue reassuring reports and putting a spoke in the wheel of those who attempt to put an end to silence.'

Kiselyov's wife says, "I wouldn't wish my enemy to have a family life like ours-with me at home and Alexander in a hotel in a different town. Once in a while he may come home on a Saturday. But don't think I have any regrets that I am married to the man. Even so, I do feel very unhappy because I have to be alone so often nowadays. I decided to buy a puppy to keep me company.

"I have a feeling that Sasha is in for a lot of trouble. I am afraid that he has lost touch with reality, going straight ahead even when he should wait and be flexible. Small wonder that he has made so many enemies and that such incredible rumors are spread about him. I am frightened for him."

Does Kiselyov ever regret that he shouldered this burden?

"Never. If you asked me whether I am happy or not, I'd answer Yes rather than No. I hear talk about the loss of confidence everywhere. But we

#### Comparing notes with Princeton political science professor Stephen Cohen.



must have confidence. I don't wish to give up and wait. In the present situation, a delay may be tantamount to death."

What qualities does he think are essential to a person who embarks on a political career?

"To begin with, he has to overcome the cowardice that destroys the personality. The advocates of Stalinism realized this pretty well. That's why they created an atmosphere of fear in which people lost honor and dignity."

Everyone criticizes the apparatus nowadays. What does Kiselyov think about it?

"No state in the world could exist without an active, intelligent, and mobile apparatus. We, too, need an apparatus, but it should be altogether different from the one we have now. We have brought up bureaucrats who are incapable of independent thinking. I hope you won't think that I am immodest, but I can't imagine that someone else could think and decide anything for me."

Does he think it is possible to participate in the legislative process without professional training?

"I am constantly aware of my shortcomings. My education was far from sufficient. I realized this several years ago when I read some illidit samizdat publications. Today I hardly have the time to read problem articles in so-called thick magazines, daily papers, and specialized journals-Voprosy ekonomiki (Questions of Economics) and Sotsiologicheskiye issledovania (Social Studies). I liked Dale Carnegie's books translated into Russian. I thoroughly studied literally every page."

Why?

"I want to become a professional politician. The system of administrative command will collapse completely within the next year or two, and we parliamentary deputies will have a great deal more work to do."

Kiselyov seems to be an optimist. Not everyone shares that optimism today. Does Kiselyov really believe that there's light at the end of the tunnel?

"I do, and I will do my utmost to ensure that everyone else sees this light."



## **Meeting the Challenge**

### Meet Gavriil Popov, the newly elected Moscow mayor.

his is indeed a time of sweeping change. Our April issue told you about Moscow. Already much of the information included

there is hopelessly out of date.

To begin with, Moscow elected a new City Soviet. The Democratic Russia bloc won more than half of the seats. Our quiet opposition spoke up and worked freely for the first time in the past 70 years.

The Soviet comprises 426 men and 39 women, of whom 436 have a higher education. The dominant age bracket is 30 to 49; younger people account for only 8 per cent. Scientific researchers compose the largest occupational group—32 per cent.

At the first session the factions and blocs represented began aligning themselves: Democratic Russia, Moscow, Independents, and Motherland, to name but a few. Only the need to show the electorate that they are accomplishing something allows agreement in this motley variety and the public does notice. Will the members of the Soviet, who are for the most part poorly acquainted with financial matters, be able to replenish the city purse? Unless they can, we can hardly hope to improve matters in Moscow. Anyway, the city has a chance for a better life. The new Local Economy and Self-Government Act gives every municipal body ample opportunity to influence industrial firms and other organizations on their territories and to realize their budgets from standard receipts. Thrift and enterprise are specially welcome in our new rulers.

"The party of critics has won," said Yuri Prokofiev, first secretary of the city party committee, in his address to the Soviet session. The party and government bodies were made scapegoats for all the blunders before and during *perestroika*. Now that the critics are in office, they have to answer the challenge.

Gavriil Popov, leader of Democratic Russia, was elected mayor. He has a deputy, Sergei Stankevich, a prominent member of the bloc. [See SO-VIET LIFE, February 1990.] Popov is editor of the journal Voprosy ekonomiki (Questions of Economics) and a people's deputy of the USSR. His program is as follows:

### Live on Credit? Enough is Enough

Moscow's future depends on our work even as it starts—well begun is half done. Moscow will soon be selling its products on the open market. We must take stock of what the city can sell to the rest of our country and what it needs to buy. We have lived on credit for too long. Enough is enough.

Military-oriented production needs the most attention. A viable conversion program can make Moscow a national center for high technology.

The city has topnotch doctors. We can start medical centers according to Dr. Svyatoslav Fyodorov's pattern to bring in hard currency and consumer necessities—though not at the expense of municipal medical services, of course.

Next, Moscow has a fine educational network. Some colleges and technical schools have national and even global renown. It's high time to put them on a commercial footing.

We have many other opportunities to make Moscow the heart of our nation's trade and banking activities.

Social problems are no easier than economic. Many Muscovites' incomes remain on the subsistence level. The city has a million and a half pensioners, several hundred thousand college students, and several million people with low wages and no extra earnings. They will suffer the most as the city changes to a market economy.

The housing problem is in the foreground. A free market demands pri-Continued on page 16

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# Change Is In the Air

Today the fate of perestroika depends as never before on changes in the party itself, in its place and its functions in society. Having proclaimed that it must embark on a program of fundamental reforms, will the CPSU succeed in remaining in the vanguard? Will the Congress be able to chart the way out of the crisis?

Journalist Olga Afanasyeva and photographer Alexander Polyakov interviewed Muscovites on the street.

Vladimir Kalitulin, 34; welder; CPSU member:



"I joined the CPSU out of sheer conviction. Believe me, this is absolutely true. And when the party took the lead with perestroika, I was proud to be a party member. But five years have gone by, and we are seeing that the party leadership, and through it the whole party, is losing the people's trust. The party apparatus is mainly to blame for this. It's putting the brakes on the democratization of inner-party life.

"Now the party leaders clearly understand that a crisis has started. That's why I expect serious changes in society after the Twenty-eighth Party Congress. If the party does not get on with destroying the old stereotypes, it will lose its prestige."

### Nina Kovtanets, 62; pensioner; nonparty member:



"I hope the Congress will decide on a sweeping rejuvenation of the party's central bodies. Members of the Politburo and secretaries of the Central Committee should report to the whole country on their personal contributions to the restructuring of the economy, ideology, and policy. If real power up to the last little while was in the hands of the CPSU, the party's leaders must answer to the people how this crisis came about.

"I have only a vague idea of what a multiparty system might mean for our country, but I agree that the CPSU should have competition. I also think that the Congress will compel apparatchiks to abandon their privileges. Young people who have not been corrupted by the perks of office should be elected to the party's leading bodies at all levels."

### Yekaterina Zinovyeva, 24; fifth year student at Moscow State University; nonparty member:

"I expect nothing from the Twenty-eighth Party Congress. During the years since *perestroika* began, we've had a party congress, a conference, and a host of plenums, but



they've changed nothing. Things are only going from bad to worse. I don't think the Communist Party has proved it can lead the country out of the crisis. The party has degenerated during the 70 years of its unlimited rule, and no congress can revive it as 'the intelligence, honor, and consciousness of our times.' With absolute power still in the hands of Communist Party leaders, a multiparty system will not yield the desired results in the near future. I think the CPSU has to be dissolved. Only then will a new party appear that will be able to play the role of vanguard."

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Boris Shpolyansky, 57; member of a cooperative: CPSU member:



"I do not expect any significant changes in our life as a result of the Twentyeighth Party Congress. The ideals the CPSU continues to advocate have actually become ideological dogmas and are refuted by actual social development. The socialist path to which the party adheres has reached the limit of its resources. But so far, of course, real power belongs to this party. The forthcoming Congress will hardly reveal the deep causes of perestroika's setbacks. That's why I don't expect changes for the better in the near future."

Alexel Bekhtin, 60; watchmaker; nonparty member:

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"I am sure that the Congress will consolidate all the sound and progressive forces of our party and the party will purify its ranks. Why do I, a nonparty man, now believe in the party's ability to bring the revolutionary renewal of our life

to completion despite all the country's difficulties? The answer is simple: I trust Mikhail Gorbachev and his followers. Until now I wondered why he would deliberately begin the destruction of the foundations that had been formed over seven decades. He knew that the destruction of the old system would encounter fierce resistance. I hope that the party congress will deprive apparatchiks of power in the country's regions, will reduce the number of the various municipal, regional, and district party committees. I believe that after the Congress the CPSU Central Committee will become a living, working Central Committee elected from among tal-ented people who care about the fate of our common home. Then, I think, we will advance considerably in all spheres of our life.'

Olga Oreshnikova, 27; salescierk at TSUM (Central Department Store); candidate member of the CPSU:



"Many Communists have quit the party. I, on the other hand, have deliberately joined the party ranks. Only the young will be able to change the atmosphere in the party and restore its prestige. I hope that the Twenty-eighth Congress will drastically

change the composition of the party's governing bodies. Young people should be in these bodies. Today the people's trust in some party leaders has been undermined to a great extent. In the five years since perestroika began, the party's inability to lead people and its unwillingness to part with power and privileges have come to the surface. If such leaders don't take a critical look at themselves and voluntarily leave their high posts, the party congress should force them out. Only then will major decisions be put into practice without hindrance and we ordinary people will see that the CPSU takes care of the country's needs not in word alone, but in actual fact."

Alexander Markushin, 44; team leader at a Moscow plant; CPSU member:



"If no radical reforms in the party itself are carried out at the Twenty-eighth CPSU Congress, the consequences will be unpredictable. This Congress is our last chance. In many respects the party is behind society today: The people's distrust of the Central Committee is growing, as is the negative attitude toward all Communists in general. I've been working at the same place for 20 years, and for eight years I've been secretary of the party organization at my workplace. Lately, I've been hearing complaints that the Communists have led the country into a crisis. How can I object to such statements if our party is the ruling party? But I ask myself: What can destroy a rankand-file Communist if he's worked honestly all his life? The people in the upper party echelons should be responsible to the Congress for what they do, and the Congress should discuss the activity of each leader specifically.

"We're also waiting for an answer to the question, How are our party dues spent? It's high time we stopped 'keeping' apparatchiks with all their sanatoriums, dachas, hospitals, and servants. Fifty per cent of our party dues should remain in the grassroots party organizations. If the Twenty-eighth Congress doesn't make truly revolutionary transformations, I'll resign from the CPSU."

Mikhall Pstskhveria, 34; surgeon at the **Sklifosovsky First-Aid** Institute; CPSU member:



"The party has tried to lead the cultural community, the economy, politics, and medicine, doing this most unprofessionally. Its main priority-ideologyhas been neglected. The party bodies should have

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prevented conflicts among ethnic groups, preserving peaceful and good-neighborly relations between nations and nationalities. The party leaders should have shown their worth in this sphere.

"I think the Twentyeighth Congress will meet our expectations if it elects new people to the upper echelons of power. Major decisions should not be made any more by people who have compromised themselves both during the years of stagnation and in the past few years. I don't believe that the present composition of the Politburo and the Central Committee will be able to get the country out of the crisis. Reality is compelling the party to agree to a multiparty system, and the Congress should endorse this decision. This means a real change to a multiparty system, which will help our country to find a way out of the deadlock. I also believe that the Congress will suggest new solutions to the nationalities issue. We need other principles for forming the USSR.'

Nadezhda Zhukova, 40; drugstore manager; CPSU member:



"The renewal of the country should begin with the vanguard. Until recently the Communist Party has been considered the vanguard in the USSR. But paradoxically the party is lagging behind the processes taking place in society. Moreover, the party

apparatus formed in the past is becoming a serious obstacle to perestroika. It is strange that the CPSU leaders have failed to see this for so long. But there is no alternative now. Events are overtaking us. In some cities the people themselves are compelling the party leaders to resign. The Twenty-eighth Congress is the party's last chance to carry out restructuring from within. I think that the CPSU will carry out revolutionary reforms. Rank-and-file Communists are demanding them. This will bring about changes for the better in society."



vate apartments. Then, it's high time to say No to ugly high-rise buildings. Most of the world's large cities have high-rise clusters only in business centers or in the poorest neighborhoods, while most people have small suburban houses.

Last but not least comes crime. The police ought to cooperate with local Soviets—I think it's the best way to involve the population in the effort to combat crime. Then there is the shadow economy. People often consider it in the same league as crime. I am one of those economists who blame the current state monopoly for it. The bulk of shadow business people will promptly adopt legal patterns after we demonopolize our economy.

In short, we must make Moscow a city for people. Its problems must be solved by the community itself. To manage their city is the essential right of Muscovites. As for us—the City Soviet and its executive—we must give people the opportunity to work for their city independently.

Stankevich, a historian, is a senior researcher at the Institute of History and a people's deputy of the USSR. His ideas are as follows:

### We Can't Dodge Public Demands

The time has come not only for Moscow but for all municipalities with Democratic Russia's majority. If democratic blocs are a success, in contrast to the old bureaucratic bunglers, the nation will see for itself how democracy works in practice. If they fail, we'll surely hear, "Look at those guys with their democratic ways—they're only good at rallies, with those loud mouths of theirs—and when it comes to real work, this is what they do." So, you see, everything is at stake.

The new City Soviet has felt the pressure of bureaucrats, party functionaries, and their flunky journalists from the start. Pressure also comes from unexpected places. I mean threats of strikes by city workers who provide vital services: Employees are demanding wage increases and better living conditions. We have to pay the old Soviet's debts. Matters are still worse as those who want to see us fail whip up industrial.

Yet we are full of resolve and don't want to be anyone's puppets. We have a catch phrase for conversations with big bosses in important offices: "You're a Muscovite—you can't go on pooh-poohing the city's needs. You and no one else will have the worst of it." Each of us repeats it a dozen times a day.

Improvements in city streets are

among the top priorities. The Soviet invites applicants for cleaning and maintenance contracts. They'll have to compete—we do business only with those we believe in. The contractors will be in charge of everything, not merely cleaning, watering—unlike before, when every little thing had its own little office. The Soviet will pay them and help with technology. Moscow will soon see the change, I'm sure.

Now, for the economy, another key aspect of life in Moscow. The Soviet has a sizable budget, but it's a molehill compared to billionaire budgets of national offices. Here we come to a difficult but not hopeless problem. After Moscow's legal status is adopted, we'll make our city a giant testing ground for new economic patterns. The Soviet will mediate between Moscow enterprises and ministries. If an industrial firm wants to switch over to the lease system but encounters resistance from its ministry, we'll help by putting pressure on this ministry and by appealing to the government, if necessary.

We will promote cooperatives that can improve the community's life, though we side with all forms of independent economic activity as a matter of principle.

And another thing: The Soviet makes it a point to publicize whatever it does.

# A Gold Key to the Big-time Market

By Genrikh Bazhenov Consultant to Gosplan

If traditional export-import deals and even joint ventures in Soviet-American business relationship are creaking like an old horsecart, are there any other, less dramatic but probably more effective keys to the potentially bottomless Soviet market?

Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries are so fundamental that they will inevitably lead to drastic changes in the East-West relationship. Already the USSR and the USA are beginning to think about new partnership arrangements as a way to modify their so far unimpressive bilateral economic relations. Undoubtedly, any quick fixes should attempt first and foremost to cure the ailments contracted earlier, such as continued denial to the Soviet Union of most-favored-nation status in trade with the United States, or COCOM's embargo on high-technology goods to the Soviet Union. Of all the countries with which the United States maintains diplomatic relations, the Soviet Union is the only nation with which it does not have a trade agreement.

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Many believe, and for good reason, that early results of a USSR-USA trade accord will be interpreted politically as support for Gorbachev's new policy of greater openness and economic liberalization. But trade, even with lower tariffs, will not progress far from its present marginal level of an estimated five billion dollars.

What is more, the two countries are likely to trade the same products they have been trading during the past 10 to 15 years: agricultural produce, mostly grain (accounting for threequarters of U.S. exports to the USSR) from the Americans; crude oil, platinum-based metals, and chemicals from the Soviets. But even in a more favorable commercial and political environment, the trade structure developed over decades cannot be changed overnight. It will take months, if not years, to achieve. Flooded with top-quality goods manufactured in the leading Western industrialized countries, the U.S. market won't be easy for any fledgling producer. Soviet machinery is notorious for its poor quality. Only 12 to 14 per cent of Soviet-made machines today can match the standards of similar foreign goods.

We haven't minced words in denouncing the notorious shortages in the Soviet economy or in exposing their origins. But for some reason, few have looked at the fundamental cause the lack of capital. The Soviet Union has no alternative sources of capital to draw on. The peasants have been starved and driven off their land; the mineral resources have been ruthlessly plundered and depleted. In foreign trade, barrels have been bartered for bushels for years, and the Russian people were always told that such a stupid arrangement was reasonable. The result: Once one of the breadbaskets of Europe, the country is faced with an ever-increasing need for grain imports coupled with declining oil exports. In 1988 the Soviet Union exported daily nearly three million barrels of crude oil, accounting for two-thirds of the country's total export revenues. In 1989 Soviet oil exports dropped by almost half. The USSR is still a leading oil producer, but, ironically, its long-sustained chase of hard currency revenues has precipitated problems that continue to show up in the Soviet oil fields. To fuel *perestroika*, the energy industry has been forced to operate under enormous strains, rapidly depleting the existing fields.

Aware of the mounting difficulties faced by the Soviet oil industry, Western experts warn: "If Gorbachev fails to convince the United States and other Western countries to give him considerable aid in capital, equipment, and technologies for exploring new [oil] fields, the Soviet Union, now a major oil exporter, may in the 1990s become a net importer."

This may be a deliberate overstatement. The Soviet Union has not asked for Western financial aid as a cure for its economic headaches. And it does not look as if it wants to do so. Nobody has spoken of loans or other similar arrangements. But encouraging foreign investment may be quite another kettle of fish. Even so, private investors will certainly not jump over themselves rushing to the Soviet Union as long as the West has any misgivings about the irreversibility of Gorbachev's economic reforms and Soviet intentions to move toward a more open economy, deeply integrated with the world economy.

Regrettably, the early moves in that direction do not inspire much optimism. No other sector of the Soviet economy seems to be more open to foreign capital than joint ventures. *Continued on page 44*  The North Brookfield Town Board of Selectmen presented these Tshirts to their Russian visitors.

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# We Have a Lot in Common

Text and Photographs by Pyotr Zubkov

To Mikhail Bulko, Chairman Abakan City Executive Committee

### Dear Chairman Bulko:

It was with great anticipation that we awaited the arrival of our honored guests to our tiny community of North Brookfield, Massachusetts, with a population of 4,464.

We welcomed the 14 boys and their accompanying chaperons with great pleasure to our selectmen's meeting. We want to express what a privilege and honor it was to have these fine young men and adults present to witness our small town government at work. Our meeting was one of warmth and friendship and one that will remain in our hearts for a very long time.

It is our hope that this visit will bring a better understanding among all people of the world, and we extend an open invitation to those of your region and to all people of the Soviet Union to visit our small community at any time in the future. Our doors will always be open to you, and our hands of friendship are extended to one and all.

#### Respectfully yours, Frank Hubacz, Jr., Chairman Richard P. Chabot, Vice Chairman

Joseph A. Valencourt, Jr., Clerk Board of Selectmen, Town of North Brookfield

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### Sergel Glukhov (front) and Konstantin Zakhvator (center) with their American family, the Connors.

he steppes of Khakassia in Eastern Siberia are framed by the ridges of the Sayany Mountains and the taiga forest. They are located south of the Trans-Siberian Railroad, far from major tourist centers. Even though Americans are known for their love of travel, few have visited Khakassia, and only a handful of the 500,000 people living in that region have been to the United States. School students from Abakan, capital of the Khakass Autonomous Region, are among them. Last November they went to North Brookfield, Massachusetts. According to a preliminary accord, North Brookfield and Abakan are to become sister communities.

This trip was made possible by an agreement between the Soviet foreign travel agency, Intourist, and the Valley View School of North Brookfield, primarily its principal, Philip G. Spiva, on exchanges of Soviet and American students.

Spiva, who has visited the Soviet Union on many occasions with groups of American students, recalls his trip to Abakan in March 1989.

"In general, the changes we experienced in the USSR as compared to our previous visits were dramatic. There was a great deal more friendly and open communication with the people we met. Most significant was the willingness for honest dialogue in talking about the problems both our countries are facing. As we and our students talked with many young people, I was struck not only by the desire to understand more about each other's experiences and lifestyles, but also by the many common experiences they shared just by being teenagers. I quickly came to the realization that in spite of language and certain cultural differences, we were watching youngsters who had much in common."

After their visit to the United D

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L.B. Grace, M.D. R.A. Schreiner, M.D. R.C. Lafleur, PA-C Elaine Grace met the travelers at Kennedy Airport with a sign welcoming friends from Abakan. Facing page: Baking cookles in preparation for a party.

Perkins Forbes (top), one of the hosts. Center, left to right: Nikolai Feofilov, principal of Abakan Secondary School No. 19; Nikolai Sosnin, teacher; and Philip Spiva, Valley View School principal. Above: Lou Grace, one of the tour organizers.

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Абакан Привет Друзя



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surprise at having seen so many pets in American homes to pleasure from parties and games and to a decisive refusal to understand the "strange" American habit of not eating too much bread during meals. But, of course, there were some serious reflections as well: What they liked, and what they didn't like.

"Wherever we went, we were treated like close relatives," Sergei Glukhov recalls. "I have many friends in North Brookfield now: The Connors, with whom I was staying, and the local boys. I must say that in America everything is based on trust says Pavel Kirginekov. "My most important discovery, though, was that people in the Soviet Union and the United States have a lot in common."

In the words of Nikolai Feofilov, principal of Abakan Secondary School No. 19, the trip confirmed that what he thought of the Americans before was, indeed, true. "They are industrious, open, businesslike, communicative, and highly cultured. These qualities are characteristic of all my new acquaintances there," he stressed. "I was greatly surprised, though, how little the Americans knew about our country. People there use computers."

What Soviet youngsters and their professors did not like was the free trade in weapons, mountains of rubbish on the outskirts of New York City, and, more important, the lack of reliable information about the Soviet Union. But then, citizens' diplomacy will probably be able to correct that. Nothing is more important than person-to-person communication. More and more people are involved in exchanges between the Soviet Union and the United States, and they are helping to destroy outdated and stereotyped views of one another.

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**Comparing Notes** 

Alcohol abuse is a worldwide concern. Soviet-American cooperation can do wonders In this field, says Arkadi Udaltsov, deputy editor of the popular weekly Literaturnaya gazeta. Udaltsov recently visited the United States.

> he first Soviet-American Conference on Alcoholism was held in Moscow in April 1989. The second, sponsored by Health of the

World, an association affiliated with the Soviet Peace Committee, took place in the United States. The committee asked me to do the press coverage of the conference.

The Soviet Union sent a delegation of 110 people—physicians, scholars, industrial managers, parliamentarians, actors, artists, journalists, publishers, and militia. "A motley crew, aren't we?" I said to Professor Levon Badalyan, president of the European Neuropathological Association and head of our delegation, on the plane to New York.

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Generated on 2025-04-11 23:32 GMT Public Domain, Google-digitized "A delegation like any other. What's so different about it?" wondered Badalyan.

When I explained that the connection between a peace committee and the sobriety effort was too subtle for me, he began to explain:

"It was high time for the committee to initiate health contacts. The threat of military confrontation is receding, and people have become more concerned about the dangers from environmental pollution, AIDS, and other problems, alcohol abuse among them.

"We invited you to join us because your newspaper is famous for its contribution to the sobriety drive, and you'll learn many useful things from the way they're handling the problem in America."

He was right. America gave me a

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wealth of material. Literaturnaya gazeta has been in the forefront of the sobriety campaign—and always under fire from teetotalers for supporting moderate drinking rather than total abstention, which they advocate.

I'm afraid not all my readers will be pleased by my American reporting when it appears in *Literaturnaya* gazeta. But my weekly followed the courtroom premise about the whole truth and nothing but the truth, and I can't misrepresent what I saw of the sobriety effort in the United States just to suit someone's taste.

The first experience of my American fortnight was most striking: At a banquet in Stanford, California, a politician got up and said, "I'm an alcoholic, and though I haven't taken a drop in years, my opponents used the fact against me in the election campaign. But I was completely open about it—and I won."

Later I heard the confession "I'm an alcoholic" from dozens of Americans, and every time I was amazed. It took me a while to see the part VIPs play in the American sobriety effort: members of Congress, actors, athletes, and even astronauts who gave up drinking and now refer openly to their past—which is impossible in the more puritanical Soviet Union.

When I described the Soviet sobriety effort to American experts, they invariably replied:

"That's just the way it was here in America 35 or so years ago, when heavy drinkers were ostracized. Now we understand that alcoholism is a disease, and an alcoholic needs compassion and understanding, like any other person who is ill. You have a hard time ahead of you—you'll have to change the public mentality. Even some of us Americans haven't given up the old prejudices."

I saw that they were right at another banquet, this time in St. Louis, Missouri. Don't think my American fortnight was just a long sequence of dinners. We worked a lot—visited medical centers, met members of Alcoholics Anonymous, and studied the experiences of several different companies in handling alcohol abuse among employees.

I am specially grateful to two Missouri social activists, Dr. David L. Ohlms, head physician of Deaconess Hospital, and Donald W. Magruder, who is responsible for the Employee Aid Program at Anheuser-Busch, America's largest brewery. David and Don had both taken part in the Moscow sobriety conference, and they look forward to another visit to the USSR.

If David and Don had not taken our group to the Alcoholics Anonymous meeting, where ordinarily no outsiders are admitted, our idea of the antialcohol effort in the United States would be incomplete. And we would have missed an inspiring experience—the friendly spirit, the openness, the brotherly embraces.

As we were leaving, one man said to me:

"I drank, and suffered, and drank again—and I realized only the other day that I had loved and hated to drink at the same time."

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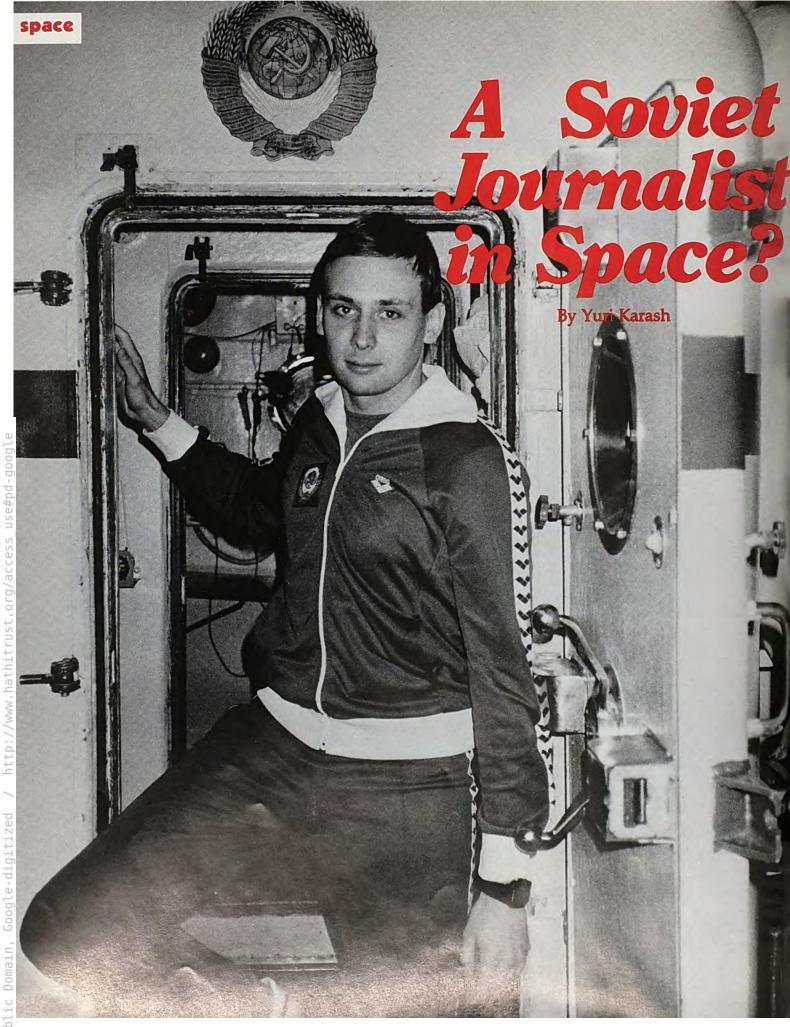


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embers of the Soviet delegation (top, left to right): Igor Urakov, Arkadi Udaitsov, Mark Gorelik, Alexander Davydov, Alfred Ginzburg, and Natalya Shvedova. Far left: Dr. David Ohims. Left: Donaid Magruder.

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Who will be the first to fly in the Mir orbital space station—a Japanese or a Soviet journalist? Sovetskaya kultura correspondent Yuri Karash was among the candidates.



With electrodes attached all over his torso, Yuri Karash prepares to undergo one of the many tests in the exhaustive medical exam that screened the candidates.

#### n the 30 years since the USSR began piloted space flights, the press and space explorers have gotten along very well. But even though they were initiated into

space secrets, journalists could at best accompany cosmonauts to the launch pad at the Baikonur Space Center. From that point on they had to be satisfied with the secondhand reports of people who had actually been in space. But seeing is believing. Reading a report by a journalist who has gone all the way from medical checkup to landing, people will better understand what a cosmonaut's job is really like.

The money raised by this flight (from sales of commemorative medals to donations to the Space for Children Fund) will go to build an international biomodule in near-earth orbit. Operating in conditions of weightlessness, the module will produce pure medical preparations for sick children. Incidentally, everyone who donates 1,000 rubles or the equivalent of 1,000 U.S. dollars in foreign currency will get a stamp canceled on the *Mir* orbital complex.

But that will be in the future. Right now we have to concentrate on being selected from among the numerous candidates competing for the privilege of reporting from space. The competition was organized by the space commission of the USSR Journalists Union.

Journalists sent in essays, "Why I Want to Fly to Outer Space," and several dozen were chosen from among approximately 1,000 candidates. Only 37 made it to the inpatient examination after an outpatient checkup.

According to the competition organizers, at least six candidates for the flight will be selected, with three of them to be chosen for training in Stellar Town. However, the plans to select six out of 37 candidates, even with less vigorous health requirements, are hardly realistic. The merciless medical statistics show that at most three out of 100 young pilots wishing to become cosmonauts pass the requisite physical. Although we are not professional pilots, the hopes for milder requirements have proven illusory. It will be great if two or three candidates are found fit to fly into space. But so far each of us is only a challenger.

I was sent to the inpatient department of the Institute of Medical and Biological Problems and passed the main stages of the examination. When I entered the ward where I was to spend three weeks, I met four other candidates. By the end of my stay only one was left. Why? Mild gastritis, a slight squint, and hepatitis antibodies in the blood—these and some other conditions nipped the prospective cosmonauts in the bud.

Those who want to conquer space have to pass various tests that reveal the tiniest faults in your health. Although I'm not a professional pilot, I attended a flying club for five years, and the doctors always found me fit to fly without restrictions.

One of the tests for prospective cosmonauts is called Cook's Armchair, or CAC—the Russian abbreviation for Coriolis Acceleration Chair. It is used to check balance, tested in a state of weightlessness. The apparatus looks like an ordinary barber chair set inside a large, dark drum. Your left arm is gripped by the blood pressure cuff, and your left leg is tied with a wire leading to an electrocardiograph. Your blood pressure is read before the test begins and after each minute of rotation in different directions.

You hear the monotonous drone of the electric engine and start spinning like a top. The doctor gives orders in a monotone: "Twenty-one, 22, 23... Bend over, straighten up, bend over, straighten up...." Each bend while you are rotating is nauseating. During abrupt stops the contents not only of your stomach but also of your brain seem about to spill out. It's much easier in a plane. Not many professional pilots pass the 10-minute CAC test right away.

Weightlessness: Many of us associate it with the breathtaking moments of flying that we often experience in our dreams. However, reality has little to do with these sensations. Your blood wanders uncontrollably through your body, bumping into mitral valves, so that your heart skips a beat, leaving your legs ice cold, and making your head pound. People react to this torture differently. An or-

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thostatic test shows how dangerous weightlessness is for your body.

You are put on a special table balancing on a revolving axis, held tight between a movable stand fixed under your feet and terry-cloth-covered clamps gripping your shoulders. The devices placed around the table cover you with the fine nerves of their wires. A rubber band squeezes your head like a boa constrictor. Despite the outward simplicity of this test, many healthy men cannot endure it for the appointed 20 minutes without losing consciousness.

Those interested in cosmonautics must have heard about a device called the Lapwing trousers. This contraption draws off the blood to the lower part of the cosmonaut's body by vacuum. On earth these conditions are simulated by a machine that exerts negative pressure on the lower part of

"One more moment and the mighty centrifuge will start whirling me around!"

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the body. Wearing nothing but shorts, you step inside the monster, which reaches up to your waist. The doctor helps it grip you around the waist with its lips so that the creature doesn't spend much energy sucking you in. Your arm is gripped by the usual blood pressure cuff, and the ECG sensors are fixed on your chest.

Weightlessness is not the only enemy of people in space. Vacuum is even more dangerous and treacherous. Although cosmonauts are reliably protected from it by the steel walls of their spaceships and stations, or by the superstrong fabric of their space suits, this enemy is always on the alert, looking for the tiniest breach in the cosmonauts' defenses. In 1971 Cosmonauts Vladislav Volkov, Victor Patsayev, and Sergei Dobrovolsky were killed when their spaceship depressurized. That's why cosmonauts must be prepared to fight this dangerous enemy by training in an altitude chamber. The purpose of the chamber is to find out how you will feel in high-altitude conditions and

whether you can endure atmospheric pressure and depression.

Last but not least is the centrifuge. Later I learned that it barred the way to space for several candidates. The centrifuge puts you in a stress situation, and all your reactions should be unconditioned reflex.

It seems as if the test will never end, but at last it does. After a fiveminute break, during which the instruments read my condition, another, decisive, round begins.

I've only covered the most important tests. I probably did not convey the atmosphere of the inpatient examination, which consists of daily morning and evening rounds, endless analyses, numerous talks with psychologists, X-rays, and waiting. You are waiting for a miracle: "The medical commission has found you fit to fly into space."

After this article was prepared, we learned that Yuri Karash was not among the six lucky journalists who passed the final examination.





Does the establish-ment of your federation reflect cur-

rent social trends?

A: As individualism grows in the Soviet community, new barriers-ethnic, social, and economic-spring up with every passing day. People respond with a mounting thirst for unity. Alongside the many organizations with mixed memberships, women's leagues are mushrooming in the arts, journalism, teaching, and so forth. So we women writers are keeping abreast of our time.

Q: Does only your profession bring you together, or do you share ideas? A: Certainly, we do. We don't merely flock together-we have gathered to consider women's perceptions of themselves and of their role in society. We had doubts at the start whether our federation would be a voice for women's lib, and we decided it wouldn't. We're not female chauvinists. What we want is harmony between the masculine and the feminine.

We want the whole world to repeat the family arrangement. A wise pattern emerged over the centuries, with man the ruler and woman the manager. Every family is a tiny drop in the huge sea of humanity.

Now, compare women's conduct in the family and in official matters. The woman is the stronghold of kindness, justice, and compassion in her family. But as soon as she takes up community affairs, she casts aside her femininity to imitate the tough male ways. Only a few women bosses can afford to remain feminine. This is largely society's fault-it never cares about the feminine viewpoint in decision making. We see this trend throughout the world, but it is nowhere expressed as graphically as in the Soviet Union.

Q: You mean that careers are the enemies of femininity?

A: Yes. Women bosses make it a point to be cold, while the whole community manages its affairs in an their motherland and to be tolerant of



Ariadna Nikolenko interviews Larisa Vasilyeva, poetess and founding president of the Soviet Women Writers Federation.



official way, which has no appeal to the heart. This is why morals are on the decline.

Now, ecology. A woman keeps her home clean and tidy. Just leave your husband at home alone for a week, and you'll find desolation when you come back. No one reckons with women, keepers of the hearth, at the community level. If only humanity could act in keeping with women's innate ecological ethics, it wouldn't be killing nature.

Mothers teach their children to love

people of other ethnic backgrounds. Women hold the family purse strings. But women are terribly scarce in economic jobs of any importance.

So, here are the four aspects of human life: morals, ecology, relations among ethnic groups, and economics. We'll never see a better society until feminine principles gain a firm footing in these four spheres.

Q: What if we regard the arts from this perspective?

A: Whatever era we take, the arts reveal women as the underdogs. Men have always had a better chance to express them-

selves. Yet some women reached the summits in literature: Greece had Sappho; France, George Sand and Madame de Staël; Great Britain, Mary Shelley and the Brontë sisters; America, Emily Dickinson and Margaret Mitchell; and Russia, Anna Akhmatova and Marina Tsvetayeva.

Q: Is the idea of a women writers guild popular?

A: Not quite. Some laugh; others are astonished. Still others say it's pointless to divide fiction into men's and women's-there are only two kinds of books, good and bad. But then, bad books don't count; they aren't even literature.

Now the federation has 500 members, each one with her own record of struggle for survival. It's good to pool our experience. Women writers of other countries are also welcome, Americans too.

Q: What have you done, and what are your plans?

A: We are setting up local branches in many Soviet republics, and we are eager to launch an international program. We'll convene a world conference of women poets next autumn; we are planning to start a publishing house and a women's bookstore; and we are drawing up a program for women's participation in the mass media, with women's radio stations, TV channels, and periodicals. Our first annual collection is already on sale. What we need is strong sponsorship. Will America give us a hand?

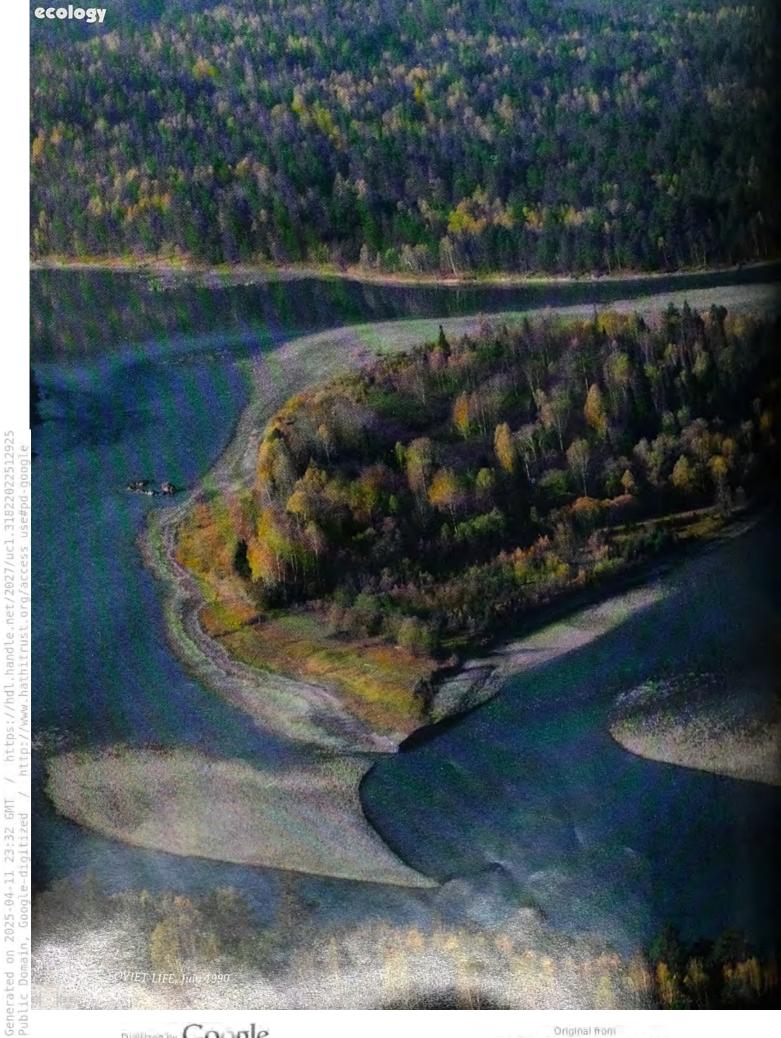
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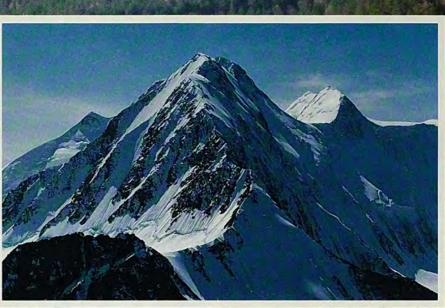
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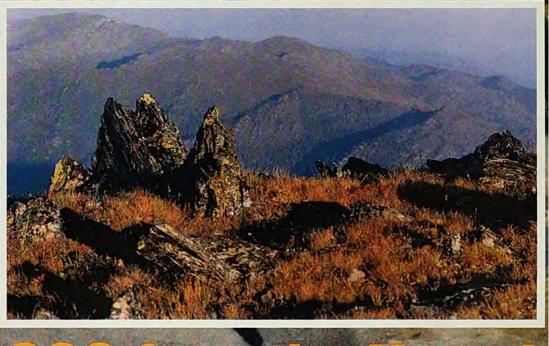




The pristine beauty of the Katun River, a tributary of the Ob River in southern Siberia, rises on Mount Belukha (inset, top). The Altai people are indigenous to the area.







By Maria Cherkasova

Photographs by Yuri Kaver

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egalomania is The proposed ministration the Soviet state worked all his and economy

for decades and that continues in large part to do so. This system cannot do without often absurd and rash monumental projects, meant to make a statement to the country and to the world. The system engenders these breathtaking projects-mammoth factories, artificial seas, and giant machines that can raze mountains-and forgets all about nature, on which life on earth depends. One such plan was actually called "the project of the century." [See SOVIET LIFE, September 1987.] This ecologically disastrous project proposed diverting from north to south part of the flow of the Siberian rivers. When the system suffered a setback with this project, it moved on to another-building a huge hydroelectric plant with a 180-meter



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dam on the Katun River (the source of Local administhe mighty Ob River in southern Si- trators Vladimir beria) in Altai Region.

"Let's set the mighty Yenisei as an and Valeri example for the beautiful Katun"under this bombastic motto the first team of Minenergo (USSR Ministry of Energy and Electrification) builders arrived in the Altai Mountains in 1983. The Yenisei, another Siberian archeologist Esriver, is dammed by hydroelectric ther Jacobson Inpower stations and disfigured in its spected the exupper and middle reaches by vast res- cavations in Altai ervoirs, into which nearby factories Region. dump their industrial waste.

In spring, water in the Yenisei reservoirs falls as much as 50 meters, revealing slopes covered with silt and C

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typical of the dam would flood command-ad- the orchards that Nikolai Smirnov system that ran (below right) has life.

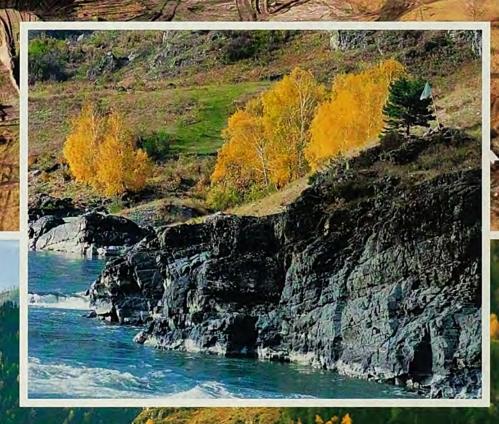




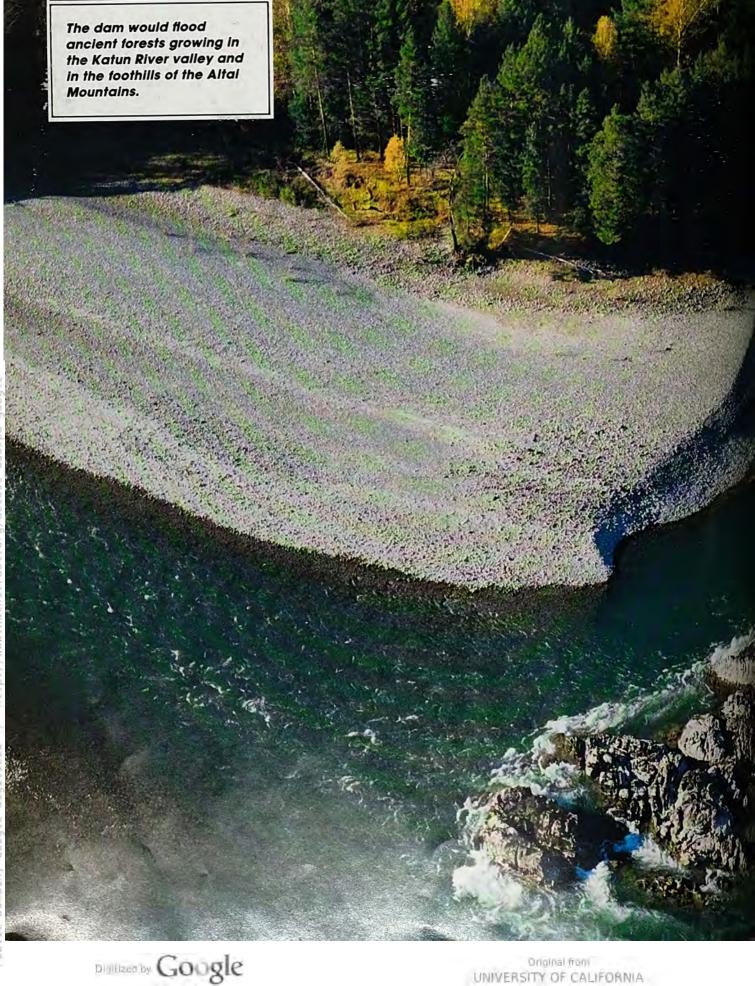
Pesotski (above) Chaptynov (above left) say the dam must be built. American



Facing page, top: A small dam already exists on the Chemal River, a tributary of the Katun. Katunsk, a town built In anticipation of the completed project. Inset: The site of the proposed dam is now the site of an environmentalists camp. Below: This area would be the reservoir.











rock on the projected dam site. A town, Katunsk, was built to accommodate 20,000 people, a concrete plant, and a prefab housing factory. The departments used their time-

tested method-get a project going first and then ask the government for

warm and fertile Katun valley, where livestock grazes the year round and black soil yields good grain harvests, could lose its economic value because of flooding and because the plant's water would remain heated as far as 40 to 80 kilometers downstream. The

relative humidity would rise 70 to 80 per cent. The cold air flowing into the valley would fill it with clouds; precipitation would double, reaching 900 to 1,000 millimeters a year. In the upper Ob area, the land's productivity could decrease by 50 per cent, which would also affect livestock breeding.

The cultural heritage of the Altai people would suffer irreparably. Many people demanded that the Katun be included on the World Cultural and Natural Heritage list.

The Katun ("czarina" or "princess" in Altaic) rises in the perennial snows and glaciers of Siberia's highest peak, Belukha (15,157 feet). The river and its valley are famous for their pristine beauty. "You see before your eyes the noble foamy waves in perpetual motion. The mountain river lives and breathes. Fascinated, you stand under the magic wing of nature. Look at the

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Archeologists have unearthed many sites with cave paintings and burial mounds. These historical records would be lost to the flooding. Facing page: The Altal Mountains along the banks of the Katun. able resort area. As early as the 1920s a health center was set up here, which later became a tuberculosis sanatorium. Now there are two sanatoriums, one with 250 beds for adults, and the other with 100 beds for children. Every year more than 2,000 Siberians come here for treatment, and the disease subsides in 92 to 93 per cent of the adults and 98.6 per cent of the children. An expert commission of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences warns that the hydroelectric plant and the climatic changes resulting from its construction and use will reduce the number of sunny days and

increase hu-

wind speed,

eliminate these

health centers.

Flooding

will inevitably

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cadmium—out of the soil.

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virgin purity of the Altai and its enchanting beauty, the Katun—a symbol of perennial life and untiring forward trust." Landscape painter Grigori Gurkin wrote this description in 1915.

Shortly after excavations for the project had begun, archeologists made remarkable finds in the area of planned flooding—13 sites and an equal number of places with cave drawings dating from the Neolithic period to the Iron Age. They also found more than 2,100 burial mounds. It is anyone's guess how many mysteries and wonders these sites hold. We know that other Siberian mounds have given us great riches and works of art, which are now exhibited in Leningrad's Hermitage Museum.

The Katun and Chemal River basins have long been known as a valuple and animals. "SOS! Citizens of the USSR: Wake

up! A 'scientifically sound' experiment to test the effects of mercury, arsenic, and cadmium on the three million people living in the Ob River basin is in the works. Say No to the Katun hydroelectric station!'' More than 150,000 people have signed a petition drafted by a group of environmentalists who camped out at the projected dam site in 1989.

Obviously, there are more than enough arguments against the project. Why then, in defiance of public protest, expert findings, and USSR Supreme Soviet resolutions, has no final decision on the power plant yet been made?

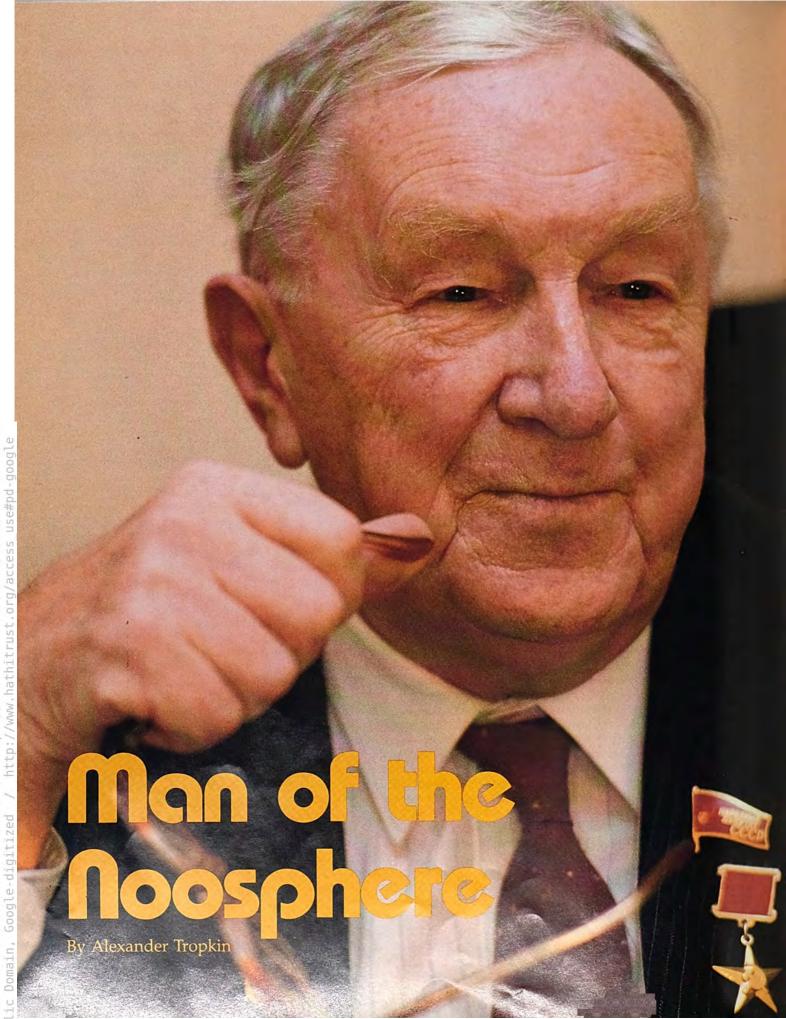
The only factor in favor of the proposed project—improvement of the regional power supply—is, to put it mildly, inconsistent from the scientific standpoint. There is no urgent need for the Katun Hydroelectric Station in Siberia or in the USSR, nor is such a need likely to arise before 2005. Small diesel plants and the national power grid can fully meet the regional demand for power. Besides, small wind and solar power plants can be used.

Of course, hydroelectric stations can rapidly supply the peak load and handle goals in irrigation, deep-water navigation, and flood control. True, Soviet hydroelectric stations effect savings of 80 million tons of organic fuel annually. These organic fuels would have emitted 1.2 million tons of ash and 2.2 million tons of sulfuric and nitric oxides. But hydroelectric stations have flooded 6.2 million hectares of land, including 2.5 million hectares of farmland, and their reservoirs are depositories for industrial effluents, polluting water and soil and killing wildlife. It turns out that one of the cheapest kinds of energy exacts a high price on nature and on people.

Katun project supporters assure the public that the water in the reservoirs will be purer than the water in the river now and that the dam will give fresh impetus for creating a national park in Altai Region. Can they be believed, bearing in mind what is happening to the Yenisei? In 600 Soviet cities, effluents are not being adequately purified and subsoil waters are being dangerously polluted. Onefifth of the Soviet population lives in ecological disaster areas, where the incidence of disease is rising alarmingly as a result of pollution.

The destiny of the Katun was to be decided by the Presidium of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation. At a session that lasted well into the night, all parties concerned came face to face-deputies from the USSR Ministry of Energy, the entire team of designers and experts, regional party bosses, parliamentarians, scientists, journalists, and representatives of the "Save the Katun" committees from Gorno-Altaysk, Biysk, Novosibirsk, Barnaul, Kiev, and Moscow. The energy minister and his supporters pressed for the project to be okayed; experts and pressure groups urged that it be abandoned right then and there. The scheme was neither passed nor rejected. The issue has been shelved.

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"... we pursued only one goal—more, more, and more. Every year and every day we needed more tractors, more coal and steel, more machines, and more galoshes. We sought world leadership in all fields by all means and at any price. We have whipped our horse to such a gallop that it is rushing ahead with the last of its strength."

> lexander Ianshin is at the center of events, today as in the past. His reputation as a fighter is unchallenged. His logic and erudition are such that even ministers lose confidence in their meetings with him.

An example is the muchpublicized battle over a plan to divert the flow of the Siberian rivers southward, a plan that the then powerful Ministry of Land Improvement and Water Conservation of the USSR tried to foist on the country in the early 1970s. Ianshin, then vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, set up a public expert commission to combat the ministry. This is what Sergei Zalygin wrote in his book *The Rerouting*:

Since the commission was public, it did what could not be done by any department or by the academy, for it had assistance from any scientific agency, from any voluntary society, and from any citizen. The supply of assistance exceeded the demand. The commission had no office and no budget for staff. But there were volunteers, and they carried on the work. Ianshin's commission did not cost anyone a kopeck.

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Generated on 2025-04-11 23:33 GMT Public Domain, Google-digitized This commission ultimately saved the people from wasting billions of rubles and the land from being ruined.

There were also local battles for the unique ecosystem of the Kuršių Spit in Lithuania, which Ianshin and his followers defended against oil interests. Ianshin's persistence and prestige likewise helped to save a pocket of virgin nature near the town of Rzhev in the upper reaches of the Volga. Plans to build another reservoir on that part of the already gravely diseased river have been abandoned.

Almost two years ago Ianshin ceased to be vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences; a year and a half ago he was elected people's deputy of the USSR. I think the decision of the electorate to send an internationally known ecologist as deputy to the Soviet parliament was prompted by their hope of seeing there a genuine advocate of millions of people, who suffer from a crisis that has hit whole regions in the Soviet Union.

Voting results in the USSR Supreme Soviet

held at the First Session of the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR disclosed, to the surprise and alarm of many, that both chambers of the Soviet parliament clearly lacked specialists in environmental protection, ecologists. Ianshin was not elected to the Supreme Soviet either. Meanwhile, the country's ecological problems are increasing, with ecological disaster areas multiplying in number, and the parliament has few representatives who can identify priorities in nature conservation and take a stand against the ministries and departments.

Everyone expected Ianshin to speak, but he never had the opportunity. So he wrote a memo to the President of the Supreme Soviet, proposing the establishment of a special commission on ecology in the USSR Supreme Soviet. In addition to Ianshin, the memo was signed by more than 40 other deputies—all.well-known scientists and public figures.

And such a commission was established. One of the amazing things about our nascent parliamentarianism was that Ianshin was not included on that commission.

Still I asked Ianshin what he had intended to tell the Congress of People's Deputies.

"I would have begun with economics rather than ecology," replied Ianshin. "We cannot approve a deficit budget. We can fix things by reducing expenses. Naturally, not the expenses that are earmarked for disabled, retired, or lowincome people. There `are other expenses planned by ministries and departments that can be cut. Moreover, some of these expenses represent hard currency, which the state needs so badly.

"Throughout the world a lot has been said and written about herbicides, pesticides, and fungicides. They are harmful to the soil, to soil microfauna, and when they are washed by rains into rivers, they poison fish and all living things. But we are demonstrating a remarkable obduracy in refusing to heed the experience of even our closest neighbors. Hungary, for example, has banned the use of herbicides and insecticides, and experts believe that is one of the major reasons for the high Hungarian grain yields. Hungarian farmers use Ukrainian wheat varieties widely and climatic conditions are very similar, but an average crop in Hungary is 5.5 tons per

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

hectare, while Ukrainian farmers content themselves with 2.2 tons. Here is the direct link between economics and ecology."

Ianshin believes that it is high time that the Supreme Soviet use its authority and immediately begin drafting tough sanctions against those who violate ecological standards.

In the Volga basin, for example, there are more than 3,000 industrial plants. Of these only 50 have modern and effective treatment facilities. The rest of them dump sometimes totally untreated effluent into the river. Fines are ridiculous—not because they are small, but because they are paid from the factory budget, so the money just transfers from one state agency to another.

In the meantime, hundreds of factories we see on the Volga seem to be in no hurry to build treatment facilities and there are no economic incentives to do so. Courts take up ecological cases only when there is a scandal. But isn't it a scandal that the great Russian river is near ecological death?

Ianshin is a born geologist. Geologists think in terms of epochs, rather than of years or even of centuries. If he had not been a geologist, perhaps he would not have become the kind of ecologist he is. He started working as a geologist at 18, as a collector on an expedition. Three years later he was head of two prospecting teams simultaneously on the arid steppes of Kazakhstan. He completed only two years at the geology faculty of Moscow State University.

In 1937, when he was 26, Ianshin was awarded a candidate's degree on the basis of a series of research papers published in scientific journals. He brilliantly defended his doctoral dissertation at the age of 42. It was a very bulky treatise—the result of his geological wanderings north of the Aral Sea in Kazakhstan.

I asked Ianshin about life in the late 1930s. Was he so absorbed in his work that he did not see anything around him?

"I did—and how. Many of my colleagues and acquaintances fell victim. My father's brother, Mikhail, was a victim. My parents and I were spared this cup of woe, however."

At that time Ianshin was in charge of prospecting in the Aral area. Workers were surveying the iron ore deposits he had earlier discovered. Ianshin nearly lost his life there. He decided that he would himself descend into a narrow shaft to describe the rocks there. He got into a very small iron bucket and was lowered down a narrow well 24 meters deep. The bucket went down slowly because Ianshin was dictating as he put chunks of rock in the bucket. Suddenly, the rope snapped and Ianshin and the bucket fell. A mere listing of Ianshin's injuries would make you shudder: He tore off the heel of his right hand, he broke his ankle, and he had a compound fracture of the knee, among other things. But by some miracle, when his fellow workers lowered a hook, he was able to attach it to the bucket and get back in. He did not remember anything more.

His guardian angel, Vasili Chaklin, a remarkable orthopedic surgeon in Moscow, did the nearly impossible and got the future academician back on his feet.

"The second time it was because of Vladimir Vernadsky that I suffered," Ianshin confessed.

"I'm joking, of course. It was in February 1988. Preparations were being completed for an anniversary of the great Russian scientist. I am still head of the Academy of Sciences' commission on Vernadsky's scientific legacy. But at that time I had my hands full. A lot had already been done, though, and I allowed myself to relax a little. I visited the studio of Moscow sculptor Yeletsky to take a look at his bust of Vernadsky. As soon as I stepped out of the car, I slipped on the treacherous February ice under the snow. For that reason I celebrated the 125th anniversary of the great man in a prone position, with my left leg in traction and the bone pinned. The diagnosis was not encouraging-a fracture of the femur. The recovery was slow, but now I am walking without a cane."

"Do you consider yourself Vernadsky's disciple?" I asked him.

"Not directly. I knew Vernadsky, but we were never friends, and our scientific interests were different. As a practicing geologist, I simply was not prepared to appreciate him as an outstanding thinker. I 'discovered' Vernadsky for myself in the mid-1970s. If you look at his philosophical works published at that time, you will see my name among the editors and authors of commentaries. It was not until I began to organize a commission to study the natural resources of Siberia from space that I started to comprehend the deeper ecological message of Vernadsky. I realized that Vernadsky's teaching on the biosphere and the noosphere should form the theoretical foundation of a broad nature conservation program. Only by learning and following ecological laws can humankind move forward. Any other road is futile and leads into the abyss. Every passing day confirms this important conclusion made by Vernadsky."

Ianshin devoted 20 years of his scientific career to Siberia, and no doubt that period was the most fruitful in his life.

In Irkutsk Region (the south of Siberia) he discovered the country's largest potash salt deposits, enough to provide Siberian farmers with fertilizers for centuries to come. True, "discovered" is too simple a word. At first he foresaw it; then *Continued on page 62* 

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# An Unknown World

By Academician Vlail Kaznacheyev Drawings by Anton Tishchenko



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cientists are busy looking in space for sentient beings similar to man, thus spreading the belief that the protein-based form of life existing on earth is the

only one of its kind in the universe. Given that human beings can live only in a certain environment—with a certain temperature, light, and chemical and atmospheric pressure we are eager to know where similar conditions exist.

In fact, we set a task to nature and resolve it ourselves: Where such conditions may exist, there must be protein-based life. We are actually foisting our observer's view on nature.

Contradictory ideas are developing. A number of leading scientists, such as Academician Vsevolod Troitsky, argue that, four billion years after the Big Bang, the universe had developed the conditions for protein-based life forms. For this reason, all creatures capable of sustaining life-no matter where in the universe-should appear at relatively the same time. Following this line of reasoning, all these beings, including the human race, would have taken about three to four billion years to develop intelligence and to reach the point of thinking about establishing links with other inhabited planets. And if the pattern had been the same throughout the universe, today the civilizations now scattered all over the universe would not be ready for contacts-technological, scientific, or intellectual. That is why we cannot record any radio or other signals.

By contrast, a leading Soviet astrophysicist, Iosif Shklovsky, contends that living matter and humankind on earth represent an almost unique occurrence. Viall Kaznacheyev is head of the institute of Experimental Medicine at the Siberian Branch of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences in Novosibirsk.



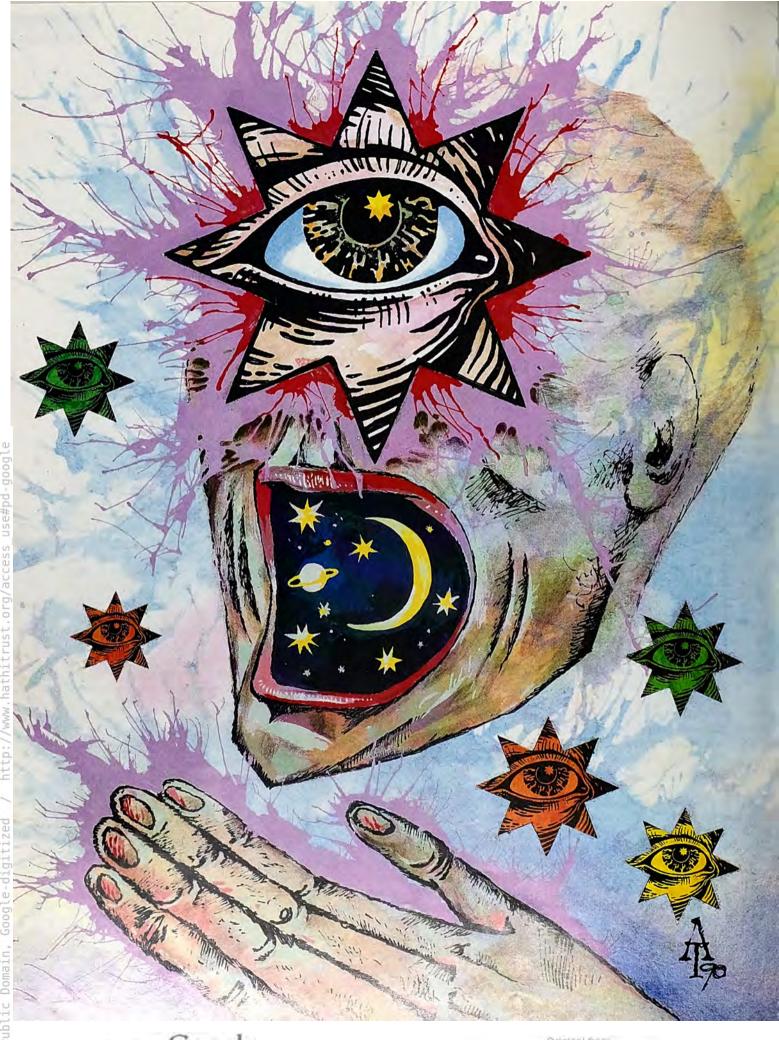
Both theories appear flawed in the same way. The proponents strongly believe that nucleoproteins are the only material to compose living matter in space and on earth. As long as we remain locked into this belief, we will be doing everything for life on the planet to end. So, our fundamental and seemingly true concepts of life are actually ill-conceived theories. They can be regarded as options only.

A scientific picture of the world is absolutely essential for running the planet in the right way. This brings us to look at what is called Russian cosmology, which began with Nikolai Fyodorov and continued in the ideas of Konstantin Tsiolkovsky and Vladimir Vernadsky. This school has had one salient characteristic—it does not rule out the possibility of living matter having diverse forms. The theory raised the question of finding such forms. Perhaps we should assume that life on earth constitutes one of the many possible forms of physical and intellectual life in the universe. What's more, I think that even on this planet there exist many kinds of living matter. As for us nucleoprotein beings, we are most likely a symbiosis of several forms of living matter. But the question is when living protein cells met with other life forms—at the very start of their development or later on?

The record of history shows this kind of symbiosis to be quite possible. Using the microscope, Anton van Leeuwenhoek saw a previously unknown world of bacteria and revealed to us the symbiosis of bacteria, animals, and plants. Later scientists discovered viruses and then preons, the protein fragments that carry information. Still later biological information was found to be translatable into water-crystal structures. That was the discovery of "water memory," or biological memory, which, incidentally, had long been known from the work of French scientists. The important thing is that this is all evidence that living matter on earth and in the universe is precisely the symbiosis of different forms. The question is where their paths cross.

For 30 years the laboratories of the Institute of Experimental Medicine have been studying the relationships in such simple systems as cell to cell. Human cells are put in special containers separated by a glass window, with an optical communications channel between them—nothing else is added. An irritant injected into one cell eventually causes its death. This process is recorded on film. If the affected cell remains in contact with the good cell through the optical window  $\square$ 

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for at least four hours, the good cell is also affected and dies. There was widespread disbelief in the phenomenon, particularly among biophysicists.

Numerous experiments, however, have confirmed that changes made in one cell are somehow projected onto the other. This is the phenomenon of one cell learning from the other. It was thought that only people can teach each other; yet cells, too, seem capable of it, using some unknown media, different material vehicles, the minimum amounts of energy, and purely genetic signals.

This warrants the assumption that the evolution of the human species and human intelligence depend on more than just the complex neuron structures of the brain. The intellect may represent a combination of unknown forms in which nucleoprotein cell bodies are merely the vehicles of some forces. Unfolding before us is a different picture of plants and animals. Our hands and eyes can feel and see, but the fields of each and every one of us have no limits. When you talk and listen, you transmit and receive vibrations. But the processes involved in communication through personal fields are still a mystery.

In my opinion, early human beings had strong brain fields and were capable of seeing and feeling each other over long distances. When, for instance, they did their cave drawings, research indicates that they could see the scenery and the animals through their personal fields without leaving their caves. One wonderful drawing often found in caves is a running animal, depicted as a fast, light lineobviously drawn from reality, not from memory. With further progress, these abilities gradually waned, enduring only in priests, chieftains, oracles, and witch doctors. Once technocratic trends became widespread, such abilities no longer seemed necessary. Nowadays they are disappearing altogether; we have moved away from them. Having invented the steam engine, aircraft, and electric power, we seem to have no more need for this extrasensory medium of communication. Failure to realize that our electronic technology is essentially very similar to the ancient subtle languages may well lead us into a blind alley, with omnipotent computer systems taking power at just this level—at the level of subtle languages rather than software. The computer viruses of today may be a warning of a possible electronic plague in the future.

Having said that, we would commit a crime against humanity if we failed to see what living matter is all about and if we failed to reveal new aspects in the understanding of those elements that Russian cosmology attempted to study. Quite recently we tried to destroy these studies, and the West rejected them. Contact with sentient beings from other worldswhich may draw on quite different sources of information and energy-is a very difficult proposition. And contacts may occur in a variety of ways. The so-called anomalous phenomena that are sometimes observed on the earth's surface, in its atmosphere, and in space are most likely inherent elements of one natural planetary world.

Yet science is divided, with each of its branches fettered by dogmas. Within the framework of these dogmas, a poltergeist, a UFO sighting, and even a faith healer are all miraculous occurrences.

Because a self-standing group of

anomalous occurrences cannot be understood in a particular branch of science, all such phenomena should be translated into a method. If you look at the poltergeist as a subject, you study and describe it. But if you were to regard it as a method, you would study the properties of a medium you would make general conclusions concerning such phenomena. Given this approach, natural science is sure to make rapid progress.

At this juncture, this method is vitally necessary. Indeed, the environment is being littered with vast quantities of synthetic chemical compounds, and hundreds of thousands of radio, magnetic, and other waves pollute near and deep space.

The current process of pollution may make it impossible for living matter to coexist with various fields of force inside and outside the earth's atmosphere. Vernadsky said that the biosphere should be seen not only as a mix of powerful lines of ecological relationships; it involves a complex and sensitive machinery of weak ecological and force-field systems. Should we disrupt this arrangement of the biosphere, catastrophe would be the inevitable result.



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## PARI Challenges Guinness

es

By Valentina Ponomaryova Vice President of PARI

verybody knows the Guinness Book of World Records, but few people outside the USSR, except the Guinnesses themselves, know the PARI

Book of Records. PARI is an independent Soviet agency created on the initiative of Alexei Svistunov, a former correspondent of the newspaper for young people, Komsomolskaya pravda.

Seventy per cent of the records listed by PARI beat the respective Guinness records for 1989. In fact, the PARI Book of Records was inspired by inaccuracies in the Guinness Book of World Records.

For example, Guinness maintained that the Japanese daily newspaper Yomiuri Shimbun had the world's largest circulation—more than 14 million copies. Naturally, the correspondent of Komsomolskaya pravda, which had a circulation of more than 21 million, objected. The next year, Guinness corrected itself, naming the Soviet newspaper Trud (Labor)—21 million but Guinness was wrong again since by that time Komsomolskaya pravda had a circulation of 22.5 million.

Last year the United States awarded a diploma to the oldest person on earth—a woman of 115. PARI recorded about 20 people of that age, and also a man of 128 and a woman of 135—all of them living in the USSR.

"This country boasts the tallest person and the shortest person on earth—ex-basketball player Alexander Sizonenko of Kuibyshev, who at 240 centimeters is the tallest, and Tatyana, at 65 centimeters the shortest. Tatyana lives in a home for the aged. Since she was a foundling, there is so far no way of establishing her surname," said Svistunov.

The idea of creating such an agency had been in the air for some time. Many newspapers had started columns reporting unusual phenomena, people, and experiments. In 1988 the

Larisa Mishukova has the longest hair in the Soviet Union. It measures 1.6 meters.

publishing house Sovetskaya Rossiya released the Russian translation of the *Guinness Book of World Records*, which included records set in the USSR.

"Why do our people have to get information about themselves from abroad some two years late if we can promptly publish our own book of records every year?" The employees of the new agency, most of them professional journalists, demanded an answer. After the first reviews of the PARI Book of Records, they got enthusiastic support from the readers. "It's a brilliant idea! We'll have greater self-esteem," wrote Vladimir Dembo of Kuibyshev, who sent documents proving that his five-year-old daughter had qualified for the third adult grade in chess.

PARI stands for Paradoxes, Records, Ideas. The agency records not only our national achievements, but something you won't find in other reference books—paradoxes, UFO sightings, and cases of ESP,





Ten-year-old Kirill Maximov can do 3,630 pushups and can hold 204.7 kilograms while doing three knee bends. Left: Miron Pavlik is the shortest man in the Soviet Union—he is 95 centimeters tall. A woman living in a home for the aged is even shorter.

clairvoyance, telepathy, telekinesis, and poltergeists. The agency also records the compilers of unique genealogies and collections.

It is the agency's policy not to register records in eating, or any other records threatening people's health or life. We don't recognize records for records' sake, such as the biggest shoe that nobody wears, the biggest cake, pie, pancake, and so forth. We are averse to everything that violates ethical and esthetic norms.

The agency receives thousands of letters from different regions of the USSR and processes information from its branches in different cities. This country is rich in talent. The world of nature and the world of people have unique phenomena. In addition to the book, PARI gives glimpses of these worlds in a permanent column in the weekly *Sobesednik (Interlocutor)*, on the weekly radio program "Youth Channel," and on the TV program "Erudites Warmup."

Journalist Yuri Solomakhin of Moscow speaks 38 languages; another Muscovite is the first Soviet female member of the international hunters club; still another, Marina Popovich, is the world's only woman to have set more than 100 flight records and to have been awarded the global medal of the Fédération Aéronatique Internationale.

Arseny Gorokhov of Omsk has Patent No. 383005 saying that in 1968 he invented a personal computer and the plotter's principle, which were not put in production because of Soviet bureaucracy. (PCs' official date of birth is 1975, when Apple Computers started their industrial production.)

There are mysterious, funny, and amazing records in PARI files. Tenyear-old Kirill Maximov, who studies at Moscow School No. 59, did 3,630 pushups and at least three knee bends with a load of 204.7 kilograms. Larisa Mishukova, a student of the Moscow Institute of Fine Chemical Technology, has the longest hair-1.6 meters. In Sverdlovsk a daughter, mother, and grandmother were born on the same day—February 8. There is a map of the world in pigmentation marks on a bull's skin, and a "rubber man" who can fall from any height without hurting himself.

In Moscow Region PARI associates found Yevdokiya Zaitseva, who crochets dishes. She nearly lost her mind when her oldest son died. To soothe her suffering, she learned to crochet. Soon her house was filled with beautiful handicrafts made of simple cotton thread—vases, bowels, jugs, and baskets. A pillow on her bed is decorated with a crocheted pond with lilies and elegant swans. The creator of these masterpieces recovered her peace of mind and is today a cheerful and very hospitable person. I'd call this phenomenon art-cure.

PARI has collected many facts that prove the remarkable intellectual, psychological, and physical abilities of people, and the harmony and purpose of the world. And the agency's activities are just the beginning.

"Guinness has recognized us as rivals," Svistunov said. "Although we are inferior in financing, technical equipment, printing facilities, and fame, we have information that is unique. Those who want to cooperate with us can write to: PARI Agency, 73 Novoslobodskaya Street, Moscow 101488, GSP-4."

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The joint venture drive was launched three years ago. And what has become of it? Of the 1,200 officially registered joint companies only a little more than a hundred are operational. About 150 companies have U.S. partners, but only 20 per cent have actually started doing business. A total of less than 100 million dollars is what U.S. entrepreneurs have dared to invest in joint businesses on Soviet territory so far. To say that "investments in *perestroika*" have yielded tangible fruit would be an exaggeration.

Some U.S. business people told me that "the mere thought of launching a joint venture in the Soviet Union is an act of courage." Why? There are many reasons: commercial risks, which only big companies can afford; the inconvertibility of the ruble; the poorly developed infrastructure. Furthermore, U.S. business people do not understand the capabilities of the Soviet market, and many Soviet ministries and enterprises have no experience in doing business on an international scale.

In business relations Western entrepreneurs are often taken aback by our unscrupulousness in choosing partners, our inability to grasp market requirements, our firm *Nyet* to people proposing lucrative deals, and our illconsidered rush for disadvantageous arrangements.

American accounts of the current drive for economic reform in the USSR show that they are worried about the Soviet attitude toward the idea of a market economy and free competition. Anyone familiar with Soviet history would appreciate this caution. But we can't forever bow to poverty-inspiring universal wage leveling, which continues to hold back progress toward world standards. A striking example is associated with the new Law on Property. In addition to encouraging free enterprise among the Soviets, the law also purports to lay the groundwork for attracting foreign capital. During the debate on the law, the conservatives insisted that property legislation should ban profiting from privately hired labor. As a result, no private business in the Soviet Union will have the right to employ staff. This ideological icon to which we keep praying cannot be expected to make foreign investors rush with their capital to the USSR.

If traditional export-import deals and even joint ventures in Soviet-American business relationship are creaking like an old horsecart, are there any other, less dramatic but probably more effective keys to the potentially bottomless Soviet market? There are such keys. One of these is a truly golden key. But before we learn to use it, the Soviet Union will have to transcend the boundary of the habitual framework for buying and selling material goods and try instead to tap the world labor markets, offering the skills of its labor resources and the talents of its researchers.

In trying to explain the notorious discrepancy between Soviet intellectual achievements and economic woes, experts usually refer to the ever-expanding gap between the process of generating ideas and that of using them. This is not to say that we haven't tried to gain commercially from the most brilliant scientific achievements. Plans to set up a socalled free economic zone (FEZ) in Vyborg, near Leningrad, call for the development of a Russian equivalent to Silicon Valley, an area for deploying high-technology, environmentally friendly industries. The point is to develop a pool of technological ideas that would quickly filter down to factories through the FEZ framework and with the help of advanced Western technologies.

But regrettably the economic environment in the contemplated zone will for years remain much less friendly than that in the real Silicon Valley, even if we passionately wish otherwise. Other problems are the restrictive policies of the COCOM, still standing athwart all avenues to East-West trade in technologies, and the West's understandable reluctance to create with its own hands competitors in world markets.

Such are today's harsh realities. So why harbor illusions about a Soviet Silicon Valley? True, we can make a deal with the COCOM by allowing unrestricted access of international risk capital to our FEZ, for which we won't even need vast expanses of land. Risk capital usually supports small enterprises turning the most valuable scientific and technological ideas into goods not yet available on the world market. Such an arrangement with Soviet involvement could lead to the development of electronic optical systems, thin-film manufacturing techniques, and so forth.

This path will be quite rocky, of course. And yet there are indications that the West may appreciate such a proposal. Anyway, it is evident from what U.S. business publications say that America expects a merger between Soviet scientific talents and U.S. technologies and marketing skills to result in a considerable expansion of mutual advantages.

And here is my last remark. It costs a major U.S. corporation 250,000 to 300,000 dollars a year to maintain a top-flight researcher, according to some American estimates. With matching laboratory facilities in the Soviet Union and other Eastern European countries, research organizations spend 10 times less per capita. Let us presume that a joint venture prepared to undergo some risk has a ruble account. In the proposed arrangement, these inconvertible rubles can even now be pumped into research projects on Soviet territory and thus be converted into easily exportable new technologies.

This is not a figment of my imagination. The USSR Academy of Sciences and Arthur D. Little, a U.S. research and consultancy business, joined forces recently in an unprecedented project to encourage commercial development and distribution of Soviet inventions in the West. Already 31 research organizations operating under the auspices of the USSR Academy of Sciences have agreed to be involved in the project. To finance the planned joint venture, some Western companies are uniting in a consortium expected to raise more than 50 million dollars for the purpose. Payments due for licenses and other revenues are to be split between the Soviet partners offering technologies or ideas and the Western consortium providing finances.

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## **Living Standards** e USSR By Vadim Savvin



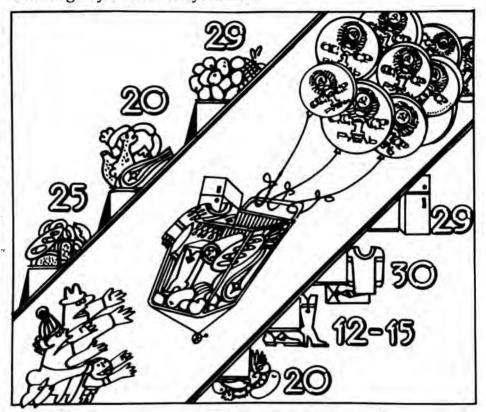
ifferences in the property status of Soviet people no longer surprise anyone in this country, but the gap between the rich and

the poor has been widening at amazing speed. As a new middle class emerges and fresh new millionaires quickly join the ranks of the old elite, an army of the poor is growing at the other end of the scale. A street beggar who stumbles out of an underground passage at night in downtown Moscow, counting his day's earnings of a few handfuls of coins, would hardly notice a chauffeured white Mercedes carrying celebrated artist Ilya Glazunov to his country mansion. Likewise the owner of the car, sitting in its back seat, would hardly notice the beggar.

The centrifugal forces of the economic and financial crisis that has swept the country are breaking the already fragile balance of material wellbeing. More than half of the almost 300 million people in the Soviet Union live below the average per capita income, which is estimated at 125 rubles a month (about 200 U.S. dollars at the unrealistic official exchange rate).

According to the State Statistical Board of the USSR, the average per capita income in 1988 was 143 rubles a month, a 28 per cent increase over 1980. In 1988, for the first time in Soviet history, the number of people with incomes of more than 200 rubles a month exceeded those with incomes of less than 75 rubles. It would have been an encouraging sign had there been no inflation and no shortages of almost all consumer goods.

Between 1980 and 1988 the average retail prices of some commodities sold through the state and cooperDrawings by Alexei Tertyshnikov



ative trade network rose as follows: bread by 25 per cent; meat, 20 per cent; potatoes, 29 per cent; vegetables, 20 per cent; footwear, 12 to 15 per cent; clothing, 30 per cent; and refrigerators, 29 per cent.

A vast majority of Soviet families enjoy no financial security: Economists claim that one in 10 Soviet people can hardly manage on his or her monthly earnings.

The average wage is very low in the Soviet Union because wages account for a very small part of the national income.

Low wages in the Soviet Union are partially compensated by the provision of free services paid out of the public consumption funds-education, health, and social security. In 1987, however, the Soviet Union spent 19.7 per cent of its gross national product (GNP) for these purposes, whereas the United States spent 28.5 per cent. The same applies to the share of the GNP that goes to personal consumption: In 1987 it was 41 per cent in the Soviet Union and 60 to 70 per cent in the industrialized Western nations.

The Soviet Union spends too much on capital investment (30 per cent of its GNP) and on defense (nearly 9 per cent), whereas most industrialized countries spend between 1.5 and 6 per cent on defense. Soviet expenditures on the administrative apparatus total about 40 billion rubles a year.

Consequently, the implementation of social programs in the USSR will depend on changing the structure of the GNP in favor of consumption.

Not too long ago the per capita subsistence level in the Soviet Union was said to be 50 rubles a month. Now experts from the State Committee for Labor and Social Issues and the State Statistical Board have set the figure at 78 rubles. How do they substantiate their calculations?

Using as a point of reference the so-called rational nutrition and consumption standards, experts suggest breaking this sum down in the following way: 40.9 rubles on food, 24.9 rubles on consumer goods, and 12.2 rubles on services. Thus, one should spend no more than 1.36 rubles a day on food. With this money one can buy a very modest lunch in a public canteen, 600 grams of the cheapest brand of sausage, or four liters of milk.

The absence of most foodstuffs in Soviet shops, however, makes it absolutely impossible to maintain any rational nutrition standards. Besides, the official subsistence level doesn't allow for purchasing food at the collective farm markets, although food shortages in the state trade network force people to buy food from private and cooperative farmers. The market price of meat in Moscow is up to 15 rubles a kilogram; eggs sell for five rubles a dozen; and a suckling pig costs as much as 100 rubles.

Another flaw in the official estimate of the subsistence level is that it does not take into account regional variations in conditions.

As you can see, per capita incomes differ from republic to republic. This is natural: Incomes cannot be the same in the Central Asian republics, for example, where birth rates are high and most families have many children, as they are in the Baltic republics, Byelorussia, and Russia, where most families comprise two wage earners and one child.

Tens of millions of people in the Soviet Union cannot make ends meet and have to borrow. As a result of uncontrolled inflation, average-income households are moving closer to the poverty line: Public opinion polls show that 50 per cent of Soviet families buy less food than they need. Forty-one per cent of those polled

| Gross       | Income B                    | rac  | cets in<br>1988 | Soviet   | Republi  | CS    |
|-------------|-----------------------------|------|-----------------|----------|----------|-------|
| Republic    | Population % Monthly Income |      |                 |          |          |       |
|             | (millions)                  | -75R | 75-100R         | 100-150R | 150-200R | 200R- |
| USSR        | 285.5                       | 12.6 | 15.7            | 33.3     | 21.2     | 17.2  |
| Russia      | 146.8                       | 6.3  | 13.1            | 34.0     | 24.6     | 22.0  |
| Ukraine     | 51.3                        | 8.1  | 16.8            | 38.5     | 22.4     | 14.2  |
| Byelorussia | 10.2                        | 5.0  | 12.9            | 36.8     | 25.8     | 19.5  |
| Uzbekistan  | 19.8                        | 44.7 | 23.9            | 22.2     | 6.4      | 2.8   |
| Kazakhstan  | 16.6                        | 15.9 | 19.3            | 33.7     | 18.1     | 13.0  |
| Georgia     | 5.3                         | 16.3 | 17.4            | 31.6     | 18.1     | 16.6  |
| Azerbaijan  | 7.0                         | 33.3 | 22.2            | 27.3     | 10.9     | 6.3   |
| Lithuania   | 3.7                         | 3.6  | 10.7            | 34.6     | 27.1     | 24.0  |
| Moldavia    | 4.2                         | 13.0 | 19.8            | 37.3     | 18.9     | 11.0  |
| Latvia      | 2.7                         | 3.2  | 9.5             | 31.8     | 27.2     | 28.3  |
| Kirghizia   | 4.3                         | 37.1 | 23.1            | 26.0     | 9.2      | 4.6   |
| Tajikistan  | 5.0                         | 58.6 | 20.7            | 15.5     | 3.8      | 1.4   |
| Armenia     | 3.5                         | 18.1 | 21.5            | 34.7     | 16.2     | 9.5   |
| Turkmenia   | 3.5                         | 36.6 | 23.0            | 25.8     | 9.4      | 5.2   |
| Estonia     | 1.6                         | 3.9  | 9.0             | 28.0     | 25.5     | 33.6  |



said they rarely bought enough food, and only nine per cent of families said they did not care about food and consumer goods prices.

More realistic economists believe that the subsistence level in the USSR is about 100 rubles a month per capita. Nearly 60 million Soviets are below that line.

It's time the Soviet Union created a mechanism of social protection for the low-income sections of the population, such as pensioners, young families and families with many children, and college students.

At the present time, consumption

and nonproduction construction account for 77 to 78 per cent of the Soviet national income (the United States spends 90 per cent of its income for these purposes). The plan for 1990 envisages a radical social reorientation of the Soviet economy The proportion of national income resources used for current consumption and nonproduction construction will increase to 86.7 per cent. This will require a substantial reduction in defense spending, conversion of many defense plants to civilian production, the concentration of funds and efforts on the development of light and food

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| 36,6        |
|-------------|
| 16,8        |
| 52,3        |
| 91,0        |
| 17 <b>0</b> |
| 42,0        |

| Wages in National Income             |      |      |  |
|--------------------------------------|------|------|--|
| Branch                               | USSR | USA  |  |
|                                      | 9    | %    |  |
| Industry                             | 36.6 | 68.1 |  |
| Agriculture                          | 16.8 | 27.0 |  |
| Construction                         | 52.3 | 71.2 |  |
| Transportation and<br>Communications | 91.0 | 67.0 |  |
| Trade                                | 17.0 | 71.2 |  |
| Over-all                             | 42.0 | 61.2 |  |

| 000JI         |
|---------------|
| 27,0          |
| 71 <u>,</u> 2 |
| 67,0          |
|               |

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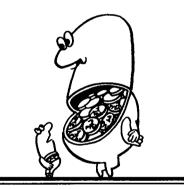
71,2 61,2

industries, suspension of industrial projects that do not promise quick returns, and bigger investments in the nonproductive sector.

Assistance should go first to the poorest. In the Soviet Union these are the elderly. Last year the first session of the new Soviet parliament, the Supreme Soviet, instructed the government to find more than six billion rubles to increase pensions. On October 1, 1989, the minimum pension was increased to 70 rubles a month.

But pensioners account for only 20 per cent of those who live below the subsistence level. Fifty per cent are families with many children, and the remaining 30 per cent are young people. Society is equally indifferent to the young and the old, to those who have not yet given it anything and those who have given it everything.

Something is beginning to change, however. Four hundred thirty-five



| Monthly Income |      |           |      |  |
|----------------|------|-----------|------|--|
| Income         | 1980 | 1980 1985 |      |  |
| Rubies         |      | %         |      |  |
| -50            | 7.3  | 4.3       | 2.9  |  |
| 50–75          | 18.5 | 13.6      | 9.7  |  |
| 75–100         | 23.2 | 19.8      | 15.7 |  |
| 100-125        | 19.5 | 19.3      | 17.6 |  |
| 125-150        | 13.2 | 15.0      | 15.7 |  |
| 150-175        | 8.2  | 10.4      | 12.2 |  |
| 175-200        | 4.7  | 6.7       | 9.0  |  |
| 200-250        | 4.1  | 6.9       | 10.2 |  |
| 250+           | 1.3  | 4.0       | 7.0  |  |

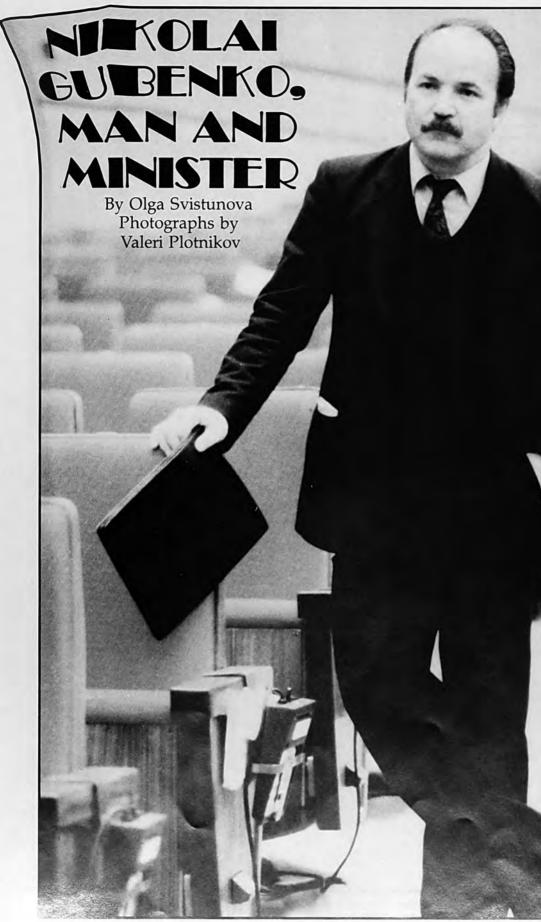
million rubles have been allocated from the national budget and other centrally controlled sources in 1990 to increase allowances paid for children; 20 million have been allocated for working women expecting a baby; and funds have been increased to improve the quality of meals at children's institutions.

Things are changing for the better, but more radical measures are needed, especially the introduction of a guaranteed minimum income for low-income families. Moreover, such a minimum should be constantly adjusted to inflation. Economizing on aid to poor families leads to an increase in crime, especially juvenile delinquency, drug addiction, alcoholism, and moral degradation of society. The country's leaders seem to be well aware of this, so they are earnestly looking for a solution to this difficult problem.

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after the Supreme Soviet session that endorsed his appointment as Minister of Culture. Facing page: Yuri Lyubimov's famous office in the Taganka Theater.

Nikolai Gubenko

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA



ikolai Gubenko's election to the post of USSR Minister of Culture was a landmark event. For the first time in Soviet

history, the post is held not by a party functionary but by an actor, director, and screenwriter. Many are cautious, however, because they doubt that an actor should be in politics.

Gubenko is a household name not only with regular movie- and theatergoers. His debut in the cinema was like a thunderbolt. While he was an undergraduate at the Institute of Cinematography, Gubenko starred in Marlen Khutsiev's *I'm 20 Years Old*, one of the most memorable films of the Thaw—a short but glorious period whose peak occurred in the 1960s. prominent film director and Gubenko's college acting professor, who hardly ever paid anyone compliments, said: "I love Gubenko and think he has a future. He has an independent mind—which is equally good for a director, a writer, and an actor. When I am casting, I prefer imagination and inner freedom to obedience and discipline."

At that time Gubenko sparkled on stage too—at the Taganka Theater, which some considered famous and others considered simply infamous.

Suddenly Gubenko withdrew from everything to enroll in the Cinematography Institute, this time in the Film Direction Department. Soon he had directed six films, one on the heels of the other, and all of them brilliant. Waifs, was based on his personal reminiscences. The film became his favorite—a touching token of Gubenko's enduring gratitude to those who had helped him during the long and lonely years of his orphaned childhood.

"I was born in the Odessa catacombs during an air raid in 1941—a fatherless baby who soon lost his mother, one of many such children in my generation. I knew starvation, cold indifference, cruelty, and hatred, and I did not experience what every child should know: warmth, tenderness, and family care.

"Just think how callous we war waifs could have grown if we had borne grudges for our tragic childhood and harsh youth—and there was enough to remember for a life-

time. But I see my orphanage friends, now living in Moscow, every year on February 23. They are all respectable people. There are diplomats, journalists, and writers among us-all topnotch professionals. We are self-made men, all of us. We all grew in a spirit of brotherhood. It helped us to survive, and none of us betrayed it. That feeling of brotherhood remains my ideal, and I wanted it to be obvious in all my films."

True to his ideal, Gubenko made another brave step, natural for him but unexpected for the public: He assumed the leadership of the Taganka company during the critical time after Yuri Lyubimov, the theater's

founder, was forced to emigrate, and Anatoli Efros, who took over from Lyubimov, died unexpectedly after working with the troupe for only a short time.

The entire company wanted to see Gubenko as its director in chief: He was one of them, a friend who had been with them through good times and bad and had suffered persecution with them. Always modest, he did not want to innovate but to preserve



Some years later Gubenko appeared no less sensationally in *The Director*, in which he played a Baltic sailor appointed to head a huge auto factory. He subsequently played Vasili Blucher, a commander in *Civil War*, and a stud-farm owner in a screen version of Turgenev's nineteenth century classic *A Nest of Gentlefolk*.

Gubenko had all the makings of a star: the gift for acting, fine technique, and good looks. Sergei Gerasimov, a The first film he directed was A Soldier Came from the Front, based on a play by Vasili Shukshin, another brilliant alumnus of the same institute. In this film Gubenko starred as a disabled army private who became chairman of the collective farm in his native village. Most of the cast members were not professional actors but residents of the village where the shooting was done.

Another of Gubenko's films, War

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Lyubimov's spirit and productions. He produced a series of Lyubimov revivals and worked untiringly to help his friend and mentor return to the USSR.

With Gubenko's help, Lyubimov at last regained his citizenship and resumed leadership of the Taganka Theater. Gubenko stayed on at the Taganka as one of the actors.

Now he remains in the company despite his ministerial post. "I have to keep up my acting skills. What if I don't succeed as Minister?" he wondered. "I won't cancel a single performance scheduled for the coming season if I don't have to."

As soon as the Supreme Soviet ratified his appointment as Minister of Culture, Gubenko went straight to the Taganka from the Kremlin: He was to play the title role in Pushkin's tragedy *Boris Godunov* that night.

Gubenko's new job is more difficult than the most sophisticated part he ever played—especially because he's had no government experience. He has to start by studying the intricacies of government and then see what he has to do and what he can do.

"The main thing is to understand the situation in Soviet culture-and it's very difficult. You need the diagnosis before you write the prescription. It isn't enough to say that culture is perishing. There are thousands of burning practical issues to be addressed. We have to rescue and to strengthen the little we still have. New achievements will come later if we succeed with the urgent initial task. But even urgent things are so big that they require a prolonged effort. What we need now is a long-term program to give the remnants of our culture a new lease on life.

"We must restore respect for artistic gifts. We shall mark time until there are proper legal standards to defend artistic freedom.

"Many stars of Soviet culture could not fulfill themselves during these past decades under official persecution. They were forced to emigrate. Now we must give them back their Soviet citizenship and let them decide for themselves whether they want to come back or not. What we've been doing is squandering our nation's intellectual wealth. These peoper must rejoin us—feel they are one with us, even if they stay abroad."

His words go hand in hand with deeds. Mstislav Rostropovich and Galina Vishnevskaya had their citizenship reinstated with his help.

Sincere in everything he does, the new Minister is an appealing character—with all his virtues and vices, with his impulsive nature and his prejudices. He thinks it's natural to be biased: "You only become unbiased and passionless when you go to your grave," he said.

He is frank about his fear of his new job and says he felt dizzy during the inauguration.

When I asked him how his wife, the actress Zhanna Bolotova, feels about his ministerial post, he said: "She hates it. She says plays and films should be my only business. I don't think I'd survive without her now that we've spent 25 years together. I see how unhappy she isbut I hope she will grow to understand with time. I have never made a major decision without asking her advice before. Whatever I do, she stands by me. Sir Winston Churchill called his wife, Clementine, the happiness of his life. This wonderful phrase suits me too: Zhanna is the happiness of my life."

"Culture should be our country's supreme goal—the ideal that inspires everything. It's up to my ministry to make plans and draw programs, and the rest must depend on the artists."

The Supreme Soviet recently debated whether the country needed a Ministry of Culture at all. Many deputies argued that it ought to be disbanded. But the majority said that the country needed it.

Gubenko believes, "We can't manage without a strong center for the time being. Contemporary society wholly depends on information, which must be focused in such a way as to influence politics and government. Our civilization has not yet invented any form other than ministries, committees, central boards, and so forth, to gather information and pass it on to the community the right way.

"I want the concept of 'guidance of culture' to disappear. But at present culture does need guidance, especially with this year's miserly cultural allo cations—1.2 per cent of the Stat-Budget.

"Our cultural allocations are smaller than anywhere in Western Europe. True, our whole economy is in a deplorable state, and I blush when I point out the material needs of our culture. But we must allow our offices, enterprises, cooperatives, public organizations, and private citizens to sponsor and patronize the arts at the republican or the city level.

"The Ministry of Culture and all Soviet professional unions requested the Supreme Soviet to add the following article to the Unified Taxation Bill: 'All sums allocated by enterprises, organizations, and private persons on charity, including donations on culture, the arts, education, health, social security, and environmental protection, shall be exempt from taxation.'

"Last but not least, we mustn't carry our patriotism too far and reject help from overseas. Italy, France, and the Netherlands are doing a lot to promote cultural cooperation."

An artist must engage in politics to defend against it, said Anton Che khov. Gubenko likes this statemen because he thinks that attack is the best defense tactic. He proved this point at the February 1990 Plenary Meeting of the Communist Party Central Committee, which gathered to discuss the draft party platform for the Twenty-eighth Congress.

Gubenko pointed out that the draft condemns neglect of the cultural and historical heritage. This is in line with the current financial policy: State appropriations for monument conservation have grown fivefold since 1986. "But," he went on, "12 monuments, on the average, perish every day throughout the country. The sources of traditional folk culture and handicrafts have run dry. Ethnic languages are desiccated. Art has been driven out of the schools, architecture out of towns, and taste out of our everyday life.

"The nation has every right to blame the party cultural policy for this condition. The party's good intentions will lead us nowhere until every Communist is made responsible, indeed criminally liable, for doing cultural damage," said the Minister.



A scene from Vladimir Vysotsky at the Taganka (top). Gubenko and his wife, Zhanna Bolotova.



oris Bodnaruk, a 20-year-old student at the University of Illinois, went to Kiev with mixed feelings. On the one hand, he wanted to see the homeland of his parents—the Ukraine—but, on the other hand, he was under the impression, based on American newspaper reports, that Soviet authorities treat overseas visitors with suspicion. Another discouraging circumstance: Boris' parents, natives of the woody Ivano-Frankovsk Region in the western Ukraine, emigrated from the USSR after World War II, and Boris was afraid he might be persecuted for that.

Still, the desire to see a different life took the upper hand. Boris lives in the Ukrainian Village district of Chicago, Illinois, which has a population of 100,000 American Ukrainians, but he dreamed of hearing Soviet people speak his native tongue. Boris' parents advised him to accept the invitation of the Chicago Center for U.S.-USSR Relations and Exchanges to go to Kiev with a group of students.

In Kiev, the capital of the Ukraine, the city Komsomol committee, which had become largely independent under *perestroika*, looked forward to the Americans' arrival. It was the committee's idea to arrange the trip.

Committee member Alexander Yedin, an enterprising 28-year-old graduate of Kiev's Taras Shevchenko University, told me: "While our governments are working on global problems, we can do something useful at the level of citizens' diplomacy. Above all, that means getting to know one another better. To do this, you have to live under the same roof and eat at the same table."

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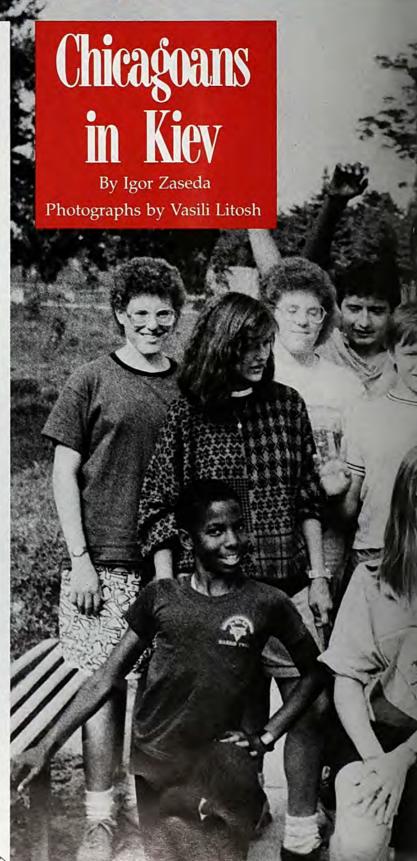
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The idea of exchanging groups of young people was supported by the City Soviet, which helped contact Richard Cooper, the head of the Chicago Center for U.S.-USSR Relations and Exchanges.

Soon Cooper, along with nine high school students and two college students (Bodnaruk and Adrian Ozga), came from Chicago, Illinois, via Brussels to Kiev. They settled at the Yasny summer camp of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences.

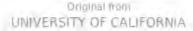
"This is not the first time we've hosted young citizen diplomats," said Ivan Sventsitsky, the camp director. "We have already entertained students from Bulgaria, Finland, Poland, and Wales. But we were most interested in the Americans' visit. We hoped that our natural paradise would cater to the most exacting tastes. Still, we feared that our



USSR-USA

SOVIET LIFE, July 1990

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Eleven young students from Chicago, Illinois, spent their summer vacations last year at the Yasny summer camp of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences.

SOVIET LIFE, July 1990

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A cruise along the Dnieper (above). The Americans hoped to be able in the future to study with Ukrainian young people so they could learn from each other. Camp director Ivan Sventsitsky (far right, bottom). Exchanging impressions (facing page, top).

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overseas guests might have problems we could hardly anticipate."

And Sventsitsky, who has headed the camp for almost 20 years, set about reading books on the United States, learning American customs, and scanning periodicals on relevant materials. He even discovered several McDonald's recipes but decided against using them: "Let Americans taste our Ukrainian cuisine. They have enough hamburgers at home.

"They obviously enjoyed our dishes and asked for more helpings," continued Sventsitsky. "There was always plenty to eat, and the guests spent a lot of time outdoors. They had a busy schedule—swimming, going on excursions, and competing in different sports, so their appetites were good."

The students on the tour were Daria Hankewych, Robert Wordlaw, John Wesley Dawkins, Karen Surkein, Jeanne Marie Casey, Cecily Marie Wagner, Cynthia Marie Wagner, Jason Davenport, and Julie Thomson.

The guests spent an eventful month sightseeing and strolling along the banks of the Dnieper River and through the eleventh century Kiev-Pecherskaya Lavra.

"When I put on a T-shirt that said in Russian, 'God Save America,' no one was surprised," said Bodnaruk. "On the contrary, people came up to me, shook my hand, gave me souvenirs, and tried to help in any way they could. I realized that people here are as kind and considerate as they are in Chicago."

John Dawkins said he had acquired many friends and was going to correspond with them. "I didn't feel I was far away from Chicago. I had no problems in Kiev. It's a pity there was no time to attend school together with Ukrainian pupils. I am sure they have things we don't have. It would be good to borrow the best from each other."

A hairsplitter might doubt whether everything was so simple. Of course, we could hardly keep difficulties from arising from our imperfect living conditions. Bodnaruk remembers that he was amazed at seeing lines waiting to get a glass of Pepsi in Kreshchatik Street in the center of Kiev or crowds in department stores where the students dropped in to buy souvenirs. But the Americans viewed those problems with understanding. "Perestroika is not a cruise along the Dnieper," said Ozga. "A lot has to be changed or even broken. That is always a hard job. But I saw that people haven't lost their optimism."

A month in the Ukraine flew by like a day. The hosts and guests set their next meeting for the summer of 1990, when 11 students from Kiev will go to the United States to spend a month in Wisconsin.

SOVIET LIFE, July 1990 55

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## **AN UNCOMMON VISIT**

Photograph by Mikhail Romanov

am a Russian Orthodox priest who went to prison—not as a convict, but as a messenger of hope and redemption. Paradoxically, criminals are somewhat akin to monks in that both are concerned with evil. Criminals, as slaves to their passions, break laws and are isolated from society; monks, in an effort to avoid all worldly temptation, voluntarily shut themselves off from the outside world. I believe that prisons and monasteries were, in fact, invented to put sinners back on the path of righteousness.

The faces of the inmates were striking. I saw Cain's mark everywhere I looked.

My first encounter with inmates was in the mess hall. As I, accompanied by guards, entered the hall, a strange silence filled the room, replacing the din of talk and the clank of tins. I took up a vantage point near a barred window. Some inmates' faces were openly hostile, others sullen and frightening—but in some I discerned

interest, even hope. The light from the setting sun filtering through the window behind me gave everyone a sallow complexion: Conditions here clearly leave much to be desired.

After a few uneasy moments, I began my improvised sermon, my eyes glued to the faces of my motley congregation. On those faces I saw sneers, indifference, pain, and repentance. Oh, my God, what lost souls have we here! I thought. I'm doing what is right. I'm needed here.

I felt that the inmates weren't the only ones who needed me. That was made clear by the respect and hospitality that the prison authorities extended

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Moscow's Butyrka Prison was built in the late nineteenth century, and it was from here that the undesirables were deported in prerevolutionary Russia. Later, adding to its fearful reputation, Butyrka became the place where many innocent victims of Stalinism came to their untimely end. Still in use as a common jail, the prison recently opened its doors to the clergy. Father Sergius became the first priest to visit the penal institution in 70 years. The following is his story.

A guard talks with Father Sergius outside the notorious Butyrka Prison in Moscow.



to me. They welcomed the idea of the Church and the penal authorities joining forces in rehabilitative work, and they asked me to set up a schedule of regular visits.

The benefits of the collaboration are obvious since repentance and rehabilitation should be the goals of incarceration and are more important than isolation and punishment. But the term "corrective labor" is true only in its second part: All convicts work. Isolation from the outside world has turned many prisons into schools of crime. Lectures on basic morality and posters appealing to honesty bring little in the way of results.

No lecturer or psychologist can do what the clergy can do for souls in spiritual pain. A priest, for example, brings consolation and offers compassion, in this way sharing the moral burden with those poor, afflicted people who are in torment.

No sinner is hopeless in the eyes of God. Intolerance is alien to Him. Di-

vine grace can soften even the hardened heart of the most callous criminal.

Sometimes the seclusion of imprisonment can produce dramatic results. Only behind prison walls, helpless, without a future, devoid of support, do some convicts turn their thoughts to the meaning of life and their eyes to the Lord. That's when the clergy can do the most good to nurture the first shoots of virtue.

Formally, Soviet law has never closed prison doors to the clergy, but none had ever come before. The convicts never asked to see a priest, you might think. I'm sure they had. But their summons reached the ears of officials with hearts of stone.

#### LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES AND THE CHURCH JOIN FORCES

adim Bakatin, USSR Minister of the Interior, recently signed a document whose very title would have been amazing a mere several months ago. Called Recommendations for Cooperation Between Corrective Labor Institutions and the Clergy, the document set down basic guidelines for cooperation between law enforcement agencies and religious organizations. The guidelines were sent to every penal institution in the country, and law enforcement agencies are reappraising the conceptual basis of their work.

Cooperation between the Church and law enforcement agencies became possible after the Soviet parliament passed legislation consolidating all forces in the nation to fight crime. The Ministry of the Interior is looking forward to cooperating with the

#### By Vladimir Prokopenko

clergy in fighting alcohol and drug abuse, in easing interethnic relations, in planning rehabilitative programs for convicts, and in helping released prisoners readjust to society.

Cooperation between the Church and law enforcement agencies is based on the principle of freedom of conscience, which is guaranteed by the USSR Constitution. Soviet convicts are now free to practice the religion of their choice; to possess Bibles, Korans, or other spiritual books; and to wear crosses or other religious symbols.

The few limitations on worship in prisons envisage noninterference by the Church in the authorities' corrective activities. Religious worship by convicts under the legal age requires formal consent by their parents or guardians. The authorities of penal institutions are responsible for the safety of visiting clergy.

The cooperation between Soviet law enforcement agencies and the clergy for the social rehabilitation of criminals has an international legal aspect. The Soviet Union officially recognized, last year, the United Nations-approved Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners. Article 42 of that document reads: "So far as practicable, all prisoners shall be allowed to satisfy the needs of their religious life by attending the services provided in the institution and having in their possession the books of religious observance and instruction of their denomination."

Lieutenant Colonel Prokopenko is a major functionary in the USSR Ministry of the Interior.



#### LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Fairly often reports of "psychics' powers" in unraveling murder cases or in predicting events before they take place surface in both the United States and the Soviet Union.

The sad part is that large numbers of people in both countries accept the claims made, although to date there is no credible scientific evidence to support such claims, which often prove unfounded at a later date.

"Analysis of the status of so-called parapsychology indicates that it is polluted with antiscientific concepts...." The SOVIET LIFE article [April

1990] fits neatly into the quotation! It is my belief that the report, endorsed as accurate apparently by the Embassy of the USSR, [should] be further investigated. It is time to reevaluate, in the period of glasnost, the whole field of parapsychology in the Soviet Union. A formal report, perhaps from the Academy of Sciences, [should] be made.

In this day and age, we cannot afford to further superstitious, antiscientific but popular thinking, as it affects our whole culture in both the USSR and the United States.

> H. Rogie Rogosin Laguna Hills, California

I am a scientist and international businessman and am quite interested in scientific exchanges and business relations with the Soviet Union. I have met Soviet scientists and have had interesting and mutually rewarding discussions with them. The Soviet Union is an important country in the world, and I am interested in understanding its culture more fully. For this reason, I subscribed to SOVIET LIFE.

One of the first issues I received was April 1990. It contained the article "Psychic Plays Detective," which describes a psychic who supposedly saw a murder in her coffee grounds.

If that is an example of your editorial quality, I am completely and utterly disgusted. I thought that I was subscribing to a magazine that might give me some illuminating insights on life in the Soviet Union. Instead, I see that your magazine has the same low editorial standards and trashy, sensationalist content as an American supermarket tabloid like the National Enquirer.

What is next?—Stories of UFO landings? Abominable snowmen? Halfchimpanzee, half-human babies?

I now have zero confidence in your fact-checking and editorial standards. Please remove my name from your subscription list and refund my subscription fee immediately.

> William H. Pelton Denver, Colorado

# And the pologova amid her creations.

By Galina Marevicheva Photographs by Sergei Lidov and Oleg Kaplin



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lla Pologova is a name that stands apart in current artistic life. Her works are a measure of the modern level of Soviet sculpture. The So-

viet Union's largest museums and foreign art galleries compete to purchase works by Pologova.

People who have met Pologova respect her for being astonishingly honest in living up to the lofty mission of the artist. Any artist is part and parcel of his or her country's own context.

Alla Pologova was born into the family of a stage designer in Sverdlovsk, in the Urals, in 1923. Her early experience in painting came from stage design. She then attended painting classes at the Sverdlovsk Art School. In 1947 she went to Moscow, where she met sculptor Appolinari Stempkovsky, a teacher at the Moscow Institute of Applied and Decorative Art. He took a look at her emotionally intense paintings, alien to





socialist realism, the photographic style that was then the only officially approved form, and said: "You won't get into any art school with this French style of yours. Try sculpture."

Pologova's training in sculptural art was not easy at first: She "missed painting." What gives Stempkovsky credit is that he never suppressed Pologava's artistic impulses when she started sculpture. Where her subjects are concerned, Pologova obviously gravitated toward things eternal, such as mother and child or people engaged in creative endeavor. These are the two main trends she has followed over her long career as an artist.

She became an accomplished master in the early sixties and was among the first sculptors to abandon the standards of socialist realism. Her in-

Above: Fragment of Go and Keep My Light. 1987. Right: Veterinarian Alexei Vasilievich. 1987.

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dividuality expressed itself in Motherhood, her first significant composition (in concrete), which she displayed at the notorious exhibition "Thirty Years of Moscow's Union of Soviet Artists," which was severely criticized by Nikita Khrushchev. The target of intense criticism, Pologova was prohibited for many years from working on commission or from exhibiting her works.

But Pologova maintained her quest in plastic art. Her humanistic program effectively expressed itself in portraits of contemporaries. These are Maria Yudina (bronze), a pianist crippled by a disease of old age yet living a deep inner life; Chess Players (gypsum), who appear to have channeled their unclaimed intellectual energy into the game; The Singing Spaniards (wood),



Above: Seraphim of Sorovsk. 1990. Left: Revival. 1990.

> SOVIET LIFE, July 1990 61

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seized by nostalgic ecstasy; Conversation (ceramics), in which women farmers convey their bitter questioning gestures to one another and to the rest of the world; and the sculptural self-portrait in which the artist ruminates on her mission.

Pologova's characters always make very unusual gestures when they "freeze." Nevertheless, they are alive from head to toe, alive in the sense that they possess accomplished characters. Pologova knows the real world, but she only notices things that interest her. There is no doubt that in her work she in one way or another relies on the previous vast experience of plastic art, but she does so in her own distinctive way.

Few other artists could so boldly paint and gild pieces of sculpture. She successfully realizes her passion for

## Noosphere

Continued from page 38

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he proved it theoretically; later he spent years persuading others to undertake the prospecting; and finally he prevailed. The discovery had cost Ianshin decades of nerve-racking struggle.

It was also in Siberia that the now world-famous tectonic map of Eurasia was made by a large team of researchers headed by Ianshin. The publication of the map is regarded by specialists as a major geographic event. The practical value of the map is that geologists of Eurasian countries can use it to locate minerals and to forecast the extent of the deposits.

Ianshin's Siberian period produced many monographs and scientific papers-more than 200. Among his theoretical works Ianshin singles out a book called A Teaching on the Evolution of Geological Processes in the History of the Earth. This is a conceptual treatise, and it has dotted many i's in the long argument between geological schools. Ianshin's point of view is now given priority in many scientific areas-not only of geology but also of geophysics and geochemistry.

I asked him why we had been so wasteful with our resources.

lanshin replied, "Because we pur-

color painting in ceramics. Available in complex surfaces are free colors and abundant form, which all result in the images of a blossoming world.

Some works by the very best artists seem to have been predetermined by the master's human and artistic gifts and to express the profound essence of talent. Pologova's Boys, a piece created in 1970, is a case in point. She says that the idea was prompted by a sad feeling she experienced as she saw a forest ranger cut down a lime tree. When the tree fell, the leaves immediately started dying: Pologova felt her heart wrung with the awareness of instant death. To prolong the life of the tree, she made up her mind to carve out of it the figures of her son and his friend. The boys face each other and in this way insulate themselves from the commotion around them. She delineated the figures w unexpected longitudinal groov which in a surprisingly touching w expresses the children's fragility, co centration, and spiritual self-absor tion. To emphasize the preciousne of their innocent friendship, Pologo partially gilded the composition.

She then started to use colors mo vigorously, and soon her pieces we a blend of sculptural and color-inte sive arts. She created a whole seri of works focusing on motherhoo Try to Have Enough Time to Sing Lull bies, Go and Keep My Light, Keeper the Family Hearth. All that Pologov had experienced since her childhoo focused in those works, attaining in ternational class.

Pologova's wonderful combinations of forms and lines contain the mystery called inspiration, blessing, gift.

sued only one goal-more, more, and more. Every year and every day we needed more tractors, more coal and steel, more machines, and more galoshes. We sought world leadership in all fields and at any price.

"We have been indoctrinated about our omnipotence over nature for so long," continued lanshin, "that we cannot discard this belief immediately no matter how much we want to. The very concept of ecology was not accepted in this country until after 1973 when Stockholm hosted the first international conference on environmental protection under UN auspices. It was only then that we set up the Council of the Biosphere, formed the Commission for the Protection of the Environment and Rational Utilization of Natural Resources at the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers, and established, at long last, the State Committee for Nature Protection and other conservation organizations.

"I am proud that I was never on the sidelines, that I attended the birth of the ecological movement," says the academician. "To go against defense of nature in this country today is to isolate yourself, to be condemned by everyone and gain the reputation of being a strange bird. Many today are passing themselves off as environmentalists, although their departmental selfishness and bureaucratic thinking about nature show them up for what they are.

"To draft a decree on Lake Baikal, a governmental commission left for that unique lake. Among other high-ranking persons in it was the then Minister of the Timber Industry. I was on that commission too. After inspecting the lake and Baikal enterprises, we talked a long time with the Irkutsk Regional Party Committee. After thorough consideration and debate, we decided which enterprises were to be closed down immediately and which were to be converted. There was a rare consensus-all voted for the decision, for increasing protection, for the rational use of our unique lake, and for improving the air around Baikal. But later I learned that right after that conference the Minister made the rounds of his plants on Lake Baikal and publicly appealed to the management and workers to go on working in the old way. 'No one will touch you,' he promised them firmly. And indeed, to this day all those enterprises are operating.

Such logjams of departmental interests and administrative ambitions obstruct the ecological revival of Baikal, the Volga, the Aral Sea, the Sea of Azov, and hundreds of towns and cities. Here persistence and patience are required and, most important, the efforts of millions of people.

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On the remote arctic island of Kiy in the White Sea, a Soviet-American film was shot on location. A Captive in the Land is a story about overcoming the barriers that have existed between Soviet and American people. Right: **Cameraman Pierre** William Glenn (left) and director John Berry.

**USSR-USA** 



SISTER Diversion

loria Production Company and the Maxim Gorky Studio, Moscow, are shooting in the extreme north of the Soviet Union. The film, A Captive in the Land, is based on the novel of the same name by British writer James Aldridge. The screenplay is by Lee Gold. The director, John Berry, has made more than 40 films in the United States and abroad-in France, Japan, and India. He is also known for his acting. Pierre William Glenn, the cameraman, has worked with the world's foremost directors, among them Francois Truffaut.

Berry's interest in Russia started in his youth, when he avidly read the works of Leo Tolstoy, Fyodor Dostoyevsky, and Ivan Turgenev and studied acting under Michael Che-

khov. Berry was baffled by the barriers of prejudice that divided the United States and the Soviet Union for many years. Now, when his friends ask him why he is shooting his movie in the Soviet Union instead of in Canada or in Norway, where the job would be much easier, he says that this is his way to fight mutual prejudice-especially since the film is about people of different nations who come to be friends.

The film has only two characters: Alexei Averyanov, a Russian pilot whose plane crashes in the Arctic, and Rupert Royce, an American meteorologist who rescues him. Lost in the white silence, their very survival requires great courage and stamina.

The American actor Sam Waterston plays Rupert, and the Russian actor Alexander Potapov plays Alexei.

Potapov works with Moscow's famous Maly Theater Company. Somewhat short and sturdy, with a round face and fair hair, and a bit clumsywhich only adds to his charm-he looks like the archetypal Russian. Born into a pilot's family in Moscow, he wanted to become a pilot like his father. Acting had greater appeal to him, however, and it turned out that he made his first flight for Berry's film. Potapov has made many films, though he has never been too happy about the movies. A Captive in the Land may be an exception.

I met him the day before he flew to Tiksi, the arctic seaport where the final scenes were to be shot.

"Why," I asked him, "did Berry choose you for this role?"

"I have no idea. I was the hundredth guy to make a screen test, and



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he said, 'This is my man,' the moment he saw me."

I asked Potapov how he got along with Berry.

"Splendidly. I was sure I was having my own way from the moment the job started. That was all an illusion. Berry treated me like a child. He flattered me all the time, said I was a genius and could do everything the way I liked. Now I see he was leading me by the nose. Not that I harbor any grudges-I played an interesting, unconventional part. My pilot's a diffi-cult, embittered guy. Now we'll do the finale. I'll play the moment when the hero sees the futility of all national prejudice, and his heart opens to his American companion. 'People can't do without each other,' he says. I have to be at my most convincing here for the viewers to forgive me for my callous ways at the start of the movie."

"What about the atmosphere among the crew members?" I asked.

"We got along well. I had a heart attack during the shooting, and they all were so considerate. Sam Waterston gave me his favorite training device when I was getting well. He's a very good actor-and a very generous person. This job gave me a better idea of Americans. They are more spontaneous and independent than we Russians-and more naive. Most Russians think Americans are very pragmatic-the word has a bad connotation in our usage. Sure, they are practical and know their ways with money, but is there anything bad about that, with such frank and openminded people? A Captive was some hard job, but I'm glad I had it."



#### BACK TO SUNDAY SCHOOL

Sunday schools are once again a part of the Moscow scene, after a period of many years when such things were unheard-of. The capital's first Sunday school opened last fall and was an instant success. Moscow now has six of these schools. Formal religious instruction is becoming available to children in other Soviet cities as well.

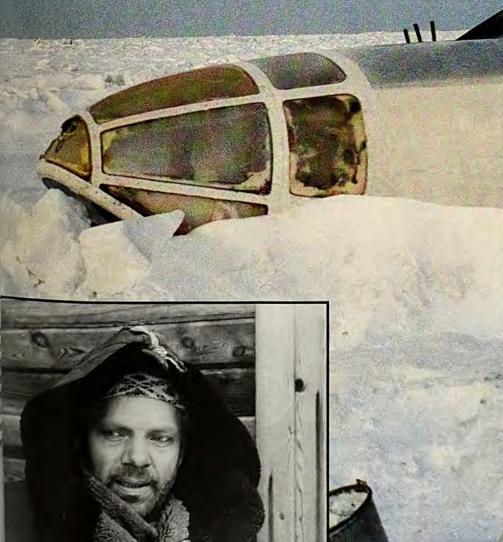


#### TURKMENIA TODAY

Turkmenia is sometimes called "the quiet republic." Unlike other Central Asian republics, it has not been the setting of ethnic conflicts. This does not mean, however, that everything runs smoothly in Turkmenia. Behind its unhurried, Eastern way of life there are many serious problems. In our August issue, Turkmenia is the focus of a block of articles.



The Solovetsky Islands



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Alla Pologova. Male Portrait (How This World Is Great in the Light of a Desk Lamp). 1984. Wood, leucite, paint. See story on page 58.



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# Rising ballet star Vadim Pisarev

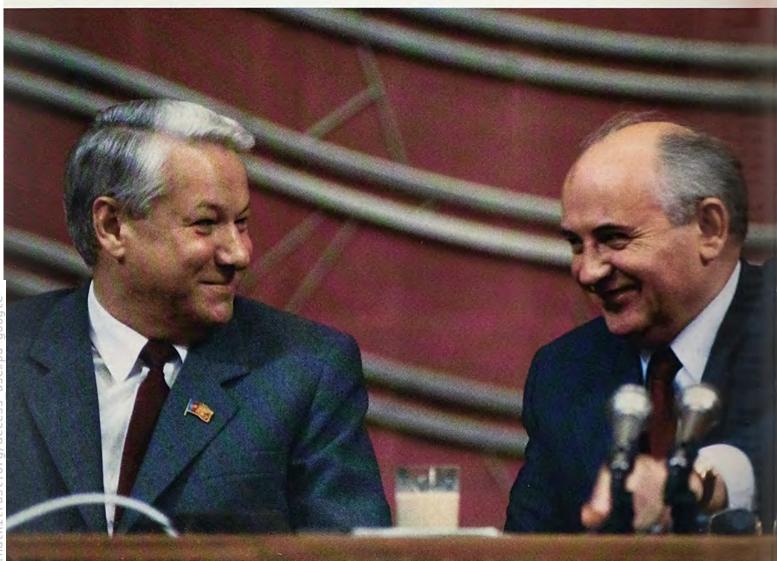
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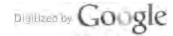


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### **Gorbachev and Yeltsin**



his photograph was taken this summer at the Constituent Conference of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation. Everybody breathed a sigh of relief: At last, Mikhail Gorbachev, President of the USSR, and Boris Yeltsin, Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, were smiling at each other. Today these two men are the most popular leaders in the country. Their ability to compromise with each other is extremely important. Yeltsin's recent resignation from the Communist Party is not expected to constitute a major obstacle to this process of compromise.





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Front Cover: Vadim Pisarev dances Francesca da Rimini. See the story on page 62. The photograph is by Alexander Pogotov.



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**BULLETIN 55 THE FIRST SOVIET** CULTURAL AND BOARD INFORMATION **CENTER IN THE UNITED STATES** 

# HIGHLIGHTS Locations featured in this issue:

Turkmenia

The White Sea



An expedition sails the northern seas just as the Pomory did 500 years ago.



After many decades, the Soviet Union's first Sunday school opened last fall.

Distances Gougle



#### **EDITOR'S NOTES**

I recently had the rare pleasure of spending three days with some subscribers to this magazine. There were quite a few of our readers in the delegation from Rochester, New York, that came to Novgorod to sign a sister-city agreement. A local photographer, Alexander Kochevnik, and I collaborated on an article about the group's visit. The story will appear in one of our upcoming issues.

During our meeting I learned how popular SOVIET LIFE is in America. Our readership is growing quickly in the small and medium-sized towns, which is very good news.

Another surprise for me was how informed our readers were about the Soviet situation. I was delighted to hear how fluently they used our political and economic catch phrases when they talked to their hosts. The Americans were excellently versed in Russian culture, especially in history and literature. Yet some things stunned our American guests. For instance, they couldn't understand whyit took much more than a day to install a facsimile machine in the Novgorod offices of the USSR-USA Friendship Society to communicate with their town. But then, the Novgorodians didn't understand the delay, either.

The impressions I took away from Novgorod will come in handy in our editorial work. As I have already confessed on a number of occasions, we tend to underestimate our readers somewhat. Time and time again, we have turned down excellent articles, thinking that they'd be of no interest to the readers of our magazine. Here's the latest example: A friend of mine, a literary historian, called me the day after I returned from Novgorod. He told me that he'd found the prototypes of the heroines of Chekhov's Three Sisters, and was eager to write an essay for SOVIET LIFE. I started to wave the idea off. Then I stopped short: It had occurred to me that the University of Rochester, for instance, has 200 students of Russian. So my friend's idea might be sounder than it seemed to me at first.

#### Robert Tsfasman

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## RUSSIA'S FIRST CONGRESS OF PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES

By Vladimir Reznichenko Novosti Political Analyst

he First Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation was held in the Kremlin from May 16 to June 22. After a month of heated debates and tireless efforts to find new and unorthodox ideas, the Congress made important decisions for the future of *perestroika* and for the whole nation. After it was over, Boris Yeltsin, whom the Congress had elected Chairman of the Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet, said, "Russia is like a stirring giant."

The laws and resolutions for which the deputies voted will promote progress in two basic directions. First, authority will be redistributed between the USSR and Russia. Second, the functions of the party apparatus until recently the sole ruler of the republic and the whole country—and of the Soviets—bodies of authority elected by the population—will be delimited.

The most impressive result of the Congress was the Russian Federation's declaration of state sovereignty. Now the republic itself will determine the powers that it will hand over to the central government. In practice, these powers will be restricted to defense, state security, railroads, civil aviation, and some others. A decisive measure, whose consequences have yet to be evaluated, was the declaration of the primacy of republican, as opposed to federal, legislation.



Deputies on their way in to a session.

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One resolut it is improper hold a job in a zation. This put the separation authorities, whi tinguishable structure. Mar will now have will stay in the tees of the C Soviet Union. From the ver refused to foll it by its org added a num

One resolution formally noted that it is improper for a state leader to hold a job in a party or public organization. This provision is a step toward the separation of the state and party authorities, which have become indistinguishable in the Soviet political structure. Many high-ranking officials will now have to decide whether they will stay in the Soviets or in committees of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

From the very outset, the Congress refused to follow the way charted for it by its organizers. The deputies added a number of crucial issues to

> The most impressive result of the Congress was the Russian Federation's declaration of state sovereignty.



Discussion during a break. Left: Deputy Bella Kurkova, a well-known Leningrad television journalist, is famous for her program "The Fifth Wheel."

the agenda. A tangible success for the supporters of radical *perestroika* was Boris Yeltsin's election to the chairmanship of the republican Supreme Soviet. The competition between him and the other candidates was intense, but it was also fair and democratic.

Because of the balance of forces between the supporters of radical reforms and the orthodox politicians at the Congress, positions of the delegates were polarized. The debates were heated, and the work frequently reached an impasse.

The conservatives also won a few victories. For example, they prevented the passage of proposed constitutional amendments that would have increased the number of deputies to the  $\Box$ 

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Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, thereby making the body more democratic and professional. And, since some of the most prominent radicals were not voted into this permanent parliament, many people think that the Supreme Soviet will be less radical than the Congress was.

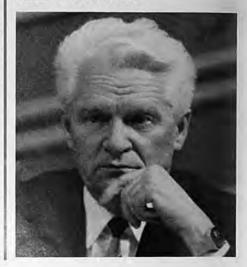
The last days of the Congress coincided with the Constituent Conference of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, which was also held in the Kremlin. Although it would be too early to speak of "dual power" in the republic, the confrontation between these two forums is an obvious fact. The participants in the party conference, which was dominated by protective trends, even wanted to send a delegation to the Congress of People's Deputies to express their concern over its decisions, but President Gorbachev persuaded them not to do so.

The emotional outbursts at both the congress and the conference are easy to understand and explain. At the

same time, political wisdom demands that the party and the Soviets be prepared for peaceful coexistence and look for ways to cooperate constructively in reviving the country. Otherwise, the hopes for progress under *perestroika* will hardly be realized.

As Yeltsin said at the closing session of the Congress of People's Deputies, it is important to overcome confrontation and find a compromise. "Any crisis situation can be settled if we try to meet each other halfway," he pointed out. "To rise above group and bloc interests means to assume historical responsibility."

In return, Ivan Polozkov, the newly elected First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, at a press conference expressed confidence that his relations with Yeltsin would be businesslike, principled, oriented toward *perestroika*, and aimed at raising living standards in Russia. Both leaders want cooperation, although it will probably not be easy for them to achieve. Above: Boris Yeltsin, Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, in the spotlight, as usual. Below: Ivan Silayev is the new Prime Minister of the Russian Federation.





## IVAN POLOZKOV "I AM NOT A CONSERVATIVE"



In late June of this year, at the founding conference of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, Ivan Polozkov (pictured above, center) was elected the republican party's First Secretary. The first interview that Polozkov granted following his election was to Novosti Press Agency.

> What were your feelings when you learned the results of the vote?

A: I felt a kind of fear and concern; I felt the burden of responsibility. Just think, the Communist Party of the Russian Federation is coming into existence under absolutely new circumstances, and it must learn how to work under such conditions. Let me be frank—many Communists and even delegates to this conference think that we will continue working the way we used to work. But we must abandon the old system, enter a new one, and find our place in it with as few setbacks as possible. **Q:** How do you appraise the situation in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union [CPSU] and in society?

A: That's a complicated question to answer—there are many factors to take into consideration. First, the unsuccessful years of *perestroika*. Under the banner of *perestroika*, the party promised a great deal to the public, and the public went along with the party. But life is getting harder with each passing year, and a process of stratification in society is developing rapidly.

The drive for more democracy, proclaimed by the Communist Party, made workers much more active. They began to set forth demands and to express dissatisfaction with the way political and social problems are being handled. However, there appeared quite a few politickers who, while riding the bandwagon of *perestroika*, want to build up political capital and gain public confidence by unscrupulous methods.

I must say that all this is perfectly natural at a time when our society is making the transition from one state to another. One thing is abnormal, though: Our laws are not working. What we need now is to better provide both law and order and social justice.

**Q:** What should the Communist Party of the Russian Federation and its leadership do, first and foremost, to change the situation for the better?

A: Our primary task is to dispel diffidence among Communists. We should tell them in no uncertain terms what our mistakes were and who is to blame for past and current problems. But we must not let anyone blame the party rank and file for past mistakes, or demand that they repent. Now that the party is being attacked by forces opposed to it and to Communists in general, we should show the rank and file that the party is alive and well and has no intention of getting down on its knees; the party has its own program of action and is ready to fight for it. If some other party comes up with a more constructive program, we will accept it and help that party to implement it.

**Q:** What will you do if party organizations and individual Communists start quitting the party in reaction to your election?

A: I do not think that entire party organizations will quit in protest, unless certain forces deliberately provoke them into doing so. However, since I am often viewed, as a personality, with a certain amount of bias, I believe it is my urgent task to demonstrate my abilities to party organizations and to show them who I really am, what my plans are, and how I am going to work.

I must try to convince the Communists of Russia, both with my words and with my deeds, that I am not a conservative. Perhaps it is true that I am a person who favors a cautious and well-thought-out approach to reforms, to current and future actions of ours that will affect the interests of millions and millions of people. Few people really know who I am. What is more, their views, in my opinion, are based on false information.

Q: Do you believe that all of the Continued on page 48

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Academician Vitali Goldansky (pictured above) is a prominent nuclear physicist and a people's deputy of the USSR. Recently he talked with Alexander Ivanko, a correspondent for the newspaper Izvestia. The interview is reprinted below.

You have said in the past that if we presume that Soviet-American dialogue is largely responsible for developments on this planet, then we can say that the relations between our two countries have priority value. Would you please elaborate on this?

A: Many European and Asian countries have a strong say in international affairs today. On a number of issues their opinion is rated at the same level as the opinion of the United States or the Soviet Union. To shape a prudent international policy, both for the present and in the long-term perspective, it is worth proceeding from the premise that Soviet-American relations are of special value.

I want to stress that this is my personal view. I don't want anyone to misinterpret what I say to mean that the relations of the Soviet Union or of the United States with third countries, including their respective allies, are of a secondary nature. There are more things in the world that unite countries than that separate them. On the basis of my own experience and the economic and military potential of

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# COULD OUR COUNTRIES BECOME ALLIES?

our two countries, as well as of the history of their confrontation, I consider the development of the relationship between the Soviet Union and the United States a top priority in foreign policy. By the way, upon the completion of his latest meeting with the President of the United States, President Gorbachev said at a press conference that "what we have been doing here will be useful, not only for the people of our two countries, but for the world as a whole." So the Soviet Union and the United States can assume the role of pilots in the stormy sea of world politics. I think that everyone will benefit from this.

This very principle has been supported in the United States, although doubts were expressed concerning the possibility of adopting a corresponding joint declaration in the near future. Because so little time has passed since we regarded each other as enemies, it is rather difficult to regain an awareness of the closeness of our interests. But we should do this.

#### Q: What led you to this idea?

A: Like the ripples begun when a stone is thrown into water, Soviet perestroika has triggered cardinal change around the world and, in particular, in our neighboring Eastern European countries. The downfall of the "fraternal" regimes, which seemed indestructible, and the prospect that some countries may eventually withdraw from the Warsaw Treaty are creating an altogether new situation in Europe. At the same time, the idea of a common European home is gaining momentum. I envisage the merger of the two military blocs into one political bloc with the tentative name ESTO [European Security Treaty Organization]. Military confrontation will give way to a situation in which there is a single political bloc. In this respect a policy emphasizing the supremacy of the values of Soviet-American relations and recognizing the growing role of the United Nations is of prime importance. I see such a policy as the surest guarantee of security for our common European home.

The Soviet Union and the United States are the only countries capable of annihilating each other and all humankind several times over. We have finally realized this and have begun a process of disarmament. I hope that a treaty calling for a 50 per cent reduction in strategic offensive armaments will be signed soon. And experts are working on a plan to reduce those arms by 90 to 95 per cent, which would make the remaining nuclear armaments in the possession of the Soviet Union and the United States commensurate with those of the other nuclear powers. That may convince them to join the disarmament process. Military spending is a tremendous burden for our countries. For the United States it poses the danger of lagging behind the new giants in the economic race: a united Europe-with its center in a new Germany-and Asia and the Pacific region-whose center is in Japan, with a good chance of China joining the race. The emergence of such powerful forces can be a factor for either stabilization or for destabilization. If we proceed from the suggested policy, the chances of stabilization increase. In an era when the number of nuclear powers may secretly grow, a 100 per cent reduction of nuclear arsenals is hardly prudent. But nuclear police forces can be

SOVIET LIFE, August 1990

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set up under the aegis of the United Nations.

Before an organization like ESTO can be formed, we must deal with a very important issue-economic support for perestroika. An economically prosperous Soviet Union is a major condition for global stability. Conversely, an impoverished Soviet Union, beset by anarchy resulting from ethnic strife, would be a very dangerous, destabilizing factor. I think that worldwide support for Gorbachev is a matter of global importance. The approach of the United States to the complicated processes on the Soviet political scene should be based on the supremacy of the value of our relations. Pragmatism should prevail over emotions.

## **Q:** What is needed for your approach to Soviet-American relations to become a reality?

A: There's no magic wand we can wave to switch from confrontation to cooperation. But the ways in which the transition can be made have already been outlined in discussions at the Washington summit. The main thing is strict verification. Not only mutual verification by the Soviet Union and the United States, but some sort of fire tower, a vantage point from which it would be possible to see whether a fire is about to break out somewhere. Both our countries have the maximum possible opportunities for this; we can become the core of a future international observation and detection system. Mutual verification builds mutual trust, which in turn facilitates verification. We have even started reappraising our terminology. The infamous "spy satellite" becomes the much-needed means of verification, a factor for stability. Within the framework of such a system of verification, it would also be possible to create a demilitarized zone across the whole of central Europe.

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The proposed policy is also very useful for settling regional conflicts. Many conflicts arose from the policy that existed earlier: Everything is advantageous to the Soviet Union that is disadvantageous to the United States and vice versa. Sources of tension appeared periodically, and we and the Americans were only adding fuel to the fire by supporting the opposing sides. If we proceed from the premise that any conflict could damage our relations, then we will be much more active in extinguishing fires.

**Q:** Your principle proceeds from the existence of a strong Soviet Union, but it is no secret that our country is being rent by the most diverse conflicts—from the economic to the interethnic. Some political leaders in the West, and indeed in the USSR, are even talking of the imminent disintegration of the Soviet Union. Don't you think that your doctrine may become less viable in such a situation? **A:** Even if worst comes to worst, Russia in itself—by virtue of its potential, its size, its resources, its people's tal-

### Many conflicts arose from the policy that existed earlier: Everything is advantageous to the Soviet Union that is disadvantageous to the United States and vice versa.

ent and capacity for work, its contribution to the world's culture—will remain a great power if it stands firmly on its feet and is stable politically and economically. I think the question you are raising is this: Is this policy mutually attractive? It is obvious that today it is more attractive to us than to the Americans. But how advisable is it for the United States to pay so much attention to relations with a country that is on the verge of disintegration?

Another question also arises: Is there any need then to support *perestroika*? In my view, Gorbachev's *perestroika* and stabilization at home are equivalent to stabilization worldwide, whereas the road to anarchy will lead to the emergence of a seat of danger to the planet as a whole. It seems obvious to me that the United States and the West are vitally interested in the success of *perestroika*. **Q:** You have spoken of economic support for *perestroika*. What do you mean by that—regular financial injections into our economy?

A: Several proposals are now being suggested. There is talk both of a new "Marshall Plan" for the USSR and Eastern Europe and of lend-lease deliveries in the mold of World War II. These are extreme measures, and it is far from obvious that they will be helpful in themselves. In the final analysis, we must straighten things out at home by ourselves. In my view, the United States should first do away with the discriminatory acts impeding the development of trade with the USSR.

**Q**: Don't you think that your idea may encounter substantial resistance from the conservative forces in our country?

A: I can't imagine any single policy that everybody in the country would approve of. At the same time, the policy in question is based on realistic tendencies in the development of the world today. The alternative is to continue to arm ourselves to the teeth and to revive the old conception of America as a potential adversary. This would mean quite a different policy, with the obligatory presence of the enemy image. That's the policy we lived with for the past 72 years, seeking external and internal enemies everywhere. If we deny the priority of values central to all humankind over class-based priorities, then we are bound to negate the policy I have proposed. So I imagine I'm going to have enemies.

Finally, I would like to emphasize once again that humankind is facing problems of a global scale, which not only both our countries, but also groups of countries and military-political blocs, will be unable to cope with. The world community must join hands and, utilizing the strength and prestige of the United Nations and other international organizations, it will, perhaps, find ways to solve the planet's problems. As for the role of the uniting and organizing principle, it could be assumed by the USSR and the United States—I envisage precisely such actions by them in the foreign policy arena.

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Local residents call the unusual white hills at the foot of the Kopet Dagh Range "mountains of the moon." A million and a half years ago this place was the bottom of an ancient sea.

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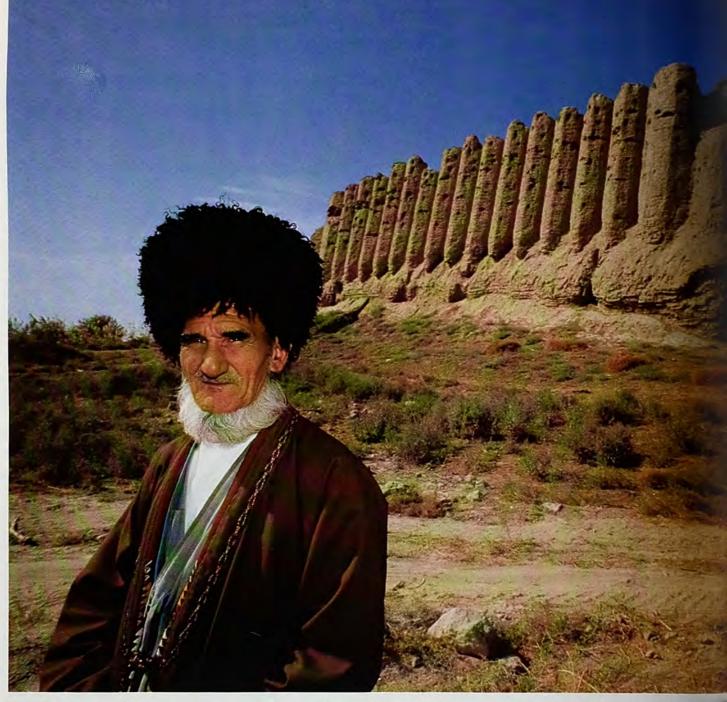


# TURKMENIA: THE QUIET REPUBLIC?

Contraction States

By Dmitri Marchenkov Photographs by Alexander Polyakov and Novosti Press Agency







urkmenia is sometimes referred to as "the quiet republic." Indeed, this southern republic, bordering on Iran and Afghanistan, has not provided journalists with many

sensations. It has not been shaken by intense political passions, as the Baltic republics have, or racked by interethnic strife, like Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, or the Transcaucasian republics. But Turkmenia has its own passions and its own very difficult problems.

Some History In prehistoric times, a sea occupied the territory that is Turkmenia today. On its shores were tropical forests inhabited by mammoths, elephants, lions, and tigers. Later, as a result of a series of natural cataclysms, the sea dried up, turning into the Kara-Kum Desert, and the Kopet Dagh Range emerged. Later, the area was populated by nomadic tribes, which settled in the fertile valley of the Amu Darya, Central Asia's largest river. Crop farming became widespread, along with animal husbandry, and later the production of crafts. Cities appeared.

The first millennium B.C. saw the rise of states like Margiana, Parthia, and Media, which were later conquered by the Persians and then by Above: The older generation knows many legends about the great city of Merv, now swept by the sands of the Kara-Kum Desert. Mentioned in manuscripts as early as the third millennium B.C., Merv was a major trading, scientific, and cultural center of ancient and early medieval times.

SOVIET LIFE, August 1990

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Alexander the Great. In the third century B.C. the Turkmen lands became part of the Parthian Kingdom, and in the eleventh century A.D., of the state of Seljuq. In the thirteenth century, the area was invaded by the Tatars, whose domination there lasted for two centuries.

Before the territory joined Russia in the late nineteenth century, Turkmenia was divided, part of it belonging to the Khanate of Khiva, and the other part to the Khanate of Bukhara. When it became part of the Russian Empire, it came to be called "Transcaspia Region." It was only in 1924, several years after the October 1917 Revolution, that Turkmenia emerged as an autonomy, a constituent republic of the USSR.

Today, it has a territory of 488,100 square kilometers and a population of  $\Box$ 





Above: Ancient Merv had a hundred libraries. Great scholars traveled along caravan routes to reach the famous book depositories. These young people have come from a neighboring town to study in the ruins. Left: Restoration of the ancient city is going slowly.

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3.5 million. It is in Turkmenia that the southernmost point of the USSR, the city of Kushka, is located.

The main branches of Turkmenia's economy are the production of oil and gas, the refining of oil, the production of fertilizer, and the growing of cotton.

In October 1948, Turkmenia lived

through a terrible tragedy. Its capital, Ashkhabad, was razed by an earthquake. As many as 110,000 people were killed. All the other constituent republics of the USSR rendered Turkmenia assistance to restore the city.

The Heritage The city of Merv is one of Turkmenia's oldest cities. Unfortunately, survives only in ruins. Under it name of Margav, the city was me tioned in the Avesta (the sacred bo of Zoroastrianism) back in the thi millennium B.C. as a trading, ac demic, and cultural center. Greek ar Roman geographers called Margiana, while medieval Eastern at

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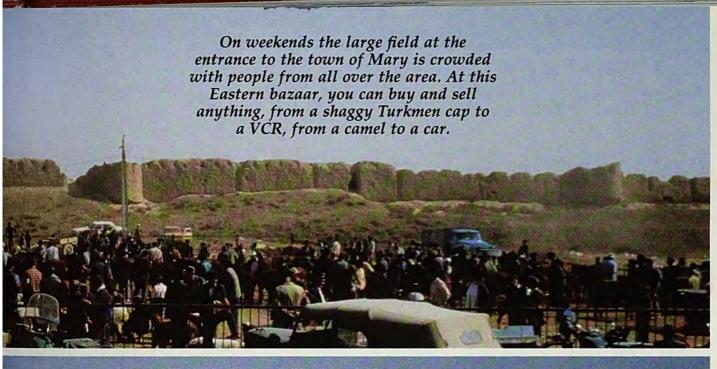
The Kara-Kum Canal diverts from the Amu Darya River 600 cubic meters of water per second. It has turned 600,000 hectares of Turkmen desert into farmland, but it is also the main reason for the death of the Aral Sea.

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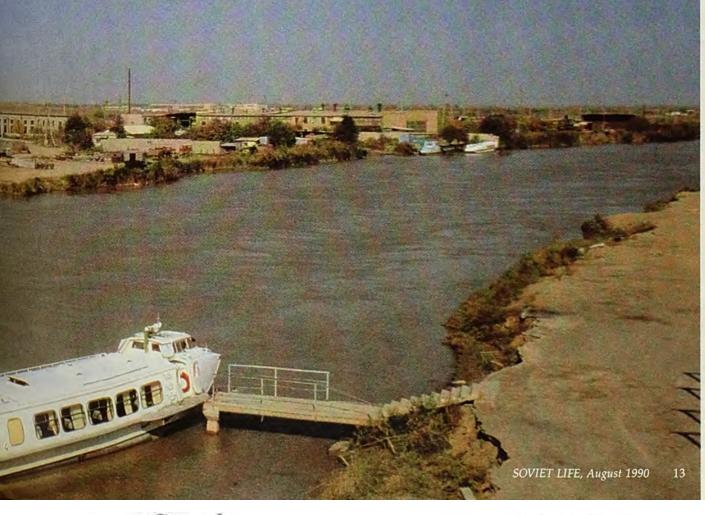


nors referred to it as Maru or Merv. It vas a city of a hundred libraries, and also had excellent mausoleums and nosques. Genghis Khan's troops left Merv in ruins, and the sand of the ara-Kum Desert completed the work destruction. All that survives today te a few monuments of the local Ismic culture. Prominent among these is the twelfth century Sultan Sanjar Mausoleum, designed by Muhammed ibn-Atsyz. It is a world-renowned architectural masterpiece.

The ruins of Merv have been under state protection as a historical site. However, the restoration work there has made very slow progress for lack of funds. The Supreme Soviet of

Turkmenia is going to allocate additional moneys for that purpose in 1991

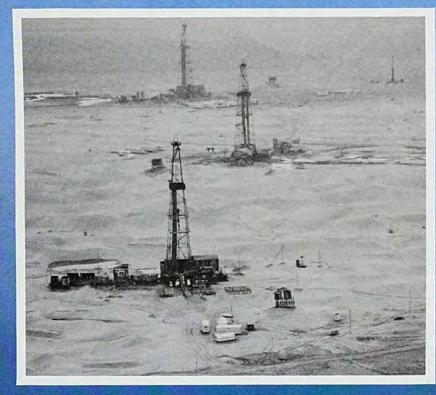
The ruins of Nisa, the capital of the Parthian Kingdom (in the south of Turkmenia), and the city of Urgench (in the north of the republic), which was once the capital of Khorezm, are also now under state protection. 



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Gas and oil are two of Turkmenia's most important natural resources. Rich oil fields have been discovered off the eastern coast of the Caspian Sea.







Urgench boasts Central Asia's tallest minaret-it is 62 meters tall, and its base is 11 meters in diameter.

All in all, Turkmenia has 1,600 historical, architectural, and archeological monuments. The Ashkhabad Museum of Regional History and Local Lore has 127,000 ancient exhibits, including books, household items, clothes, and works of art.

#### The People

Turkmenia's population comprises more than 100 different ethnic groups. But the majority of the republic's people are ethnic Turkmens who cherish their kinship and traditions but at the same time follow one principle in their relations with other ethnic groups: "If you've come to my house as a brother, you are my brother." This national trait made an impression on Jack Matlock, United States Ambassador to the Soviet Union, who visited Turkmenia last March. Matlock said later: "For centuries, the local people have been characterized by practical wisdom, common sense, and an exceptional sense of dignity, which precludes vanity and thoughtless imitation of the latest Rural Turkmen families combine European and Asian cultural elements in their households.

crazes. I have heard a lot about the respect the young show for their elders, whose wisdom and experience have always been revered by the Turkmens, and about how the younger generation is educated in a spirit of disgust for senseless quarrels and strife, and all reckless actions that could harm people of other ethnic groups."

True, life in Turkmenia has not been perfect. Quite a number of economic and social problems have arisen there over the years. But the winds of change have swept that southern region just as they have the rest of the country. There has been some change in the economic sphere and a considerable growth in the public's political activity. During last year's elections to the Supreme Soviet of Turkmenia, more than 700 registered candidates competed for 175 seats.

Interethnic relations have also seen a change for the better. The small village of Bagir, in the foothills of the Kopet Dagh Range, has a Kurdish population (the Kurds are one of Turkmenia's ethnic minorities). This year, the villagers openly celebrated Nawroz, or New Year, for the first time.

Not so long ago Turkmenia was an outlying area, a land where the overwhelming majority of the population was illiterate. Today the republic knows the boons of modern civilization. It has seven theaters, including a theater of opera and ballet, an Academy of Sciences, and 60 research institutes. Seventy per cent of its people have at least a secondary education.

Yet the old traditions have been kept alive, and unfortunately not only the best ones. Many young men still pay bride money when they get married. Today, the price is up to 40,000 rubles. To pay that much money, a family must go deep into debt, repaying it over a period of 10 or 15 years. There have also been instances of self-immolation by women driven to despair by family or other problems.

#### Nature

"I was absolutely astonished at the D

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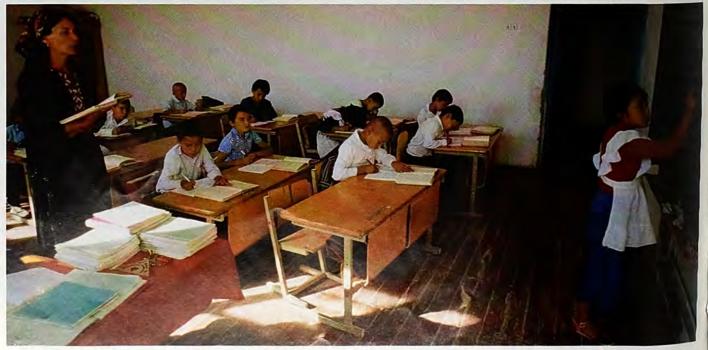


richness of Turkmenia's natural landscapes, the solemn Kopet Dagh, the vast desert, and the wonderful Caspian Sea," Jack Matlock said.

The Kara-Kum Desert occupies about 80 per cent of the territory of Turkmenia. Much of its immense area is used agriculturally, mostly as pasture. The desert offers all that Astrakhan sheep need: heat, steppe wormwood, and a modest ration of water.

The annual precipitation in the Kara-Kum Desert is 100 to 200 millimeters (the world average is 1,130 millimeters), and in summer the sand reaches a temperature of 80 degrees Celsius (176 degrees Fahrenheit). Few plants and animals can withstand such heat. However, the desert is not as lifeless as it might seem. The spiders and snakes, whose venom is used in the preparation of important drugs, have adapted nicely to the heat and aridity. In the spring, even the bare sand is covered with a carpet of flowering plants.

Turkmenia is the home of the peerless Akhal Tekke racehorse. Below: The Turkmen Government once suspended classes to mobilize the students to pick cotton in the fall. Under public pressure, this practice has been stopped.





The world's only Institute of Deserts, which for over a quarter of a century has been headed by Academician Agajan Babayev, is located in Ashkhabad.

Says Babayev: "In the USSR, the territory occupied by deserts and semideserts is twice as large as the aggregate territory of farmland. Unfortunately, deserts have been expanding throughout the world, because of humankind's careless activity. According to United Nations statistics, deserts destroy millions of hectares of farmland annually. A plan to combat desertification has been worked out under the aegis of the UN, and our institute is actively involved in its implementation."

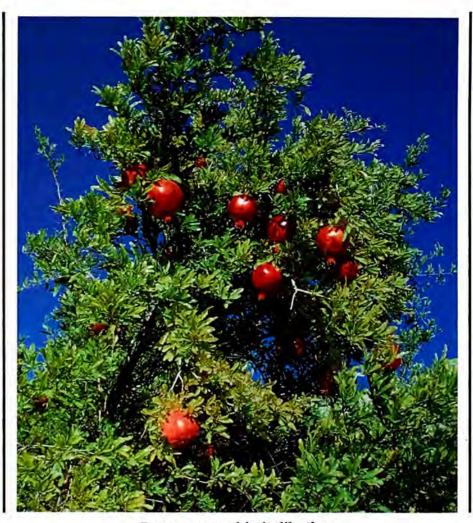
Babayev and his colleagues have had an opportunity to observe a striking example of human activity's influence on the desert: Running across the Kara-Kum Desert is a 1,100-kilometer-long canal, whose construction was begun in 1954 and is still in progress. The canal has greatly changed Turkmenia's natural conditions, winning for agriculture over 600,000 hectares of irrigated farmland and 200,000 hectares of pastureland. The canal supplies water to four artificial water reservoirs, taking 600 cubic meters of water per second from the Amu Darya. Thanks to the canal, rich harvests of fruit have been gathered. This year, for instance, 49 orchards planted three years ago in the Khorezm Oasis began yielding fruit.

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But nature will always take revenge on humankind for our reckless intervention in its domain. From time immemorial, the Amu Darya, together with another Central Asian river, the Syr Darya, has flowed into the Aral, a lake as big as a sea. But with billions of cubic meters of water a year diverted to the Kara-Kum Canal, the Amu Darya could not bring enough water to the Aral. The level of the lake began dropping at a frightful rate, drying out altogether in some places and leaving new desert in its place. The same thing happened with the Syr Darya. People say today that "cotton has soaked up the Aral.

Nature has also avenged that interference in another way: The irrational use of water in very hot climatic conditions and extensive evaporation



Bumper crops of fruit, like these pomegranates, are harvested in the irrigated subtropics of Turkmenia.

have resulted in excessive salination of the soil.

#### Cotton

Cotton is the most important crop grown in Turkmenia, just as it is elsewhere in Central Asia. For many years, the local officials competed with one another in stepping up cotton production, seeking Moscow's favor. In return for more cotton, the central authorities ignored breaches of the law, the falsification of yield reports, and general lawlessness in those parts. That is how cotton, once Central Asia's boon, has become its plague.

In Turkmenia, cotton fields account for 56 per cent of the farmland. The republic produces 1.2 million tons of cotton annually. To achieve that yield, students, teachers, and researchers were made to work in the cotton fields. Many students studied for only three or four months out of the year as a result.

In the second half of the 1980s, an end was put to the mad cotton rush. Students have resumed their normal studies; blue- and white-collar workers have gone back to their normal jobs. However, the working conditions in the cotton fields have seen little change, because of a dearth of agricultural machines. That is a big problem not only in Turkmenia, though, and certainly not Turkmenia's only problem.

#### **Other Problems**

Bordering Iran and Afghanistan, Continued on page 48

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## THE RUSSIAN **COMMUNIST PART**

A Imost 60 per cent of the Communists in the Soviet Union live in Russia. But when the Communist Party of the Russian Federation was created last June, it quickly became a subject of discord among various political movements and the target of a burst of criticism. The party's founding conference triggered an avalanche of letters to newspapers, magazines, and television stations. Many of the writers of these letters fumed with indignation over the hasty creation of the party.

Party members in Moscow, Leningrad, Sverdlovsk, and other major cities assumed a negative posture toward the party conference. The following excerpt is fairly typical of the opinions that have appeared in the Moscow press: "The turbulent Constituent Conference of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation depressed many witnesses, who believe that it is ridiculous to proclaim a new party without a manifesto. Others couldn't repress a chuckle at the thought of all the CPSU members who live in Russia automatically being enlisted in the newly formed party. It looked more like a military draft than anything else.'

Many Soviet political figures believe that the creation of a new Communist Party is a most serious effort to reverse the democratic progress in the country and to counterbalance the new Russian Supreme Soviet and the reforms it has undertaken in recent years.

You may recall that the Russian Supreme Soviet, or parliament, is headed by a determined radical, Boris Yeltsin. Yeltsin won that seat in a tight race against seasoned party leader lvan Polozkov.

Soon after his defeat, however, Polozkov was elected First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party. Polozkov, 55, is widely believed to be an unyielding hard-liner. Some observers are apprehensive that clashes will develop between the liberal parliament and old-guard party authorities in Russia.

Polozkov denies that he is a conservative, insisting that he is merely pragmatic. 

Time will tell.

It is very difficult to follow the Soviet Union's political life these days. The situation is like a churning volcano: New groups and associations are tossed up constantly, most of them seeking party status. In the Russian Federation alone, there are now about 40 organizations that claim to be political parties. Here we discuss the most important of these.



There is a "no-man's land" between the Social Democrats and the Communists. During the time of perestroika, this area has been oc-

## The New Socialists

cupied by a group that calls itself the Moscow Committee of New Socialists (MCNS).

Stanislav Rozmirovich, a member



The Russian anarcho-syndicalist movement arose from the Moscow student club Obshchina (Community), which rallied the alliance of Federalist-Socialists.

The Confederation of Anarcho-

## The Anarcho-Syndicalists



Syndicalists (CAS) was founded on January 21-22, 1989. It now unites nearly 700 people in 38 cities and publishes about 10 newspapers and magazines in various cities. The CAS includes the Leningrad Anar-

The founding congress of the **Russian Christian-Democratic Union** (CDU) took place on August 5, 1989. The party has 80 organizations in

## The Christian Democrats

several Russian cities and affiliates in the Ukraine and Byelorussia. In September 1989 the CDU officially joined the Christian-Democratic International.

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## A POLITICAL ATLAS OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

in

planning centers.

of the Bureau of the MCNS, agreed to talk with us.

Q: Why do you call yourselves "new socialists"?

A: We cannot completely associate ourselves with any of our predecessors in this country or in the West.

Q: What makes you different from your "neighbors" to the right and to the left?

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cho-Syndicalist Free Association and some members of the Anarcho-Communist Revolutionary Union.

We talked to Alexander Shershukov, a member of the editorial board of the magazines Obshchina and Volya (Freedom).

Q: Are your ideas the same as those of the old Russian anarchists?

A: No, we are campaigning not for the elimination of state power but for its redistribution. Power should come not from the top but from the bottom. That is why we demand the abolition of ministries and the establishment of self-financing territorial economic

A: Unlike the Social Democrats, we

are oriented toward mass support of

the working people, the workers

movement, and independent trade

unions. Unlike the Bolsheviks, we do

not consider this state socialist.

Q: What can you offer the people?

A: We categorically reject the de-

mand for privatization of all property.

The state should play a leading role

creating a market, but in the

**Q:** Do you believe that the only form of ownership of the means of production should be collective ownership by the working people?

A: We believe that this is the most progressive form of ownership. The other forms of ownership will exist, if they survive at all, in competition with it. The state must turn over the means of production to the working people, free of charge.

Q: What actions has the CAS ta-

present situation we favor a strong municipal sector of the economy.

Q: What is your vision of a future Russia?

A: For now we are not looking that far ahead. We are busy forging a leftwing alliance in anticipation of an imminent wave of strikes this summer. That is our immediate goal. Our longterm objective is to build a normal society based on the socialist ideals.

ken recently to reach its goals? A: We are creating workers organizations in some cities to defend the rights of the working people. We hope that a broad-based syndicalist trade union, Soprotivleniye (Resistance), will be set up soon.

Q: Anarchism is generally associated with the rejection of any form of organization. How do you respond to that?

A: We reject organization based on coercion. One can't make a person free and happy by force. We are not fighting for power.

The CDU publishes the Christian-Democratic Bulletin.

The main goal of the CDU of Russia is "to build on the territory of Russia a law-based state that is governed by the principles of Christian democracy."

The CDU actively cooperates with the Russian Popular Front and independent trade unions.

We spoke with Alexander Ogorodnikov, chairman of the Russian Christian-Democratic Union. Q: What does the term "Christian democracy" mean?

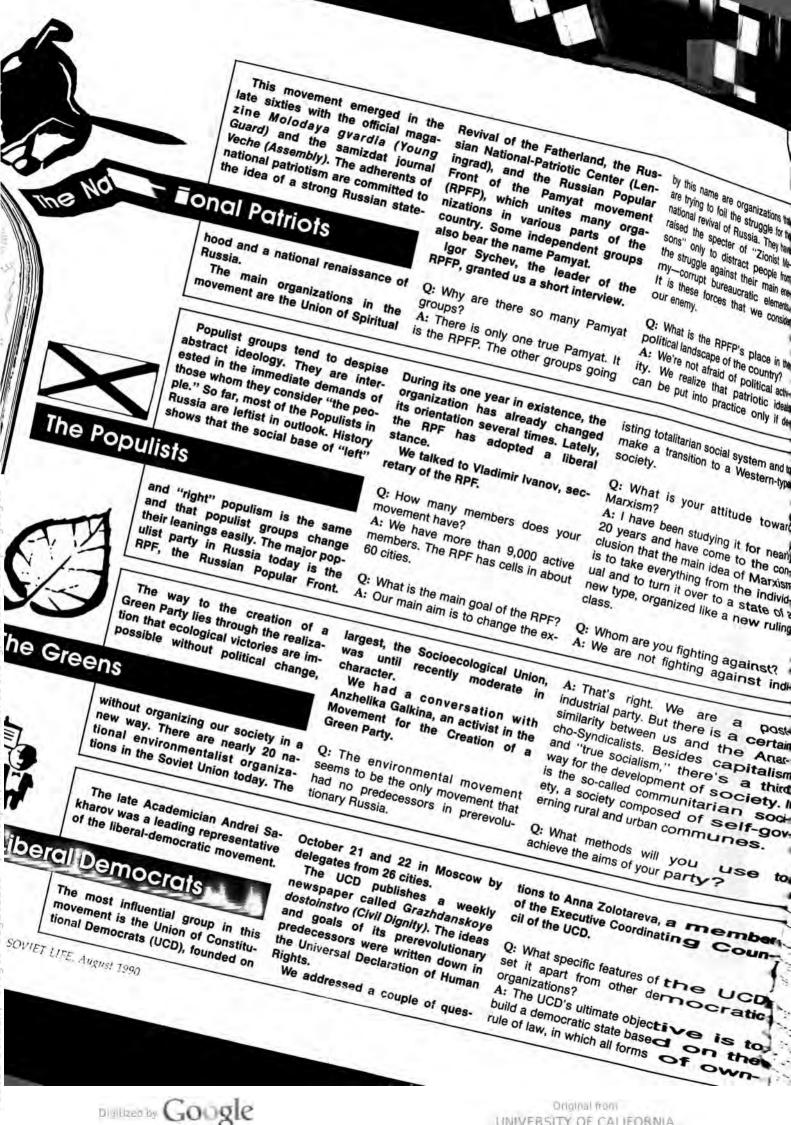
A: In the center of social-democratic policy is humankind. The social-democratic movement is governed by the moral principles of the Gospel: love, freedom, and compassion. Unlike the Western Christian Democrats, we profess the idea of human solidarity. We reject pure capitalism; instead, we advocate a free market that is controlled by society with the aid of tax differentials that avoid creating an abyss between the rich and the poor.

Q: Who can join the CDU? A: Anyone who embraces Christian values, even though he or she may not necessarily practice the rites.

Q: What are your relations with the official Church?

A: Many members of the clergy have joined the CDU, though the official Church leaders do not support us and sometimes even criticize us.





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ocracy prevails. So we advocate e unification of the national-patriotic rces and the democratic forces.

Whom do you blame for the hardlips and misfortunes that the Rusin people have endured in the entieth century?

Revolutionary nihilism. You can't ame the people for what has hapned to them. Their dream of builda society without exploitation of an by man is a sacred dream. The ame lies with those who pursued eir own clannish interests.

lual members of the Communist rty. We are fighting against faulty licy and the false ideas that many ople have in their minds. We do t consider the Communist Party of Soviet Union a single whole. The Ik-and-file Communists are as werless as nonparty people. And re are many immoral and dishonpeople in the apparatus.

What is your program for the nomy?

Denationalization of property, unstrict public control. The land puld be turned over to the peasants.

The principal method is parnentary struggle. But we do not 9 out demonstrations and strikes. r latest mass action was held in apayevsk, a town near Kuibyshev. 9re were plans to build a plant to stroy chemical weapons there. For weeks protesters blocked access the construction site. Eventually authorities changed their minds d decided to build a teaching ceninstead.

hip will coexist, ideology will not ninate the state, and citizens will free to unite to attain their goals.

What is your attitude toward the sidency?

It should not have been introed until a new unification treaty ong the republics had been signed all human rights guaranteed.



## THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS OF RUSSIA

By Boris Alexeyev

The emergence of social democracy in Russia is associated with the name of the outstanding Marxist philosopher and revolutionary Georgi Plekhanov (1856-1918). In 1883, while Plekhanov was living abroad, he set up the Liberation of Labor, the first Russian Marxist organization that subscribed to socialdemocratic principles.

"Only a democratic state can bring about an economic revolution consistent with the interests of the producers," he wrote in his group's program. The party of Russian Bolshevik Communists, created by Lenin in 1903, split from the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party. In the many decades since then, our official ideology has described Social Democrats only as "accomplices to imperialism."

But early last May, 237 people gathered in the building housing the Executive Committee of the Oktyabrsky District Council of People's Deputies in Moscow to attend the founding congress of the new Social-Democratic Party of Russia (SDPR). The participants represented approximately 5,000 members of 74 organizations.

Orest Rumyantsev, one of the three cochairmen of the SDPR, said that the new party would be a "parliamentary" one. He explained that this meant that the Social Democrats intend to implement their policies by gaining support at elections, both municipal and national. He also said that the Social Democrats planned to borrow all the best from the experience of Western European Social Democrats, with whom they intend to establish close ties.

What are the fundamental differences between the new organization and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union? Leonid Volkov, board member of the Social-Democratic Party of Russia, said: "We do not claim the role of a class-based party that subordinates today's life to the logic of the future. Our aim is to understand and democratically to regulate the vital interests of the various social groups. Our ideology is not 'democratic socialism,' about which no one can say anything articulate, but social democracy as a permanent state of society. That means that the individual is a top priority for us. Respect for human rights is fundamental to the stable development of democracy.

"Our principle is one of reason, not force. We will present our policy to the people, trying to win their confidence, but we will also listen to their criticism."

Judging from the polls, the Social-Democratic Party's supporters are mainly technical intellectuals and skilled workers. The party is also well represented in parliament—70 delegates in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and 50 in the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation are Social Democrats.

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# Western Businesses in the USSR By Alexei Lipovetsky

business with the Soviets? So far the only entirely correct answer would be-not the way you are accustomed to doing business at home. This, of course, goes against the grain for U.S. business people who want their operations to function the way they do in the West. Senator Frank Lautenberg (New Jersey) made this observation at a seminar in Moscow this past spring. If business people were prepared to part with their customary business schemes and relations, their chances of succeeding in the USSR would certainly increase.

Most experts believe that the current political trends encourage the process of forming joint ventures with foreign participation in the USSR and that this trend will continue, despite certain difficulties and risks for Western investors. The "entrance fee" is low, and the potential advantage could be quite considerable.

Soviet legislation has raised the ceiling on a foreign partner's share in a joint venture above the 49 per cent that was at first allowed. The foreign participant may now hold top administrative posts in a joint venture, whose profits will not be taxed for two years (three years in the Far East).

Moscow officially admits that it cannot do without Western aid. "We need Western aid in order to join the mainstream of worldwide economic activity, and we can do this only with your help," said Vladislav Malkevich, who heads the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry. In the immediate future Soviet foreign trade in its traditional forms will be hindered by the low technological standards of exports, so joint enterprises may facilitate the USSR's reintegration into the world economy.

Although their prospects generally

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ow do you conduct business with the Soviets? So far the only entirely correct answer would be—not the way you are accusng business at home, goes against the grain ess people who want s to function the way e West. Senator Frank ew Jersey) made this a seminar in Moscow g. If business people to part with their cus-

> Greek businessman Markos Shiapanis says that it is hard to work out an effective joint scheme in the USSR. "I wouldn't say the main hindrance is legislation. The law is changing and will be changing for the better. The biggest headache is the business mentality of your Soviet partners."

> The business mentality is not the only item on the list of foreign investors' difficulties in the Soviet Union. An even larger stumbling block is the fact that the Soviet economic system is not well suited to free market business practices.

> Apart from obvious difficulties, such as a soft ruble, a Westerner contemplating a joint venture with the Soviets is sure to face a number of other problems. Among them are costs. Relatively cheap raw materials, labor, and expendable items such as water and gas encourage joint venturing in the USSR. More and more often, however, authorities insist that joint ventures pay both in hard currency and at higher prices for production factors than do Soviet operators.

Logistics is one of the most complicated issues for joint operations, according to Dr. Igor Faminsky, a leading Soviet economist. This difficulty is not yet in the limelight because joint ventures using raw materials are few and far between. At first, joint enterprises were to get their supplies from Soviet foreign trade agencies. But these organizations couldn't cope with the task, because they have their own plan targets for exports and foreign exchange. The only option for joint enterprises is to secure materials from the parent ministries of their Soviet partners.

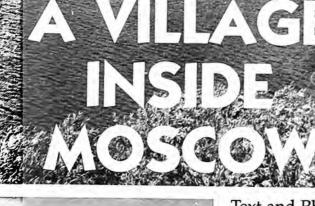
Dr. Faminsky says joint ventures can have fully guaranteed supplies only if they accept output targets from the state—in other words, if they become a component of our inefficient, regimented economy, which is geared to allotment arrangements.

Another feature of the Soviet economy that affects joint venturing and other external business is currency. Joint enterprises are mandated to export part of the output, to the tune of 10 to 15 per cent of their gross receipts, in order to cover foreign exchange expenditures. The remaining output may be exported or sold domestically. Here the partners may clash over the nonconvertible ruble. While the Soviet partner would prefer to sell products at home to improve the Soviet economic picture, a foreign colleague would opt for exports to beef up the foreign exchange receipts, since rubles are hard to convert into foreign currency. At one time, turning rubles into hard currency was no problem: A foreigner could pay rubles for certain goods, mostly raw materials, that would be exported for hard currency. Barter deals in raw materials have now been banned, and most products of joint ventures may prove unsalable internationally.

Considering the current condition of the Soviet economy, a decrease in the formation of joint ventures should not come as a surprise to anyone. The Soviet economic system is steering toward a free market model conducive to joint venturing. As their experience grows, Westerners are learning to do business with the Soviets.

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Text and Photographs by Yevgeni Kondakov

Kosino goats can sometimes be found ambling across Moscow's Ring Road.

uite recently, Moscow's Ring Road formed the boundary of the Soviet capital. Now the greater Moscow area includes many villages. One of them is Kosino. Officially considered a neighborhood in the Perovo District, Kosino has preserved its rural appearance. Many of its one-story wooden houses have windows framed in elaborately carved gingerbread and tiny front yards with

luxuriant shrubbery. The first mention of this lake-country village can be found in chronicles dating back to the Middle Ages. The water of the nearby Holy Lake was said to have curative properties, so wounded soldiers used to make pilgrimages there. Kosino achieved its place in history toward the end of the seventeenth century, when the young Peter the Great tested his boats in its many lakes.

These glacial lakes are a mecca for geologists. The local limnological station was known worldwide in the nineteenth century and in the begin-

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## The first mention of this lake-country village can be found in chronicles dating back to the Middle Ages.

ning of the twentieth. The station attracted researchers from the United States, Germany, and Japan.

The Kosino Nature Preserve ceased to exist before World War II, when its manager was falsely arrested and its workers chose to quit.

As soon as Moscow incorporated Kosino, the village was besieged by urban-planning experts. The pretty houses were to give way to high-rises. The local community was alarmed by this prospect, even though it meant that it would get the newest housing. The residents cherish their ancestral homes, to say nothing of their gardens and animals. And they don't feel cut off from city life—the nearest Metro station is 15 minutes away by bus. So most of the local people work or study in Moscow, combining the pleasures of metropolitan and rural life.

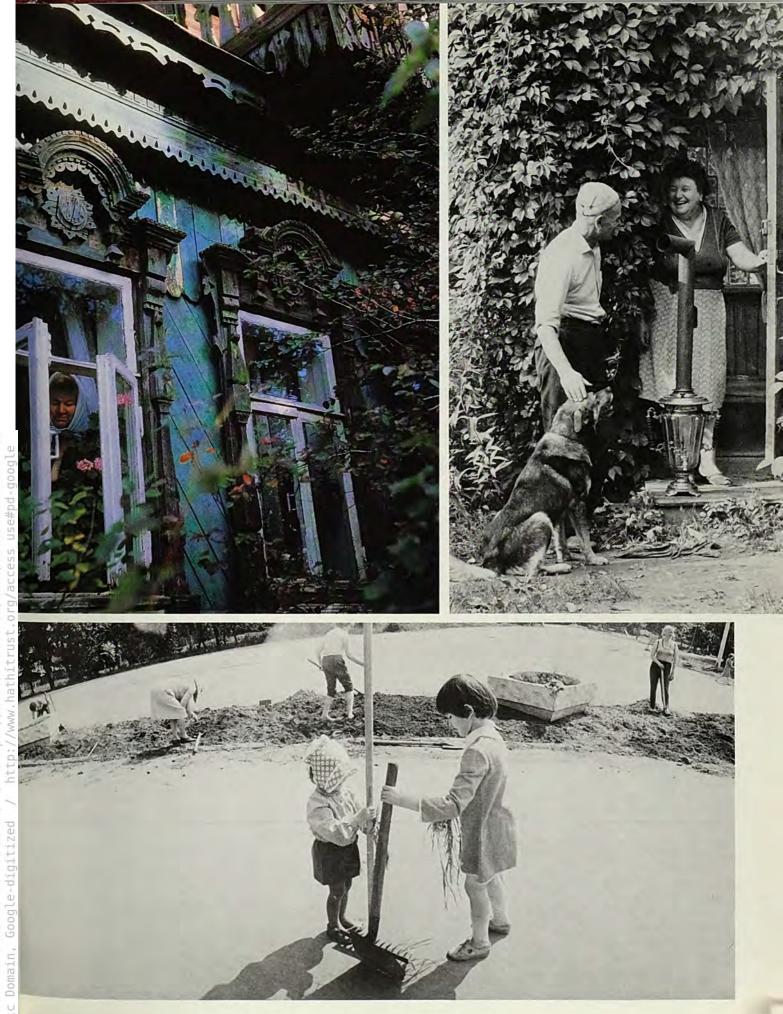
My friend Valentin Ilyin is typical in this respect. A nuclear power engineer at a major Moscow research center, he feels his day is incomplete if he can't spend an hour or two gardening. He says it's as much a part of his routine as the evening news.

So it's no wonder that when the people of Kosino heard that the village was to be pulled down, they were up in arms. Heated debates went on for hours at neighborhood rallies and meetings between environmentalists and the district and city authorities. The fate of the village and the unique lakes nearby hung in the balance.

In order to protect itself, the com-Q

Clockwise from above left: An improvised art exhibit. Most of the people of Kosino—even the littlest ones—are farmers in their free time. Every wooden house has a look all its own. Kira Serebrovskaya, president of the Ecopolis Club, with her husband, Lev. Fresh air and chores to do are good for children.









Above: Kosino residents and visitors to the village gather to watch an amateur theatrical performance in the open air.

munity of Kosino started the Ecopolis Club. The club's president, Kira Serebrovskaya, contacted leading architects and urban ecologists to prove to the city authorities that Kosino was too precious to destroy.

The club's efforts were successful. The standard high-rise project was buried. The new blueprints feature detached cottages that will fit nicely into the existing landscape. The prettiest old houses have been preserved. Several deserted cottages were renovated. The enterprising Albert Knyazev, head of the local music school, organized the restoration of the beautiful Assumption Church on the picturesque bank of White Lake. The church now has a concert hall whose programs of sacred music attract the most sophisticated audiences from Moscow. The knitwear factory nearby-Ecopolis' sponsor-hosts regular crafts and art shows in its cultural center.

It didn't take long for Kosino to become one of Moscow's most-frequented spots of interest. Enthusiastic crowds come to see its Navy Day. At the most recent Navy Day festival, a crew of teenagers and their volunteer instructor, a retired naval officer,



In order to protect itself, the community of Kosino started the Ecopolis Club.

made and launched a replica of Peter the Great's sailboat. On weekends, Kosino holds folk festivals that attract families from all over the city, thanks to the taste and erudition of their founder, the poet Polina Rozhnova.

Ecopolis works closely with scientists, the press, the district council, and, last but not least, the State Committee of the USSR for Nature Protection. Kira Serebrovskaya's consultations have become indispensable to the Green Youth summer camps. She Left: Poet Polina Rozhnova displays her collection of antique utensils. Rozhnova organizes Kosino's weekend folk festivals.

is now organizing the participation of West German and Dutch Green volunteers in the public drive to clean up the local lake shores. She also sponsors an Australian film crew that is shooting a documentary on Soviet environmental protection.

The club's immediate plans include the revival of the Kosino Nature Preserve. Moscow biologists have already begun studies to find the best spot for the preserve. Students and adult volunteers are currently collecting information for ecological maps. This welcome but still rare example of cooperation among the local community, researchers, and the city authorities has made Kosino such a congenial place that it was chosen as the site for a conference of Moscow's leading environmental experts.

Not that life is an idyll in Kosino. The village has its share of problems. Many villagers—mostly elderly people who can't cope with the rural chores—are making plans to leave. But many young people from downtown Moscow are eager to move here to take their place. One man says he had to move because his huge Newfoundland dog feels so much better in the country.



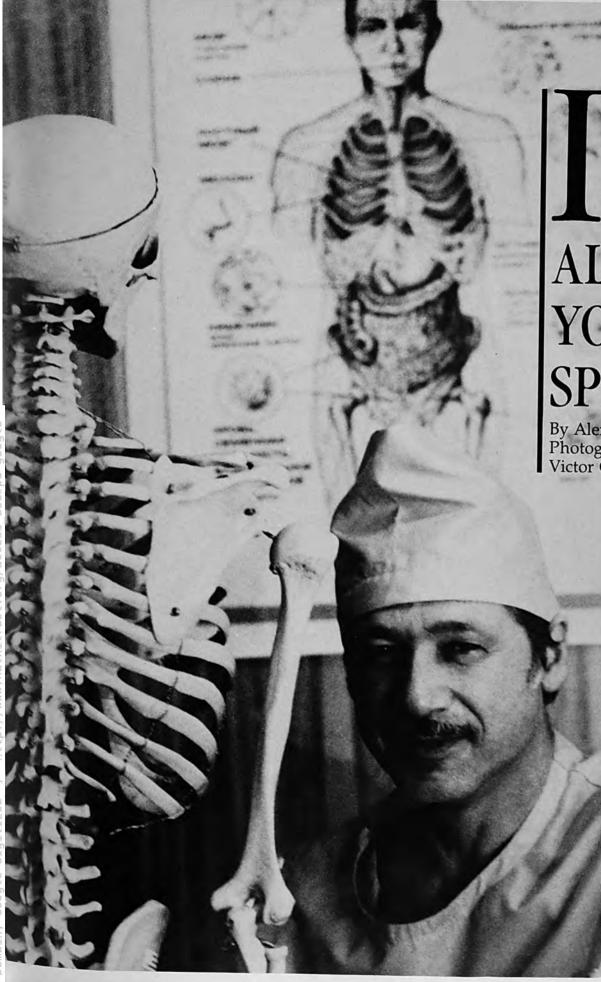
# LT'S ALL IN YOUR SPINE

By Alexander Tropkin Photographs by Victor Chernov

> natoli Gritsenko has developed a method of treatment that is new to the Soviet Union. Like Western chiropracters, Gritsenko is convinced that many human diseases begin as malalignments in the spinal column.

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here's no such thing as a panacea. And in spite of all modern medicine's spectacular advances, the number of people coming to clinics for help is not decreasing. But from time to time, the Soviet medical system gets a boost from an unexpected quarter.

This is the story of Anatoli Gritsenko, who has introduced his own brand of chiropractics to Moscow. But first, let us hear from some of Gritsenko's patients.

Patient M: "Day and night, I felt a constant dull pain in one of my breasts. My doctor's diagnosis was frightening: cystoid mastopathy. I learned that almost one-third of all women experience this condition at some point in their lives. But that didn't make me feel any better, especially when my doctor sent me to an oncologist. I thought my days were numbered. But I was seen not by an oncologist, but by Gritsenko. After a The mother of patient P: "When my daughter was in eighth grade, her hair suddenly started to fall out. The doctors who examined her came up with different diagnoses and prescribed dozens of different medicines. But the situation only got worse. My friends tried to calm me down, saying that my daughter might get over it as she got older. The poor thing had to take more and more medicines, including the newest drugs from other countries.

"Finally, I managed to get my daughter an appointment with Gritsenko. He figured out that the cause of her problem was a disruption of the endocrine system. After a month's treatment, my daughter's hair loss had stopped, and in another month her hair was back to normal."

Patient K: "Whenever I remember the pain I used to feel, I get goose bumps. The doctors said it was chronic gastritis. There were times I couldn't walk. After my eighth stay in



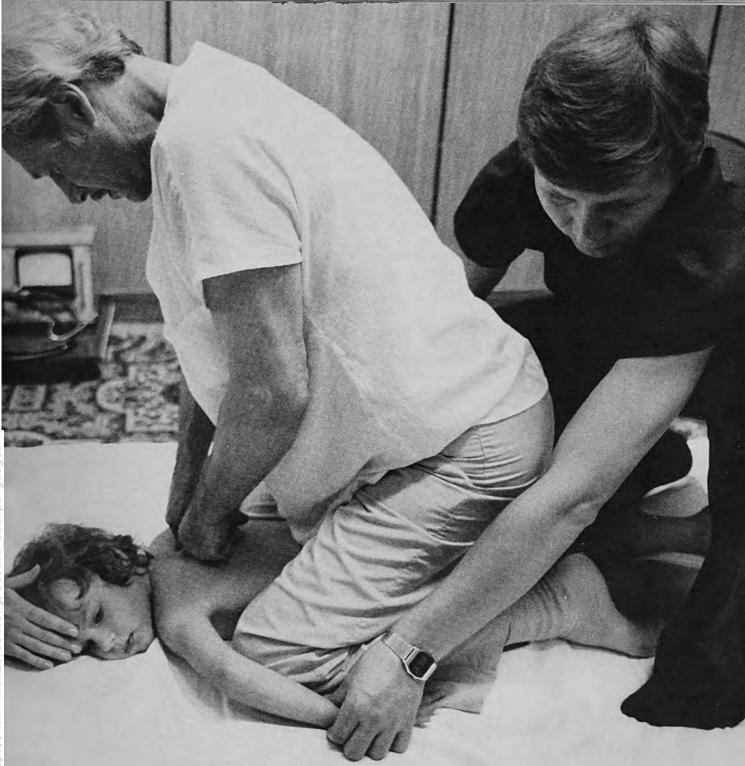
Gritsenko with the family of Margarita Romano (seated), an Italian woman whom he cured of asthma. He also corrected her shortened leg.

few sessions, I felt much better—at least I could sleep at night. When I had my next checkup, the doctor who examined me couldn't believe I'd been classified as a mastopathy patient in my medical records. There was no sign of the problem." the hospital, I was written off as a hopeless case and taken home on a stretcher. It was then that I heard about Gritsenko's 'miracles' and realized that he was my last chance. Gritsenko said I had a slipped disk. Incredibly, after three sessions I was good as new. Gritsenko recommended that I jog every evening and gave me some exercises to do. I still follow the regimen religiously."

Gritsenko can also treat a host of other serious diseases: various ailments of the heart and kidneys, hernias, osteochondrosis, and so on. No wonder some specialists are rather skeptical about his method. They can't believe one man can do it all.

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The treatment always includes manipulation of the spine. But Gritsenko doesn't rely on manipulation exclusively. At left is an orthopedic device that he designed himself.

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But the record speaks for itself. Here are some excerpts from official records documenting the results of Gritsenko's method in a number of Moscow's clinics.

"The method, used on 150 patients in the treatment of cholestasis caused by viral hepatitis B, was found to accelerate the cure by 12 to 17 days."

"The condition of two out of eight patients with an enlarged prostate improved considerably, and their sexual potency was restored."

"Noticeable improvements were observed in 43 out of 48 patients with bronchial asthma."

These and scores of other documents have been signed by prominent doctors.

Gritsenko is convinced that any malalignment in the spine results in malfunction in the organs connected with the affected section of the spine. Organ malfunction is the beginning of pathology.

Modern medicine sees pathology as the prime cause of disease and tries to combat it with chemicals, surgery, or radiation treatment. Gritsenko, who is a convinced opponent of pharmaceuticals, uses mostly the manipulation method of treatment, correcting

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Generated on 2025-04-11 23;45 GMT Public Domain, Google-digitized the affected section of the spine and thereby curing the disease. He also prescribes programs of exercise, orthopedic braces, and so forth. But the most important element of his method is the natural inner reserves of the human body.

Since the method is based on the mobilization of the body's own means of protection, it does not include the use of any drugs. Gritsenko does not approve of surgery.

But the doctor has not fallen behind the latest advances in medical science. Quite the contrary is true. His new treatment center will have the latest diagnostic and computer equipment. Gritsenko believes that a diagnosis must be based on objective data.

Gritsenko has already invited doctors specializing in 20 different fields to work in his new center. They will all work as a team, pursuing their common interests but not immersing themselves in their own problems.

"Is this another attempt to find a panacea?" I asked him.

"It probably is not a cure for all diseases, but it definitely is for many. Give me some time, and I will start a campaign against diseases that are considered incurable today."



Gritsenko's hectic work schedule leaves him little time to relax. But just a few hours with his wife and son give him enough energy to last a whole working day.



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## In the Wake of The Ancient Pomory

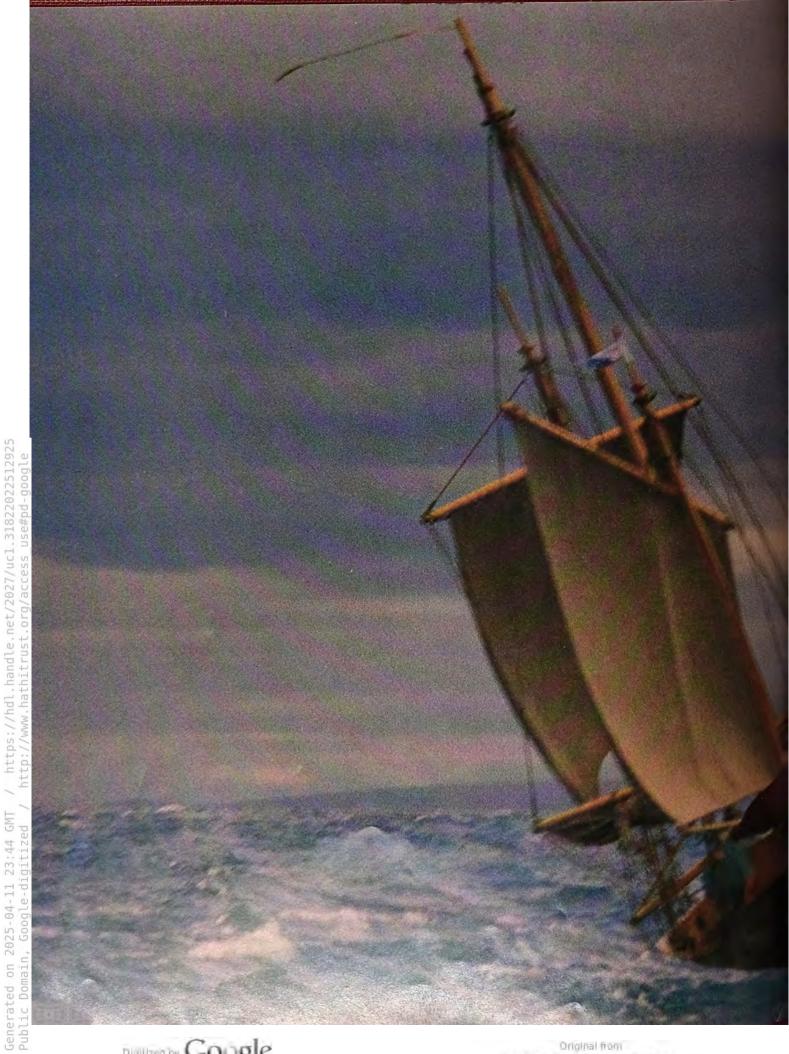
By Alexander Skvortsov and Yelena Razina Photographs by Alexander Skvortsov

From time immemorial, merchant sea-lanes have been an important channel for international contacts. In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, Moscow Principality diplomatic missions sailed in ships called kochi and ladyi. The ships were built by the Pomory, a community of ethnic Russians, mainly of Novgorodian descent, who inhabited the shores of the White Sea and the Barents Sea.

The Polar Odyssey Club, based in Petrozavodsk, Karelia, in conjunction with the Cultural Research Institute in Moscow, constructs and sails models of these ancient vessels. In the summer of 1989 an expedition of two ships, the Pomor (a koch) and the Grumant (a ladya) explored the route once followed by Pomor navigators in their voyages to the Norwegian archepelago Spitsbergen. Here are some excerpts from the diary of one of the members of that expedition, Alexander Skvortsov.



The expedition is under way. Inset: Starting in Arkhangelsk, the ships crossed the White and Barents seas to the Spitsbergen Archipelago.





In days of old, sailors called the dangerous White Sea mouth a "ship cemetery."





The Grumant, anchored at Kizhi Island in Lake Onega. Above: Yuri Naumov, first mate of the Grumant, prepares to set sail. here are two hypotheses concerning the route taken by the Pomory in their journeys to the distant archipelago Spitsbergen (which the Pomory

called "Grumant"). According to one of these hypotheses, the Pomor navigators sailed the open sea past the Medvezhi Islands. According to the other, the starting point of the journey was Novaya Zemlya, from which Spitsbergen could be reached by drifting along the edge of the perennial ice fields. The former route was shorter, but it meant all the problems inherent in a long journey on the open sea. Even so, this was the route

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**PYMAHT** 

our expedition chose—by the end of June the edge of the ice fields had receded too far north.

The ships we were sailing were designed to imitate as closely as possible the original koch and ladya. This was difficult, because historians and archeologists have no comprehensive information about the ships' design. No complete example of a koch or a ladya has ever been discovered, and the splinters that are available do not give us enough information to be very useful for reconstruction work. Certain data concerning the Pomor ships are to be found in the archives and literature, and some drawings are also available. We spent years studying It took us some time and much effort to adapt ourselves to the conditions of a different historical epoch, to the Pomor lifestyle.



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Then we outfitted the ships with engines. The expedition set off from Arkhangelsk, at the mouth of the Severnaya Dvina River, on July 1. We headed across the White Sea, whose boundary is marked by the Arctic Circle. Emerging from the White Sea to cross the Arctic Circle was an important event for us: The Arctic Circle at that place is really a border between two different worlds, separating the densely populated areas on the shore of the White Sea from the arctic regions proper.

In days of old, sailors called the dangerous White Sea mouth a "ship cemetery." About half of all the shipwrecks in the region occurred there. We sailed past Svyatoi Nos, a cape at the junction of the White Sea and the Barents Sea. The Pomory thought that Svyatoi Nos was the sea's "navel," with a giant cave in the rock that would devour any ship that came too near. So the Pomory preferred to drag their ships ashore, transporting them across the isthmus on log rollers rather than skirt the cape.

We sailed past the Seven Islands, which were marked on the mid-sixteenth century map by Nenets cartographer Merkator under the name of the Holy Russian Islands. Pomor tradition demanded that a sacrifice be made to the sacred rock on one of those islands, Kuvshin, lest the rock block their progress with a strong contrary wind.

We sailed along the Murman Coast (the northeastern part of Scandinavia and the Kola Peninsula). This area is extremely beautiful and incredibly rich in natural resources, and boasts quite an eventful history. Today it is a bleak and uninviting place. It became that way after Pomor Land lost its independence as a cultural and economic entity. That process began with the decrees of Peter the Great, which limited and eventually banned international trade through Arkhangelsk. The area never recovered after that. As we sailed along the deserted arctic bank of the Kola Peninsula, ours were the only vessels to be seen.

Things changed dramatically when our expedition crossed the invisible

Digilized by Gougle

boundary of the USSR's territorial waters past Varanger Fjord. There we were surrounded by ships, large and small, pleasure boats, sporting yachts, fishing boats, motor boats, liners, and so forth. People kept asking us what the purpose and destination of our trip were.

We were expecting to see the Medvezhi Islands soon—the reference point that would show that we were on the right way to Spitsbergen. The boats continued to sail fairly rapidly through the Barents Sea, named after the famous Dutchman Willem Barents, who marked the archipelago that was our destination on his map in 1596. But the Pomory had reached Grumant long before that time. They had even brought their families to live there year-round, in cabins built with logs brought from the mainland. And there was extensive economic activity

The Medvezhi Islands, clad mysteriously in a milky mist, appeared in view only for a moment, as if to tell us that we were on the right path.

on those islands. More than 100 years before Barents' trip, Grigori Istoma and other envoys of the Grand Prince of Moscow had sailed the Cold Sea, as the seas of the Arctic Ocean were known in those days.

The Medvezhi Islands, clad mysteriously in a milky mist, appeared in view only for a moment, as if to tell us that we were on the right path.

It took us some time and much effort to adapt ourselves to the conditions of a different historical epoch, to the Pomor lifestyle. Apart from having an academic interest, many of us were simply curious about what it was like. Who were they, those ancestors to whom what we now call heroic deeds were routine?

Here is a scene from an average day onboard the *Grumant*. One member of the crew is chopping firewood, from time to time having to chase a runaway log across the deck. Another crew member is doing laundry, spreading the linen out on the deck and brushing it down with great zeal. The oven in the kitchen is burning. The sweet-smelling pine smoke makes one think of the shore.

In the evening, everybody who is free comes out on deck. Vladimir Korolyov, a local history expert from Syktyvkar, rereads his diary. Yuri Kolyshkov, a driver from Petrozavodsk, fashions a substitute for a broken rigging detail, whittling it from a block of wood. Victor Georgi, a journalist from Murmansk, goes to the stern to listen to a radio news broadcast in peace. Victor Dmitriyev, our navigator, the designer of the koch and the chairman of the Polar Odyssey Club, sits in his favorite place, next to Vladimir Pankov, the ship's helmsman and a teacher at the navigation school in Murmansk.

I dash around, tired and sweaty, and curse myself for having taken along so many different kinds of cameras and for having set myself the tasks of drawing and note taking in addition to the shooting.

On July 13 we reached our destination. A tremendous northeast gale was raging, rocking our koch and ladya viciously. The great waves now lifted the ships up high, now plunged them into the deep. The decks pitched, and the water foamed and hissed frightfully. In the midst of this pandemonium, old Grumant appeared before us in all its glory.

Half a millennium ago, there was life on these shores, in the small log cabins covered with snow. It was the Pomory's aptitude, courage, and great patience that helped them adapt themselves to the otherwise unbearable conditions there. Arduous work, bitter cold, scurvy, and loneliness (which was the worst of all) could not discourage the winterers. They lived and worked on the archipelago, finding in this rigorous land a poetic aspect all its own.

Even though those settlers were so remote from us in time, we were pretty sure that, upon entering an unknown harbor, they behaved exactly like us: They drew the sail, made the sign of the cross, and thanked God that they had survived their dangerous journey.

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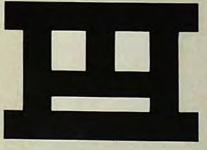
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Andrei Stroyev is a construction engineer and president of a Soviet-American firm called Perestroika (Restructuring). The company builds or rebuilds structures to lease to foreign firms.

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**USSR-USA** 



t has often been said that Russians make bad workers and are incapable of efficiency. But engineer Andrei Stroyev, president of the Soviet-American joint venture Perestroika, thinks differently. "Russian workers can be more efficient than Americans, Italians, and Frenchmen. They are strong and will put up with harsh conditions. For decades, the authorities took merciless advantage of these qualities. We worked for subsistence wages in miserable conditions—and never protested," Stroyev wrote in the daily newspaper Moskovskaya pravda.

To be honest, I don't think that putting up with harsh conditions and never protesting are much of a plus in a worker. But as for Stroyev's admiration for his work force in general, it's hard to argue with success. And his Soviet-American joint venture has been successful.

Perestroika builds and repairs apartment houses, a business that was popular in prerevolutionary Russia. The firm caters only to overseas clients: What's built on hard currency must bring only hard currency, is Stroyev's motto. Perestroika's hotels,





This building, known now as Pushkin Plaza, was restored by Stroyev's company. The plaza houses offices leased to foreign firms based in Moscow. Left: This dilapidated building will be repaired within a few months and rented out to a foreign firm.

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LIAT





Left: Andrei Stroyev, at home with his wife, Yelena, and their four-year-old son, Misha. Above: Showing Misha the tricks of the trade.

outer walls. The inside was built from scratch within eight months-a speed unheard-of in the Soviet Union, where builders are known for taking their time. The fine result figured prominently at the Best 1989 House contest.

At this writing, Pushkin Plaza houses five firms, the richest of which has rented 1,500 square meters, and the most obscure, 100. Stroyev expects the building to return his investment in three and a half years. But he would not tell us how much rent the firm charges for space in the plaza. He indicated only that Perestroika's rates were much lower than those in Tokyo or in downtown New York City, slightly lower than in London and Paris, and close to the Western European average.

Last year brought Perestroika a profit of 1.6 million dollars, of which 350,000 was spent to train Soviet employees in the United States.

Eighty Western firms are on Perestroika's waiting list. The modest ones, for whom 200 or 250 square meters suffices, will be able to move into new offices within the next two years. "But we've also been ap-

offices, and apartments can be bought or rented. At present, the firm works only in Moscow; later it plans to expand outside it, and still later, across the Soviet border.

The first building the company completed is located on Bolshoi Gnezdnikovsky Lane, close to Pushkin Square in downtown Moscow. It is an ambitious office building for foreign firms, with 2,650 square meters

of floor space. It is known as Pushkin Plaza-a fancy name for a fancy place.

Pushkin Plaza was originally built in 1906 as an apartment house. The Soviet years made it a human anthill, partitioned into tiny rooms. During the last decade, the tenants moved to better apartments, and the building stood empty for several years. Stroyev's men left only the elegant





Stroyev shows a British businessman the site where his company will build a new hotel-office complex. Below: With Perestroika's vice president, Earl Worsham. proached by some of the world's largest corporations, which need 3,000 or even 5,000 square meters each. Those firms will have to wait for our highrises to be built," Stroyev says.

"We are starting these projects this



summer. One site is near Vosstaniye Square; another is close to Gagarin Square. Both are complexes housing hotel and office premises. A 40-story giant will go up near the Byelorussia Railroad Terminal. This complex will combine a 600-suite hotel and 20,000 square meters of office space. We expect to complete it by the beginning of 1994. It will cost us about 250 million dollars.

"Our program envisages five similar large-scale projects, at a total cost of 1.25 billion dollars, all to be finished within four years, plus a number of small buildings to be rebuilt or repaired. Every Muscovite is familiar with these charming mansions, two or three stories high, now decaying in old lanes. We want to give them back their old cozy, well-groomed look. The project is based on thorough archival research. We'll leave the old appearance of these houses intact, but they'll be up to date inside.

"Constant progress is what business is about. A business has to expand into new fields if it is to survive. If you only go after the profits that are sitting right under your nose, you'll go broke."





USGR



At the international conference "Pollution, Perestroika, and Politics." Above: American environmentalist Richard Robson sits under a WorldPaper banner. The paper is published by World Times, the organizer of the conference.

# FROM LAKE OKEECHOBEE TO LAKE LADOGA

By Valeri Bolshakov Photographs by Yuri Prostyakov

uring the international conference "Pollution, *Perestroika*, and Politics," which took place in Moscow at the State Committee of the USSR for Nature Protection, the American participants put up maps and diagrams of the ecological situations in a number of regions of the United States. One of these visual aids was a large color satellite photograph of southern Florida. Kenneth Adams, a governing board member of the South Florida Water Management District in West Palm Beach, talked about Lake Okeechobee, a Florida lake that has been polluted with phosphorus as a result of dairy-farm runoff. Okeechobee is fed by the Kissimmee River, or rather, by what remains of the river. Apparently American bureaucrats—it seems they don't exist only in the Soviet Union—

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Monika Griefahn, of the Green Party of West Germany.

and scientists "straightened" the river, turning it into a canal. In the process, 45,000 acres of wonderful wetlands along the river were lost. Florida residents are concerned about how to return the river to its former channel and where to obtain the means necessary to do it.

Listening to Adams, I often caught myself marveling at how familiar the story sounded. Could it be that the Soviet Union's ecological problems are typical? But it turned out that Adams' grim tale didn't correspond completely to the Soviet experience. The Americans were able to take action. They conducted some expensive research, which showed that in order for the lake to survive, the amount of phosphorus-containing waste getting into it had to be reduced by at least a third. In a number of places, filtration systems were installed. The situation improved, although it is still somewhat alarming.

But why, the reader asks, are we telling Americans about their own problems? First of all, to show how much these problems have in common with ours. But also because we can each learn lessons from the other's experience.

During a break in one of the sessions, I talked to Vladislav Shapovalenko, people's deputy of the USSR and a representative of the Green Party in Orenburg, in the Southern Urals. He told me that he had been very impressed by something that Adams had said—that when asked, the American farmers had decreased the amount of waste running off into the lake. Would that be possible here, where the desire of the farmers is far from the last word? Shapovalenko wanted very much to meet with Americans and to learn how they handle such situations.

"Of course," Shapovalenko told us, "we're starting to succeed in some areas, too. For example, we recently obtained an injunction against the construction in our region of a feed plant that would have had adverse ecological results. In Orenburg, 165,000 of the city's 500,000 residents signed a

Academician Rakhim Izmirov, director of the Institute of Sanitation and Hygiene. petition against the project. Since then, people have begun to believe in their own strength."

The conference was attended by scientists and representatives of business associations from 12 countries, including the Soviet Union, the United States, Great Britain, Canada, and West Germany. Also present were Novosti Press Agency, the American newspaper the WorldPaper, the Soviet magazine New Times, and the State Committee of the USSR for Nature Protection. World Times, publisher of the WorldPaper, organized the conference, with Lufthansa, the West German aviation company, acting as a corporate sponsor.

The Americans say that they awoke from their long ecological hibernation





Dr. Crocker Snow, Jr., president of World Times.

at the beginning of the sixties. In the Soviet Union, we are almost a quarter of a century behind. A few environmentalists worked alone as well as they could. Unfortunately, more often than not the scientific-technological revolution avoided expensive and "impractical" solutions to ecological problems. As the Moscow conference demonstrated, attitudes toward problems still remain widely varied. Industrial corporations or ministries and "Greens" can rarely reach a consensus; on the contrary, there is a clear deepening of the conflict between them.

The representatives of Western Green Parties who appeared at the conference vigorously opposed attempts to pass on to consumers part of the responsibility of international corporations that pollute. The Western Greens emphasized that the  $\heartsuit$ 

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American ecologist Kenneth Adams told of water pollution in Florida.

development of new technologies and nonpolluting means of production that are being carried out by these concerns still falls sadly short of what is actually needed.

Nikolai Izmerov, a member of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, also spoke at the conference. He said: "The command-administrative system that held sway for many years violated the laws on the preservation of nature with amazing ease. The system ignored the opinions of scientists and the results of safety inspections conducted during the construction of atomic and hydroelectric plants or chemical and biological enterprises."

The report on the current ecological problems of Lake Ladoga and Leningrad was presented by a geologist and writer from that city, Sergei Tsvetkov. He informed us that every year 500 million cubic meters of sewage pour into the lake that provides drinking water for Leningrad. All the rivers feeding into the lake just barely manage to dilute the lake water to acceptable concentrations. Ladoga's water flows into Leningrad through the Neva with effluents from industrial plants, and all this filth accumulates in the shallow mouth of the Neva, which is now separated from the sea by an infamous dam. (Are our buProfessor Vladimir Rubensky, head of the USSR Environmental Assessment Agency.



reaucrats and departmental scientists less to blame than their American colleagues who turned the river in Florida into a canal?) As a result, said Tsvetkov, the water pollution at the mouth of the Neva can be described today as having reached catastrophic levels. Meanwhile, city officials remain more or less idle, even appraising the condition of the water and the state of the beaches as adequate.

Vladimir Zhirov, a biologist from Apatity, beyond the Arctic Circle, painted a dark picture of the ecological situation on the Kola Peninsula (in the northwest of the country), where little has changed for the better. "The Northern Nickel Combine has contaminated the main water source for the entire peninsula and even for several governments bordering the USSR," he said. "Until recently, all information about its work was strictly classified. Now the information has been released, but the administration of the combine and ministry officials still refuse to accept the blame for causing the extremely serious ecological condition.

"But the situation isn't hopeless. The broad-based unofficial movements that are forming and developing today in the defense of nature in our country appear to be one of the



David Mizgahi of the United States welcomes ecological new thinking.

most positive forces toward a clean environment."

Valentin Sokolovsky, Deputy Minister of the State Committee for Nature Protection, was the last of the Soviet participants to speak at the conference. "In our country," he asserted, "definite measures for the preservation of nature are being taken; however, they have yet to produce the expected results. In 103 cities the level of air pollution is 10 or more times greater than the norm. Ecological disaster areas have appeared. Now we are revising environmental protection laws to take into consideration the acknowledged experience of other countries. Effective mechanisms for their enforcement will be installed, mechanisms that have hitherto not existed. In addition, we are aiming at closer contact between state and other preservation societies. In this respect, we are strengthening our bonds with other countries."

Crocker Snow, Jr., president of World Times, declared that humankind should not view itself as lord of the entire world. He pointed out the special importance of the shifts that are occurring today in ecological thinking. Ecology, he said, could become the common ideology of the nineties.

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## **GRANNY LYUBA** "I'M NOT A PAINTER, I'M A DREAMER"

By Alyona Vasilyeva Reproductions by Vladimir Granovsky

My Tears. 1984. All of the pieces on these pages were painted with oil on cardboard. "Divine purity. Remarkable talent." "A magic brush, a beautiful palette, and a well-balanced philosophy." "The enchanting suddenness of her paintings ...."

> hese are some things that famous artists have had to say about the works of the prominent primitivist painter Granny Lyuba. But the artist's fame has been a recent

and unexpected phenomenon. For most of her life, Granny Lyuba—also known as Lyubov Maikova—lived as an obscure farmer.

The tiny, elderly woman recently participated in her first show in Moscow. She looked both happy and dignified in front of the cameras. "Thank you for your attention. I'm very happy," she said.

Granny Lyuba was born at the turn of this century, and her first exhibition opened when she was 88. The brightness of the revelation that struck her at such an advanced age sprang from her difficult life, which she now relives in her pictures. "I can do everything, because I have to," she explained.

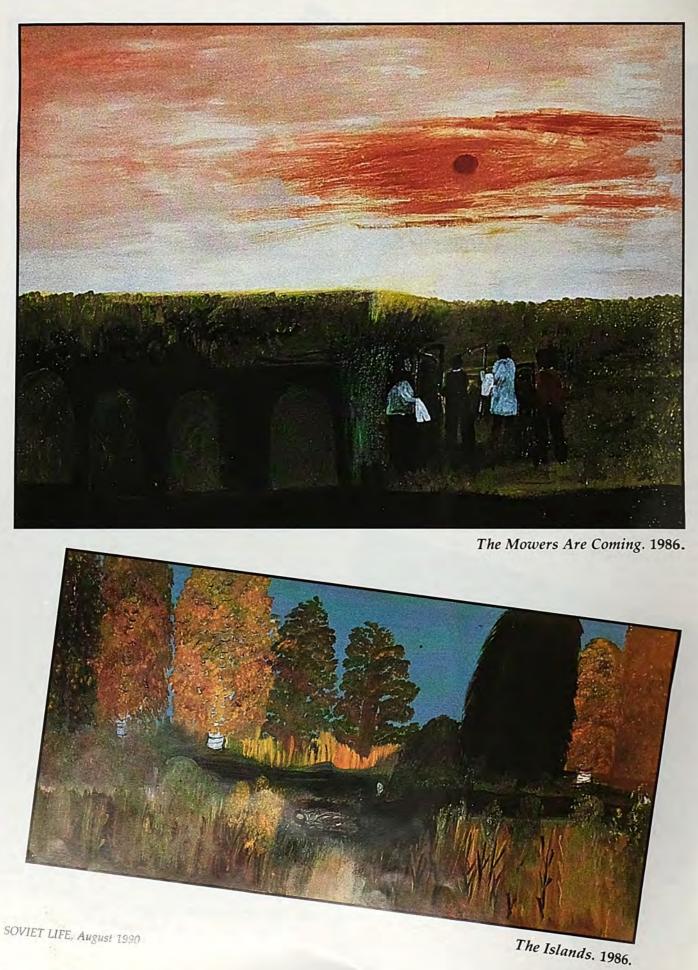
Maikova grew up in the village of Bryukhanovka, near Rzhev, central Russia. She became accustomed to hard farmers' work in childhood. Shortly after she was married, her husband went to war and was killed. (The most moving of her pictures are devoted to the theme of war.) With her two children, Maikova roamed Russia, from their village in the region around Rzhev to the Don and Volga areas. Finally, she settled in the village of Selishche, 120 miles northwest of Moscow, where she lives today. In the course of her wanderings, Maikova has worked as a postwoman, a cleaning lady, and a bell ringer.

She took up art at the age of 70, painting her first picture on a piece of wallpaper. At age 76, she began to write poetry. Her talents as a painter and poet make the combined effect of her pictures and their titles inimitable. The titles themselves are evocative: A Soldier's Grave Shields the Earth, Mother Gives a Hand to Soldiers Killed Near Smolensk, A Reaper Thanks Mother Earth.

Granny Lyuba says she is a dreamer rather than an artist. Fame has not spoiled her. She has preserved her childlike wonder at the world.

Her new exhibition was timed to coincide with her ninetieth birthday. Addressing the visitors to the show, she said: "Thank you for coming to see my pictures. You will be the ones who decide whether I'm good or bad."

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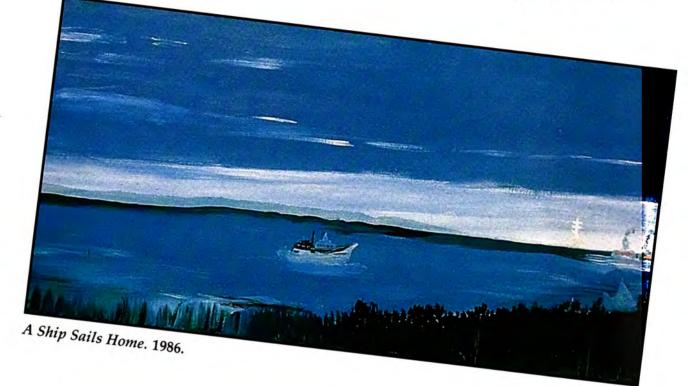


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"Thank you for coming to see my pictures. You will be the ones who decide whether I'm good or bad."





A Wife Meets Her Husband. 1986.

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POLOZKOV

Continued from page 5

Communists who are now living in Russia should automatically become members of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation?

A: I believe that a re-registration will be necessary; or, at least, we should learn what the attitude of the rank and file is toward this idea.

**Q**: What is the first thing you will do as first secretary?

A: I am going to get down to work. It is important that people see, from the very first organizational meetings, that we will work hard and rely on the delegates to this conference, that we will seek the advice of the party rank and file.

**Q:** When the conference of the Communists of Russia opened, you said that a split in the CPSU was inevitable. Even so, will you try to prevent such a split? Or do you think that this process should be allowed to take its natural course?

A: I think we should take measures to prevent a split. All of the forces that have shown themselves within the CPSU should seek unity in the interests of the party.

**Q:** What specific proposals are you going to address to the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation?

A: I believe that we will work to-

gether and back the decisions passed by the Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation. We will direct the work of Russia's Communist Party organization in such a way as to involve it in the implementation of these major decisions.

**Q:** Did you ever work with Mikhail Gorbachev?

A: Yes, I did. When I worked at the CPSU Central Committee, I supervised Stavropol Territory, where Gorbachev worked as First Secretary of the Territorial CPSU Committee. We had a normal working relationship. We tried out many interesting models of organizational and ideological work with the help of the Stavropol party organization. And I think that our joint work was productive.

## TURKMENIA

Continued from page 17

Turkmenia has always attracted drug dealers. Long ago, camel caravans traveled across that area along traditional routes, carrying carpets, ornaments, spices, and medicines, and also *teryak* and *anasha*, the local varieties of opium and hashish. Today, too, Soviet border guards must fight drug traffickers trying to smuggle their goods into this country for sale.

In Turkmenia itself, there are many fields of opium poppy and the Indian hemp plant, both growing wild and illegally cultivated. Those plants produce the raw materials for the production of teryak and anasha. Unfortunately, many people in Turkmenia hold that narcotics are a kind of medicine and that they do not do any serious damage to people's health. Hashish and opium are sold openly at the bazaars. The results have been lamentable indeed: According to last year's statistics, residents of Turkmenia accounted for one-eighth of the total number of drug addicts registered in this country. The incomes of the drug barons who have created a network of dens in Turkmenia and bribed the police and judges amount to tens of thousands of rubles a day.

Food shortages are another big problem in Turkmenia. As a result of poor maternal nutrition, more and more children are being born with hypotrophy. Very large families are quite common in Central Asia, where women have children at an average interval of 15 months apart. So it is quite understandable that malnutrition among children is not a rarity. Turkmenia has a higher child mortality rate than any other republic of the USSR.

The situation has been made even worse by the water pollution resulting from excessive use of pesticides and nitrogen fertilizers. The content of toxic substances in the water supply considerably exceeds the acceptable level. That water affects the people's health, hitting children the hardest.

#### The Economy

"I see that Turkmenia is by no means a poor republic; it has goods to offer," Matlock said after his trip there. "We visited the Komsomol Stud Farm, where excellent Akhal Tekke horses are bred. Anyone would be happy to have such horses. I was also greatly impressed by the Turkmen carpets, unrivaled both in design and durability. And there are also the Astrakhan furs and natural silk, and melons whose taste is unforgettable."

Turkmenia has many goods to offer the world market, goods like fabrics, building materials, and snake venom, which is a valuable pharmaceutical raw material. Some Western companies have already contracted to build concrete factories in Turkmenia: There is plenty of sand there.

There's no question that the economic reforms in this country have had a decided effect on that republic's economy. Turkmenia has seen the emergence of cooperatives, commercial banks, and management schools. Yet the change for the better has not been so easy to achieve. Turkmenia's budget gets only a negligible part of what is earned by the local enterprises. The rest goes to Moscow. The central government also takes most of the oil and gas extracted from beneath the Caspian Sea, and most of the cotton grown in Turkmenia. Practically all of the raw materials produced in the republic are processed elsewhere.

That is why the Turkmen parliament attaches paramount importance to the issue of that republic's economic independence. In the words of Saparmurad Niyazov, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Turkmenia, "Economic independence does not mean renunciation of the national policy, including in the economy, since each of us is stronger when we are together." That approach is shared by the deputies to the Supreme Soviet of Turkmenia, 85 per cent of whom are members of the Communist Party.

Such is life in "the quiet republic."



# Sunday School in Moscow



Children take the Eucharist. Left: Father Amvrosi sometimes serves as a teacher of Church music. By Yelena Sokolova Photographs by Sergei Ivanov

ast fall, at the Church of Glory to the Resurrection of Our Lord in downtown Moscow, the Soviet Union's first Sunday school was opened. The school's sponsor and the force behind its founding is Pitirim, Metropolitan of Volokolamsk and Yuriev, and a people's deputy of the USSR.

The school was originally intended to teach only the parish children. But two months after it opened, the school already had 250 pupils from all over the city. Moscow now has six Sunday schools, and others have been established in other Soviet towns.

"Our goal is to educate true Christians who will know the liturgy," says Father Mikhail, the school's headmaster. "The lessons are on Sunday, the day when every believer ought to go to church and the only day off in secular schools."

The pupils are divided into two groups. The senior class, whose members range in age from seven to fifteen, gathers at the beginning of the morning service to make confession and to take  $\Box$ 

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Father Mikhail gives a lesson to the younger group of pupils. Below: The traditional break for tea. Facing page: To believe or not to believe—this is a question that Yelena Zaitseva will decide for herself.



Holy Communion. Younger children, aged three to seven, take Communion without confession.

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"In the beginning, the kids were at a loss at confession: They didn't know what was expected of them," says Father Mikhail. "Then there was also childish pride—it was hard for them to tell about their misdeeds. But every week, I saw my pupils become a little more frank. They no longer avoided eye contact, but looked up at me with interest and trust. It was a joy to see! Now they tell me about everything—fights, rudeness to parents, copying a friend's homework. They're learning to analyze themselves and their actions critically, and that's very important."





After the morning liturgy, the children take a break for tea. Then the classes begin. They start with prayers, which are at first learned by heart through repetition. Later the teacher will explain the meaning and relate the history of each prayer, and interpret the obscure turns of phrase.

Sacred music is the only subject that is taught by secular teachers. Church singing is obligatory for everybody, whether they have an ear for music or not. Father Mikhail is vigorously opposed to professional choirs in church. He says the practice runs counter to the very essence of Christian worship. The congregation itself must do all the singing.

Prayers and singing introduce the pupils to the Church Slavonic language and to a hitherto unknown culture and ethical code.

Lessons in the catechism are the most difficult subject. Some parts of it are hard even for adults to understand, let alone for children. Father Mikhail helps them as best he can. Most of the classes are structured on a question-and-answer format, allowing for free discussion. "Why didn't God destroy Satan?" "Why did Jesus let himself be crucified on Calvary?" the children ask. Their teacher gives them exhaustive answers to their questions.

Most of the students find the Old Testament especially interesting. Biblical history is taught to the older kids in lecture form and to the small children in informal chats.

Continued on page 55

"Why didn't God destroy Satan?" "Why did Jesus let himself be crucified on Calvary?" the children ask.









Text and Photographs by Vladislav Novikov

Far left, top: Coin collector Vladimir Konchinsky examines some recently found old coins. Center coins, clockwise from top left: A ruble issued in 1982 to commemorate the sixtieth anniversar of the formation of the USSR. A ruble issued in 1981 to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of Yuri Gagarin's space flight. The reverse of all three coins. A rare 10-ruble coin made for the 1980 Olympics. Below left: Antiques.



ately I've been getting more letters every day than I did during the entire previous 23 years of my life. It all started with a small advertisement I placed in a national newspaper: "A nationwide collectors information bank has been set up in Moscow. The new organization is preparing a directory of Soviet collectors, for advertising purposes. To be included in the directory, send your application to: CIB, 6 Bolshaya Bronnaya Street, Moscow, 103104."

Getting the directory started wasn't easy. The

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most recent listing of its kind came out in 1925, and since then there has been an extreme dearth of information about collecting in this country. But I and the group of avid collectors I headed decided that we could make the project work.

The advertisement was reprinted in dozens of local newspapers. The result has been a flood of letters beginning with "I buy," "I sell," "I'd like to exchange," "I have," and "I collect," from people of all ages and from every walk of life. These people have good reason to want to see their hobby advertised in our directory: It's an

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In some Moscow apartments you can still see an old clock and a gramophone. Above: Part of a collection of Soviet and foreign safety razors and their packages.

excellent way to communicate and establish contacts with other hobbyists. Through the directory, a voice from a remote Siberian village can be heard all over the country.

Letters have poured in from collectors of stamps, coins, calendars, car models, and even old chandeliers, to name just a few. Here are some examples.

"I collect Soviet, U.S., and Canadian pennants. Have rare ones"; "I have photographs, books, and pictures about hawking and falconry. Can exchange"; "Country music and classical jazz al-

bums"; "Selling collection of cameras of pre-1940 vintage from 40 countries. All in working condition"; "I collect old wine and cognac labels from European countries"; "I collect pre-1945 military uniforms and gear, pre-1940 bottles and glassware, music boxes, purses, wallets, and pre-1920 cigarette packs"; "I collect trinkets. Looking for fellow collectors."

To accommodate these diverse hobbies, we divided the book into 40 sections. As we began to get applications from foreign countries, we included a section on foreign collections. 

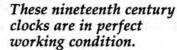
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One of the first foreigners to place an ad in our directory was one Dr. Butler from Great Britain. The well-known collector of ex libris plans to publish a book of ex libris from all over the world. He placed an ad in our directory and got the names and addresses of 300 Soviet collectors. Then came applications from other countries—Lonnie McLelland from the United States collects medical badges; Thomas Reyes from Australia—marine flora, fauna, and minerals; and Alan McCancy from Canada—beer labels.

The directory's most curious section is the one we term "Novelties." How do you like, for example, the following: "Everything about swindling: methods, psychology, literature, sayings," or "I collect old door handles in the form of female heads, with petals for hair"? Or the ad that I personally believe tops them all: "I collect pre-1900 air, preserved as bubbles, volume 5 cubic millimeters or more, in household bottles and other vessels, whole and in fragments." No boring bottles, please—we collect air!

At times I feel that writing the small note that was to cause such a tempest was an act of sheer recklessness. We had planned to produce a slim booklet; instead, the directory will be a thick volume with colorful illustrations. And we're not finished yet. The book is scheduled to come out in the fall, and we will be taking applications until late in the summer.

Our work on the directory gave rise to many difficult questions. Who, for example, can be described as a collector? I was shown a collection of thousands of toy soldiers, from the Punic Wars through the American Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, to the First and Second World Wars. The uniforms, buttons, sabers, and epaulets are exact replicas of the original equipment. Everything, down to the minutest detail, had been checked and rechecked, from wigs to the patterns on a rifle butt. The collection had taken its maker and compiler a huge amount of painstaking work. But could the artist be considered a true collector? In other words, does a collection have to be collected, or can it be made, instead? Opinions on this question differ, but we decided to list the collection in our directory.

I'd never realized that collecting was such a vast and varied world, but it's truly open to anyone who wants to participate. Our book is intended to bring collectors together and to further their commercial interests. The directory describes collecting from different angles. The book includes information on commerce, items of interest to readers at large, amusing bits of trivia, and so forth.

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#### THE FIRST SOVIET CULTURAL AND INFORMATION CENTER IN THE UNITED STATES

In early June of this year, at the Gorbachev-Bush summit in Washington, D.C., the Cultural Exchange Agreement was signed. The accord allows for the opening of cultural and information centers in the USSR and the United States. It is the first agreement of its kind in the history of Soviet-American relations. The Soviet Union already has 65 cultural and information centers in 50 countries.

The first Soviet center in the United States will open in approximately two years, according to Alexander Churlin, deputy head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Department for Cultural Relations. Churlin is now working actively to organize the center.

Of the two cities offered to us by the American side, San Francisco and Washington, D.C., the Soviet Foreign Ministry chose the latter. In the future, as is stated in the agreement, we may open a branch in Chicago or Boston, and the Americans in Leningrad or Kiev.

It was agreed that the centers cannot be commercial organizations. But they will have the right to compensate partially for the expenses connected with the maintenance of the centers.

"We intend to take advantage of this right, because the Soviet Union now badly needs hard currency," said Churlin. "For instance, we will charge a reasonable fee for our Russian-language courses. We can also open a souvenir booth and a cafeteria, with special days set aside to showcase various national cuisines. Admission fees to films and videotapes we show will also help compensate for the center's expenses. And we will organize all kinds of exhibitions and performances, to which we will invite wellknown Soviet actors, singers, and dancers.

"The main goal of the center will be to inform the American public about the Soviet Union's foreign and domestic policies, and to give Americans a chance to learn more about the culture, literature, economy, politics, history, and everyday life of the Soviet people. The center will organize lectures, round-table conferences, seminars, and debates on various subjects, with the participation of the Soviet public. And it will hold special functions for American young people and children."

The center will have a library and a reading room, in which American visitors will find all kinds of Soviet periodicals, fiction, and books by Soviet authors on politics, economics, and social and other problems. Churlin said that the center will give consultations to American students who are interested in the Soviet system of education.

"We hope," Churlin said, "that our center will maintain direct contacts with American scientific institutions, schools, libraries, universities, and cultural and information organizations."

The popularity of the center will depend, of course, on how it organizes its work. The Soviet organizers believe that the wishes of the Americans themselves will play a great role in many of its decisions.

### Sunday School

#### Continued from page 51

Every week, parents and grandparents sit in on the classes along with the children. The adults listen in fascination—this represents the first chance most of them have ever had to learn about the Scriptures.

Sunday schools face some formidable problems. One is the tiny classrooms. The number of applications far exceeds the space available. And, although several new schools are to open soon, there will still not be nearly enough spaces to satisfy the demand.

"There's another problem," says Father Mikhail. "Our conditions are totally unlike those in prerevolutionary Russia, when religion was an obligatory discipline in every school, or those in the West. Before the Revolution in our country, just as in the West today, religious education began at home. The school didn't have to teach kids the basics—they were absorbed with a mother's milk. Our pupils, on the other hand, come to us from the Soviet school system. Unfortunately, in my opinion, Soviet pedagogy is hopelessly dogmatic, with ideology everywhere. It regulates children's conduct, imposes atheism on them, and has no use for freedom of choice.

"Also, Soviet educational theory does not recognize age and sex differences. So Sunday schools have to work out pedagogical principles of their own or borrow them from the past. Konstantin Ushinsky, the renowned nineteenth century educator who was known as 'the teacher of Russian teachers,' saw religion as the cornerstone of schooling, on a par with science. And there's another, even more precious experience for us to proceed from: the vast heritage of Russian homiletics. They can be an excellent basis for new teaching methods. I also use my own practical experience in having brought up my own three children. Every lesson brings me new discoveries and new joys, and allows me to see my tasks more clearly."

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the arts

## Soviet Literature, an atlas of ideas

As its title suggests, the Moscow-based magazine Soviet Literature specializes in contemporary literature appearing in the USSR, both in book form and in numerous literary periodicals. Founded in 1946 and published in eight foreign languages, Soviet Literature selects for translation the most interesting fiction, poetry, and journalism by both new and established authors.

Under glasnost and perestroika, there have been changes in the magazine's editorial board. The new, enthusiastic editors launched a new policy of complete openness and objectivity. It embraces all literary trends-not just socialist realism, as before-and gives the floor to proponents of all ideological and political movements.

The magazine's new editor in chief is the prominent author Alexander Prokhanov. In the first issue of the revamped Soviet Literature, Prokhanov addressed his readers in an open letter, explaining the magazine's new goals. The letter is reprinted, abridged, below.

utside the Soviet Union, the world has come to know as glasnost the new conditions under which all publications, and our magazine is particular, now operate. For the first time in 70 years, the rigid ideological canopy that overshadowed all our moral and intellectual strivings has been shattered and has crumbled into tiny fragments. In a very short time the most varied ideas and views emerged from under the remains of that collapsed dome, and they invaded our meetings and discussions, our verse and novels, our essays and manifestoes. Rising to the surface of our life like bubbles in a boiling brew, these viewpoints collided, burst, vanished, and merged in fantastic formations. A continuous live turbulence began. The concrete vault had disappeared, and in its place a living and complex atmosphere of ideas began to grow.

Now fragments and remnants of our previous cultures, so cruelly and needlessly destroyed in the revolutionary storm, are swimming in this new and enigmatic ideology. Among them are elements of the many promising and creative beginnings in which Soviet history is so rich. But these either perished during the blind dictatorship or suffocated in the airless confines of stagnation. Here, in this nascent atmosphere, there suddenly flashes a novel and dizzying vision: We are carried toward the future, linked with the rest of humanity and to the life of all the earth and the universe.

This tempestuous ideological construction is not going on in state institutions; nor is it the work of any appointed specialist in ideology. It is in the streets and in the squares of our cities, and in the minds of intellectuals that this is happening-among those involved in literature and culture as a whole. As no one else, the writers of fiction, poetry, and journalism reveal this new moral and intellectual atmosphere in their writings: Their works can be seen as new "schools of the soul." It is these authors who inject new ideas into the public consciousness, and it is they who keep things at the boiling point,

We try to make our magazine an "atlas of ideas," by including all that is most striking in our literature. This will not simply be an exposition, but also, we hope, an investigation.

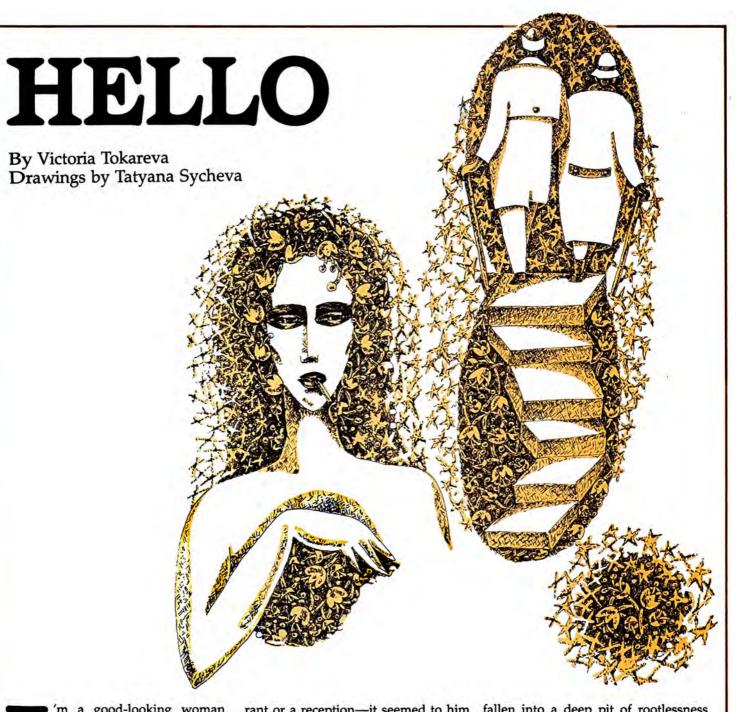
We hope to attract the attention of those who specialize in the study of Soviet society and who professionally observe our changing culture. This includes Slavists who have long been friends and readers of our magazine; Sovietologists who attempt, with their sensitive hearing, to detect the muffled murmurings of our social order; and business people who are trying, through the new and as yet unproven enterprise of joint ventures, to invest their capital and entrepreneurial skills in our growing market. And of course we rely on the general reader who is interested in the Soviet Union, its rich literature, and its present rapidly evolving culture.

Soviet Literature would welcome advice and assistance from American readers on how we might best develop our magazine.

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'm a good-looking woman. One might almost call me beautiful. Just like Natalie Goncharova.<sup>1</sup> "They don't make them like you any more," my ex-husband used to say; these worthy credentials, however, didn't stop my husband from clearing off to Israel. He'd had the urge to see the land of his ancestors.

For some time the well-known playwright Arthur Miller was married to the famous actress and sex symbol Marilyn Monroe; whenever they went anywhere socially together—a restaurant or a reception—it seemed to him that all the men around were her lovers. There was probably no truth in this whatsoever. But that's how it seemed to him. And eventually Miller decided that he'd be better off if he rid himself of Marilyn, and of this awkward feeling at the same time.

More or less the same thing happened with my husband. Wherever he might be—at a production meeting, at a birthday party, or wherever—he seemed to feel that he was surrounded by anti-Semites. That was not the case, but my husband had fallen into a deep pit of rootlessness and didn't want to climb out of it. Eventually he came to the decision that it was better to live without me and without this pit. And so he set off for Palestine. Meanwhile, I stayed in *my* ancestral homeland of Tyoply Stan,<sup>2</sup> with nothing more to my name than a two-bedroom flat, a young daughter, and a salary of 200 rubles a month. That's Natalie Goncharova for you. Nobody cares about me, with my shapely shoulders; not that I care about anybody else either.

Surviving had taken all my strength

away. Oh, but we had been so much in love, we'd spoken such words, expressing such tender feelings. We had really looked after each other and lent each other a sympathetic ear. How could he just have finished with me like that and washed his hands of me? Fair enough, he'd asked me to go with him, but I can't think and speak in a foreign language all the time. I can't spend all my life as someone's guest. I just can't.

My husband didn't hang around in Palestine for long. He had, after all, been born and bred in Russia, nurtured on Russian culture, and the moment he found himself in the Promised Land, he felt himself to be a member of the *Russian* intelligentsia; he started to experience something not unlike anti-Semitism.

He then moved to America, land of the free. But in the States something was wrong too. You see what a peculiar fellow he is—always dissatisfied, wherever he is.

But then one day I realized what was wrong: *himself*. There was precious little of that. He was like a halfempty suitcase; and what difference does it make whether that suitcase is in Moscow, in Tel Aviv, or on the moon?

Such ideas made me realize that love had had its day. Emptiness had taken its place. Spiritual emptiness means a great loss to oneself, and to society. A lonely woman is like an electrical appliance that's been disconnected: She gives out no light and no heat, and society shivers in reaction to the cold. But the greatest harm to society comes from an idle man, who doesn't do much either at work or at home. Who doesn't work two shifts, so to say. Insofar as our society is a humane one, and there's no unemployment, you can't simply kick him out. This isn't America or the kibbutz, you know.

Almost as if on purpose, a crowd of lonely women and dropout men have ended up working in the same editorial office as I do. They spend all their time sitting in the cafeteria or smoking on the landing. You always have to check up on them, remind them to do things, shout at them, bully them,

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and flatter them. You'd think I was the only one who had work to do.

I work in television, on a program for schools. The program isn't a popular one, but it still has to be produced and broadcast on time.

One day we went to interview an old professor. He'd been expecting us at 10 in the morning, but we didn't get there until after lunch. Then, when we switched the lighting on, something went wrong with the light, so we had to send for the electrician. But he wasn't there, and no one knew when he'd be back. The old man kept staring at me, and I blinked with embarrassment, wishing the earth would swallow me up. But it held firm, and so there I stood and suffered. With the old man still staring at me. We had wasted one of his valuable mornings, and he didn't have a morning to lose. Mornings were sa-

#### That about summed him up, as my mother would say. Blue eyes and a big belt.

cred to him. Meanwhile, blue-eyed Volodya, the cameraman, 25 years of age, stood there with his useless camera, wearing a wide belt around his flat stomach and chewing gum. That about summed him up, as my mother would say. Blue eyes and a big belt. Plus, of course, his totally nonchalant lack of responsibility toward the old man, me, and life in general. He chewed his gum like a mule chews his cud. So I gave him a piece of my mind. Amazingly, he stopped chewing and paid attention. Even the professor raised his eyebrows: To think that a young woman with a smooth, sculptured little head, like a cameo, and gentle, limpid eyes could express herself so vehemently!

What's beautiful about a woman who's lost her face? I ask you. Nothing. Beauty is inconceivable when instead of her face there is just something red and flushed, with gaping eyes about to roll out onto her blouse. But it was at that very moment, when I was at my most distressed, that this flat-stomached, wide-belted mule fell in love with me. He even spat out his gum. Then he put the electricity right without the aid of the electrician. He found where everything needed to be plugged in, and we were ready to begin the interview in no time. That's what I call having a vested interest. Vested interest of any sort—be it personal or material—is a great motivator. That explains why the electrician couldn't be found anywhere: because he didn't have any.

I've already said that where I had once felt love, then pain, I had started to feel emptiness. A vacuum. But nature abhors a vacuum—it wasn't to be empty for long. For Volodya-thegum-chewer, of all people, had started to tear his way into my heart. He did so without a single move. He would just stand and look at me. Even in the torrential rain.

"It's raining . . ." I said to him.

"I wouldn't go away if it rained stones," he replied.

A woman in love takes what she hears seriously. I found myself imagining stones raining down from the sky; I felt pity and love for him. I was 35 and he was 25. What sort of support would he be to me in life? Another disappointment. To continue this affair was like playing a game that had already been lost. I tried to break free from this game, but it just didn't work. Resistance was useless. When a man stubbornly believes something, his conviction affects all those around him. Anyway, who knows? Anna Kern<sup>3</sup> was about 20 years older than her husband, but she outlived him. So what's 10 years? It's just an abstract figure. You hardly sense the difference. You do sense the warmth and life of a fellow human being, one who cuddles you and makes your heart skip a beat. He caresses me, speaks to me, calls me "my little one"; and indeed it does feel then as if I am little and he is grown up. And big and strong, with a face like that of some god in human form. That's at night. But in the morning, when I say: "Volodya, go and get us some sausage, will you?" it's a different story. He won't go. He doesn't

have any money, so why should he go? He actually objects to going. How do you like that? How can you respect a man who hasn't got a ruble to his name? Once more everything ends up on my burdened shoulders: work, sausages, the kid. Two kids, more like it: Before, I had just my 12year-old daughter to look after; now I've got a 25-year-old son too. Where could it all end?

I asked him this very question. He took offense to it and walked out on me, saying he wouldn't be back. I told him he'd forgotten his gum. A pack of chewing gum-that was the only contribution he had made to our well-being, I said. He took offense even more and said I could keep it; only he said it with the magnanimity of a man leaving me a whole island, like Onassis.

With that we split up. The gum was inherited by my daughter. All I got was another period of loneliness, which seemed impossible to bear the next day. On the first day you are high on a sense of being in the right, and then on the next the usual depression sets in and burns inside you as if you'd drunk bleach. Full of people as the world may be, it feels pretty empty when that one person is gone.

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I was walking down the studio corridor, as though through a desert, when I saw Kiyashko. Kiyashko's the program writer: He writes about the dangers of smoking and the benefits of education. Like all people of little talent, he writes in great detail and always meets his deadlines. Such a punctual fellow. I've noticed that only Westerners, evidently because time is money, are quite so punctual.

As I said Hello to Kiyashko, I stopped and stared right into the dark little pupils of his eyes. This is the way I always greeted him: I stopped and adopted that facial expression that one would adopt on meeting a king or queen, one of genteel respect and secret admiration.

Let me tell you a little about Kiyashko. First of all, he was 70 years old and a war veteran. He was wounded in 1943. I don't know the exact details, but I think he was directly hit by a shell. On his head was a scar, a deep pit about the size of an orange. His right hand had been blown off at the wrist. You could see the stump protruding from his sleeve; it had since been covered over with tight new skin, pink and shiny. Kiyashko wasn't at all embarrassed by having no hand and always offered the stump to shake hands with people. Overcoming my brief repulsion, I would always take hold of this stump and shake it. The silky, almost babylike softness of his arm was something I didn't forget in a hurry afterward. As well as his arm and head, Kiyashko's leg was mutilated. He tended to place his weight on it rather heavily, and every step he took was hard work.

People said he was married and that his wife limped too, on the same leg as he did. They had met in a mili-

#### Every step was a hurdle. And life's hard enough with two arms and two legs.

tary hospital during the war and convalesced together.

Whenever I met old Kiyashko, I used to think back in time, like rewinding a tape, and see him as a young man of 25, like my cameraman. Then I would imagine the explosion. Oblivion ... and then the first waking impressions as he came out of his drugged stupor and grasped the reality of the situation. I'd imagine the initial horror he'd felt, followed by the long struggle he'd waged to this day-that of coming to terms with it. Every step was a hurdle. And life's hard enough with two arms and two legs.

My respectful greeting was supposed to give him to understand that the younger generation cared about his bravery and suffering. Bravery and suffering, it would seem, are words that have lost their meaning, but those are the words. And the younger generation did care. The next generation remembers these things,

and my "hello" compensated a little for the past. There's nothing else I can do. All I can do is respect and remember them.

There could not have been any thought of compensation in Kiyashko's mind, however. He was merely walking down the corridor in the way that had been habitual to him over the last 45 years, when he had met a young editorial assistant who looked like Pushkin's wife. She looked at him rather strangely, only just managing not to wink, and had then said Hello with deliberation. Whenever this happened, Kiyashko would be surprised—he had not a clue what she wanted. Kiyashko had heard from his own daughter that young men these days were no good-they were just a bunch of drunken, good-for-nothing scroungers, who couldn't pay their own way in life. So perhaps it wasn't so surprising after all that young, single women should seek support and security from mature, and even older, men.

Kiyashko was a busy man. He had his family as well as his creative ambitions to occupy him. But he always put his creative ambitions first, before his family and definitely before any unforeseen distractions. A man has his ego to think of. He must think of his legacy to future generations; tell them about the harm done by smoking, for example. About the value of education. Never mind that it is well known to all and sundry. He would once more remind us that smoking is harmful; it decreases your life expectancy. And you only live once. Never mind that people think him outdated, moth-eaten. As for these trashy young singers, they would just have the whole past painted black, blotted out. Things weren't right in those days (they'd say), but they are now. Mind you, now has to be seen from the viewpoint of later. Only time will tell, as the saying goes. Let them live to an older age and then look back to see what lessons time has to teach them.

Kiyashko frowned at the thought of these painters of glasnost tarring everything with the same brush, includ-  $\Box$  ing himself. He still existed: He'd been walking along when the young editorial assistant had said Hello to him and looked as if her eyes were about to pop out.

Kiyashko glanced into these deep, vacant eyes of hers and unexpectedly made a proposition:

"Why don't we meet for . . ."

"What for?" I asked, taken aback. He handed me the manuscript, and I wrote him a check for the money he was owed.

"Let's arrange a date," he continued, some insistence in his voice, and gave me a long hard look. No formality there.

Then I realized that his thoughts had jumped in time and that he was picturing me in his arms; for just as I had wound time back like a tape, he had wound on to the future. I was confused. That way he'd get to feel a little like Pushkin. My thoughts sloshed around in my head as though they were being stirred around in a pot by a big spoon. When your mind's in this state, you can't exactly behave normally.

"Oh, not in this heat..." I muttered, and hurried off down the corridor. I rushed into the first room I came to, which happened to be the women's rest room. I stood in front of the mirror and just shrugged my shoulders. I stood there a few more seconds, then shrugged them again.

I was completely puzzled and made a point of expressing this by shrugging my shoulders and raising my eyebrows. The woman next to me was washing her hands and stared at me. You don't usually go to the rest room just to shrug your shoulders. I felt a bit silly.

I went out into the corridor. Kiyashko was now hobbling off in the other direction, more quickly than usual, and even from behind you could see that there was a man who refused to understand anything about these crazy 1980s. The heat? What had the heat got to do with anything? The world had gone mad, and it was not clear who had a screw loose: Kiyashko or all these youngsters around him.

I sighed and went into the makeup

room, where my friend Katya worked. Katya was no mere makeup girl: She made her job into an art. She could make Dostoyevsky look like Mayakovsky, and vice versa. Katya was no slacker, always as busy as a bee. Furthermore, she was not a single woman. At the age of 42, she had a husband, a lover, and a grandson. She loved each one of them in a different way. Love, you see, comes in many a shape and form. She loved her grandson as a mother would; for her lover she had a woman's passion; and she loved her husband as though she were his sister. Each had a place in her heart. On top of this she loved her work and would not have been able to live without it. Such lucky, harmonious personalities do actually exist. Whenever Katya saw someone's face, she could instantly grasp which facial features she could dispense

#### At six o'clock, as if the day were growing tired and old, it started to get dark.

with and which were somewhat lacking. Then she would imagine what cosmetic treatment it needed. No matter where she was, be it on the bus or at a dinner party, Katya would sit and do a mental makeup job on someone. The only face with which she was satisfied without any beauty treatment was her grandson's, with his big ears, eyes, and mouth. His was a perfect face.

When I went in, some well-known actor was sitting in Katya's big chair. He wasn't exactly a spring chicken, nor, for that matter, an autumn one, but he was dressed like some youngster, in imported, bleached jeans. If I hadn't known better, I'd have taken him for a retired black marketeer.

I walked in and stopped halfway across the makeup room. You could tell by the look on my face that I had simply switched off.

"What's wrong with you?" Katya asked.

"Can you believe it!?" I burst out.

"An old man like him, with no hand, only one leg, and half his head missing. And he had the nerve . . ."

"What are you talking about?" Katya asked, puzzled.

So I explained all about Kiyashko, about how I'd greeted him and his reaction.

"Well, it's your own fault," Katya declared. "What did you poke your nose in like that for?"

"I didn't. I just felt sorry for him."

"It's the same thing."

"Oh, I'm not supposed to feel sorry for anyone, am I?"

"Look, there are just more men around these days. It's a fact. A surplus of them. That's why he got so bold." That was Katya's explanation.

Here the actor butted in.

"That's not the point," he said. "It's just that you see life from different perspectives. He sees it as though from a cross, and you from a star."

The actor turned to face me, to see if I understood him. But I didn't. He picked up a pencil from the table and held it horizontally. I looked closely and saw that it was nice and sharp and had an eraser at the end.<sup>4</sup>

"This is rather like life, you see," the actor told me. "The beginning. The end." He pointed first to the point of the pencil, then to the eraser. "Here's the star, here's the cross."

I didn't understand.

"What sort of star?" I asked. "A five- or a six-pointed one?"

Before going off to Israel, my husband used to wear a six-pointed Star of David around his neck, so that any anti-Semites he might encounter wouldn't be in any doubt as to who he was.

"That little star of yours in the sky. The bright star of love . . ."

"I see," said Katya.

"Here we have your old man, who's nearly met his Maker," the actor continued, tapping the eraser end with his finger. "That was 45 years ago. He had one foot in the grave. But he pulled his foot out, so to speak, and moved away from death's door. Now he's here."

With this the actor edged his finger one centimeter back, away from the eraser.

Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA "He's alive, he's a man, he goes out on dates. Above all, he's alive to tell the tale. You see?"

"Oh, yes," Katya replied for both of us.

"Now, you see him from this point in life," said our friend, indicating the pencil point. "And you think: Poor old sod—no arm, no leg, so far away from your little love star. Whereas he sees himself from the other end and thinks: I exist, I'm alive; I limp, but at least I can walk. And as long as a man's alive, he's young. He's not looking for your sympathy."

I looked at the pencil he'd used to illustrate life. I looked at my point in life, halfway along, and at Kiyashko's, at the base of the eraser. My mind spun; it was working so hard that I could hear the cogs going round.

Katya dipped her sponge into the face powder and started patting it all over the actor's face.

"Shall I put some blusher on?" she asked.

"No, don't," he replied. "Better leave me with a distinguished pallor. One has to grow old with dignity, you know."

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In the evening I went home. I usually catch the trolley, or as my daughter calls it, "the bus on wires." So I take the bus on wires as far as the Metro. Then I take the Metro, making one transfer. That's how I travel home. Always. And that day was no exception. I sat near the window and watched the world go by. At six o'clock, as if the day were growing tired and old, it started to get dark. All the brightness and color faded away. As a rule, I've noticed, the day may drag on, but time flies all the same. Like life, I suppose. There's a sense in which life isn't really any longer than a pencil. Sometime in the future, I too would become an old woman, living on that very same point along the pencil of life, just one centimeter away from the rubber, and I too would be glad to be alive and think I was not bad-looking at all. Natalie Goncharova, all cried out. They don't make them like me any more. And suppose some young man gave me a friendly smile, would I then suspect he'd fallen in love with

me? But why shouldn't he? Wouldn't I be the same as ever? And there'd be somebody nearer the pencil point ridiculing me. Oh God...is that what it will be like? It will; for there's no such thing as old age, but the young don't realize that.

As I was looking out of the window, I saw Kiyashko. An elderly woman was with him, limping along on the same leg as he was. They even walked the same way. He was excitedly telling her something, while she listened attentively. Both were interested in the conversation—he in talking, she in listening.

I caught just a glimpse of the Kiyashkovs before they flew back out of sight. We reached the park, where some dogs were running around. In their turn the trees and the dogs flew by. I glimpsed people with worried faces flying past, only to be followed

#### I kept glancing at the telephone all evening, but Volodya didn't call.

by more, looking just the same, right down to their expressions.

I reached my stop. And the Metro, time to leave the sky, and all the houses, trees, and dogs behind, as I descended below ground and merged into the crowd; just a small particle of the thronging mass.

Such is the way people move along that pencil of life and on to hell (or heaven), becoming just one small face in a large crowd. What could it be like there? Would I meet my husband? After all, it's everyone's ancestral homeland. All are bared and equal. There's no war and no anti-Semites.

I kept glancing at the telephone all evening, but Volodya didn't call. He'd taken offense at what I'd said. By now I regretted having put the man down over one mere ruble. He could have been working in a cooperative now, making marshmallows. Then he could afford a car and four Marilyn Monroes, let alone sausages. But my cameraman was a man with a heart, not the sort to sell his soul for a ruble. Were he to phone right then, I'd have told him how much I respected him for his pennilessness. I would have tried to make him feel protected, comforted by my words as a son would be. And there's no harm in that. Real love always contains a touch of motherly feeling. But anyway he didn't call.

I could have phoned him, but why me again? Why should I do all the shouting and making up? Just how far can you go?

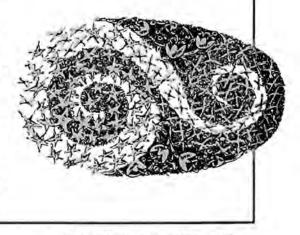
I moved away from the telephone and tried to get on with my household chores, but I dropped everything, literally. I went back to the phone and stared at it. If he didn't phone in the next half hour, I'd go over to see him, and I'd give him "stones raining from the sky" and all that. Pride kept me where I was, passion dragged me out of the house by the hand. That evening it seemed I would never see the "cross" of life; my "star" would be burning for all my life, until it reached the end. My expectations of the happiness I'd thought possible would be a lifetime in being realized, and could tear you apart while you waited.

#### Translated by Paul David Gould

<sup>1</sup>Pushkin's wife, whose legendary beauty tormented the poet with jealousy. He died in a duel, defending her honor.

<sup>2</sup>A residential district in southwest Moscow.

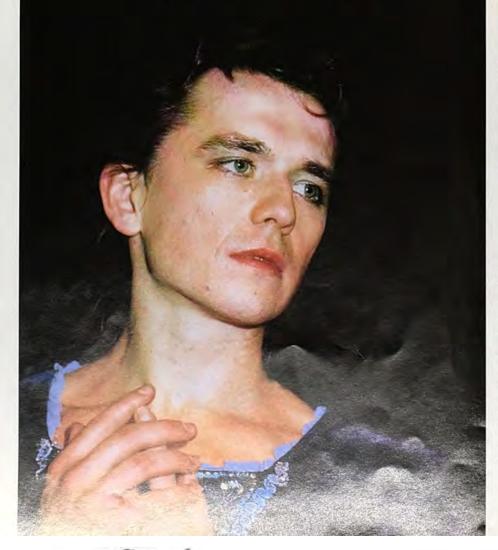
<sup>3</sup>A famous beauty of Pushkin's time. <sup>4</sup>Many Soviet pencils are stamped with a star-shaped design.

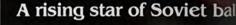


# Vadim Pisarev's Seven Steps to



By Rostislav Kvyatkovsky Photographs by Alexander Pogotov







onetsk, the center of the Donets Coal Basin in the Ukraine, has many celebrities—not only miners' leaders, but ballet

stars as well. Vadim Pisarev, 25, is prominent among the latter.

Seven years ago, Pisarev graduated from the ballet school in Kiev, the Ukrainian capital. Immediately afterward, he won a republic-wide dancing contest and became the leading dancer in the Donetsk Theater. Since then, every year has been a step to glory. Pisarev has been crowned with laurels at prestigious international contests in Moscow, Paris, Helsinki, and Jackson, Mississippi.

"America has been significant in



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rts

my life," he says. "After I won the Jackson contest in 1986, I toured Chicago, New Orleans, Cincinnati, Los Angeles, and other cities with the Moscow Classical Ballet Company."

Pisarev toured the United States again a year later with the same company, and a third time last year, with the ballet troupe of the Donetsk Opera. The Soviet press described the beginning of that tour as tragic: The American impresario went bankrupt just after the company appeared in New York City. The story received a great deal of coverage in the American and Soviet media, and there's little point in retelling it all over again. The happy ending came when the generous Mr. Harvard Gillman took the company's affairs into his own  $\heartsuit$ 

Right: With his new troupe, the Interballet Company, in front of the Donetsk Theater.

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Clockwise from left: Pisarev and his wife, Inna, with a poster from New York. Inna in the wings. Pisarev in Tomaso Albinoni's ballet Cognition. At home with his wife and son, Igor, after a tour.





hands. He was amply rewarded with the troupe's sensational performances in Washington, D.C., Philadelphia, and Baltimore.

"When Vadim made his curtain calls, he had to clear a path in the flowers that the audiences had showered the stage with," recalls solo dancer Alexander Boitsov.

Pisarev revisited America this year. In April, immediately after three benefit performances at which he won over blasé Moscow audiences, he took part in New Orleans charity concerts, where he performed with the world's best dancers.

In June, Pisarev and Inna Dorofeyeva, his wife and constant dancing partner, were guests of honor at the

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Jackson contest. He opened the contest, which he had won four years before. Next, the couple went to Pittsburgh to dance until midsummer.

As a little boy, he danced to the music of his grandfather's balalaika.

With his young Interballet Company from Donetsk, Pisarev was a sensation in Israel, Turkey, and several European countries. The troupe is planning tours in China, Great Britain, West Germany, and Italy.

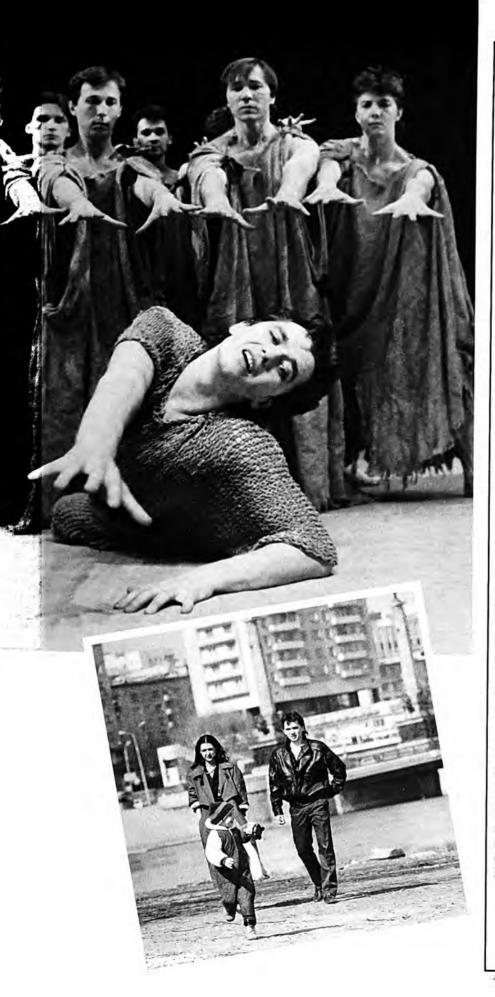
Pisarev is among the top celebrities in Donetsk. He is loved all the more because his family has deep roots in the town. His father worked in the mine that now sponsors Interballet. Vadim Pisarev's career can be traced back to the dancing school of the local Miners Cultural Center, and even further back to the time when, as a little boy, he danced to the music of his grandfather's balalaika.

"Dancing is no easier than working in a coal mine—I'm serious," he says.

I saw Pisarev dance to a packed house at the Miners Cultural Center. Donetsk gave him an ovation before his American tour.

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#### BEN EIELSON'S LAST FLIGHT

This article takes you back to the fall of 1929, to the time when the renowned American pilot and arctic explorer Ben Eielson was killed. Our account of the tragedy is based on the recollections of Mavriki Slepnev, who found all that remained of his colleague's plane in Chukotka.

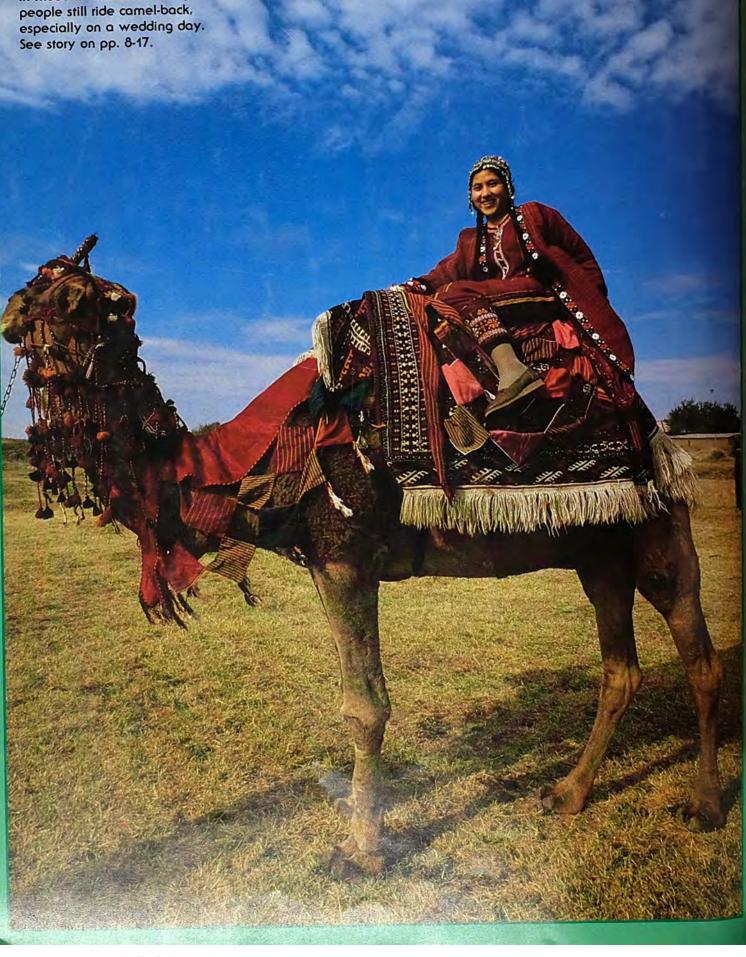


#### TENANT FARMERS

Today the USSR has about 10,000 private farms. How fast will their number grow? It's too early to say. Obstacles still stand in the way of hardworking and enterprising families willing to try farming. Yet some, like the Ponomarenkos, profiled in September, are managing. Not long ago Pyotr Ponomarenko, a veterinary surgeon, leased a ramshackle farmstead in the Kubansky countryside and is now working his plot with his wife and children.

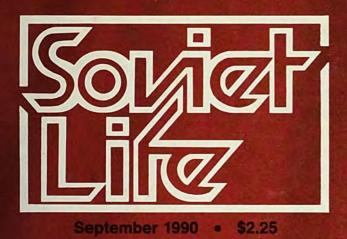


In modern Turkmenia many people still ride camel-back,



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# SOVIET SOCIETY AT A CROSSROADS

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Kuzmin's Artistic Artistic Expressions



Photograph by Dmitri Khrupov

**T** HE GROUP of about 40 American students who spent last summer in the Soviet Union on the People to People Friendship Caravan will never forget August 2, 1989. It was a sunny day, and the group's tour bus, the lead bus of a nine-bus caravan, was heading along the Moscow-Kharkov Highway, 555 kilometers from the Soviet capital.

Suddenly, a truck traveling in the opposite direction came tearing around a corner, crossed the center line, and veered directly into the bus's path.

Luckily, the caravan had an escort of two representatives of the Kursk Region Road Militia Patrol—Senior Lieutenant Vladimir Kirilyuk and First Sergeant Mikhail Pankrushev.

"I saw the truck beginning to brake, but it was going too fast to avoid an accident," Pankrushev recalled. "I knew I had only a few seconds to slow it down and to change its direction."

Officer Pankrushev, who was driving a subcompact militia car, never mentioned whether he thought about



First Sergeant Mikhail Pankrushev with his family.

his own two sons before ramming into the truck in an effort to prevent it from crashing into the bus. We only know what his quick thinking and brave actions accomplished. The truck swerved sideways and slowed down, completely missing the bus.

Fortunately, no one was killed, but Officer Kirilyuk broke several ribs and Officer Pankrushev suffered a skull fracture and an arm injury.

"We were deeply moved by the fact that a member of the Soviet militia had risked his life for the Americans," said Emanuele Portolese, head of the People to People Student Programs. "It evoked the warmest feelings toward him and toward the Soviet people in general."

Upon his return to Spokane, Washington, where his organization is headquartered, Portolese described the incident in a letter to U.S. President George Bush, the honorary president of the People to People organization. President Bush sent a reply.

This past May 16, Portolese and Phil Guidice traveled to Moscow to attend the reception given by Sputnik's Bureau of International Youth Tourism in honor of Officer Pankrushev. The Americans presented the militia officer with a mantelpiece clock from their organization, a signed portrait of President Bush, and a letter from the President addressed to the officer. The letter read in part:

The courage you displayed demonstrates that the desire to help others transcends national boundaries. Your quick, unselfish response to this dangerous situation is testimony to your strength of character and your selfless concern for others.

Your actions are a tribute to your profession, and I am pleased to send my heartfelt thanks for your exceptional bravery. You have my best wishes for your continued recovery and a future of health and happiness.

Sincerely, George Bush

#### EDITOR'S NOTES

**M** y pal, a photographer, returned from the Goodwill Games in Seattle, Washington, with a heap of film and even more impressions—all very radiant and benevolent. And he's not an idealistic youth, but an experienced fellow in his late sixties, who has traveled all over the world, including to the States more than once.

"I haven't yet figured out why, but this time America impressed me more than any other," he said. "If we continue at our present rate, it'll take us another 100 years to catch up. I don't mean in technology or living standards. It's the people above all. I stayed first with one American family and then with another—simply staggering folk. Their only drawback is that they are health nuts. [As to my pal, he likes his cigarettes and scotch.] I don't think your magazine can in any way impress Americans."

"Why impress?" I retorted. "What about inform? We can write about our life, our cities, our people...."

"You mean how kind, responsive, and good they are," he interrupted. "You must be kidding. My car broke down the other day, and I spent almost a day trying to flag down someone to give me a lift."

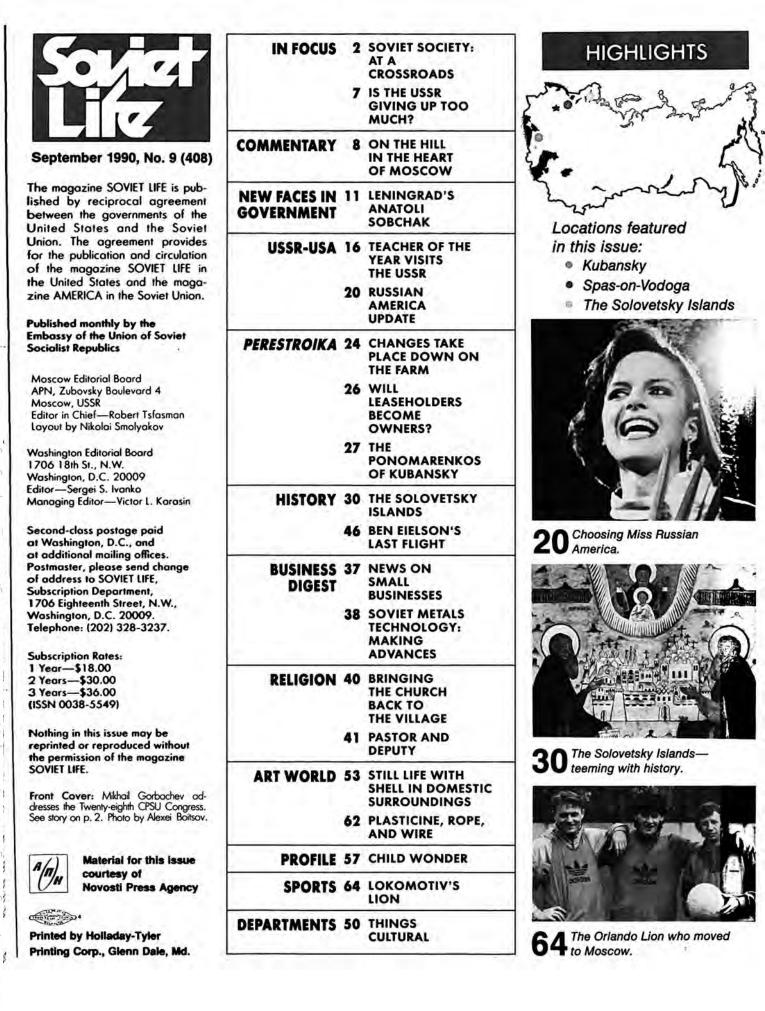
My pal is right to a certain extent: Our people have become somewhat less helpful because of how hard life has gotten. Still, I prefer not to generalize in describing the Soviet and the American people. For example, what about the Soviet militiaman, who used his car to shield a busload of Americans from a tragic crash. (See article at left.) At the same time, another militiaman was arrested for burglary. I think things are the same in the U.S. too. We both have our heroes and our villians.

If I had been to Seattle, I'd probably feel the same as my pal. But Americans who come to the USSR often say how great our kindergartens are. Yet, we know their shortcomings.

Still, I believe it's better to admire each other than to find faults.

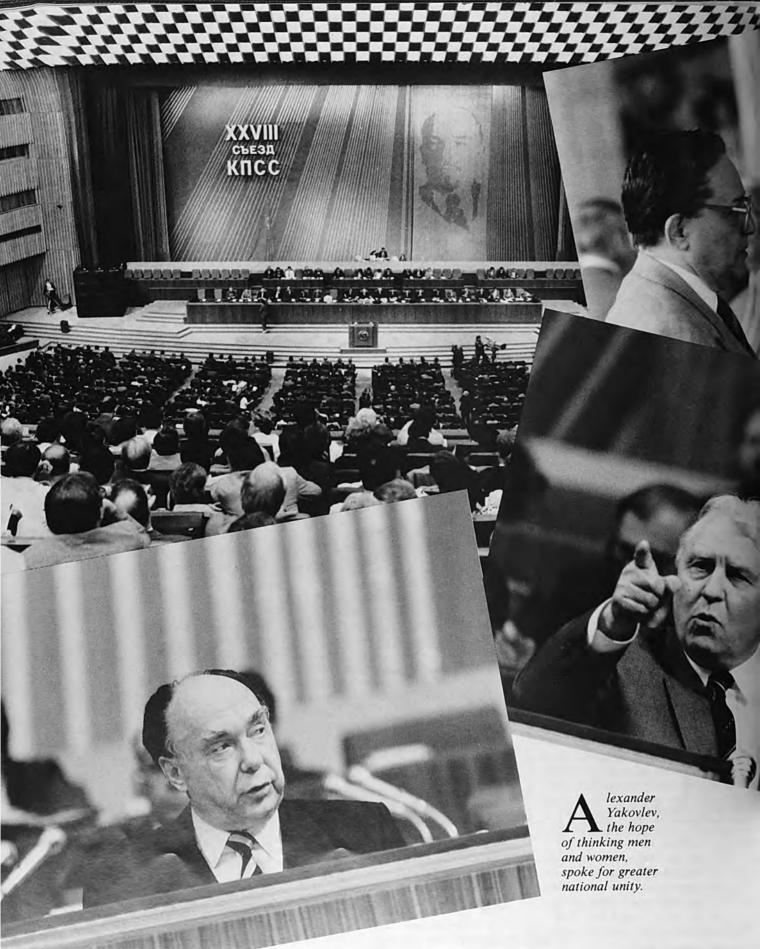
**Robert Tsfasman** 





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# SOVIET SOCIETY AT A CROSSROADS

By Vyacheslav Kostikov

strategy of parties and grassroots movements.

A vivid example of this was the impressive "muscle flexing" by the conservatives at the Twenty-eighth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) last July. The conservatives' calls to curb glasnost and democracy and, virtually, to revise perestroika, sent shudders throughout the Soviet public.

The composition of the parliaments of the USSR and the Russian Federation, whose members were not included on the party ticket but won their seats in a popular election, more correctly reflect the correlation of forces. The balance in both parliaments favors the reformers. At this juncture it is worth recalling that the recent adoption of an amendment to Article 6 of the Soviet Constitution has stripped the Communist Party of its status as "the leading and guiding force of Soviet society." The scales have tipped toward the Soviets.

Nowadays the evolution of the USSR's political system is determined less by an inner-party struggle between reformers and conservatives than by the legislative work of representative bodies-the parliaments of the USSR and the Russian Federation. In spite of strong opposition from the conservative wing of the CPSU, the Soviet parliament has approved a course toward a market economy and has adopted a progressive law on freedom of the press. This shows that the forces striving to slow down progress are no longer capable of blocking the democratic process altogether, though they can delay it. This is especially true in the provinces, where the pace of change is not as swift as elsewhere.

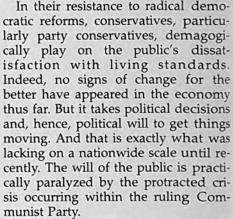
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Delegates Pavel Bunich (left) and Sergei Stankevich confer at the congress. Left: The conservative wing of the party was led by Yegor Ligachev.

> eo Tolstoy's famous phrase from Anna Karenina—"Everything is a mess at the Oblonskys"—very eloquently characterizes the

current political and moral situation in the huge home called the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. It is very difficult to pick one trend to describe what is occurring on the Soviet scene. One thing is more or less clear, however: The complexity of the lineup of political forces is determined not so much by the flexible balance between reformers and conservatives as by the destabilization of the economy and its effect on public sentiment. In a situation of extreme uneasiness among the public, politics is feeling the pressure of factors that are more connected with the mood of the masses than the





Much has been written about this crisis in the party over the past two or three years. The words "split," "dissociation," "factions," and "platforms" have become extremely prominent at party discussions. There is a growing awareness of the inevitability that the CPSU will split into two or even three sections. What is more, a number of analysts claim that such a split could play a positive role, since it would facilitate the creation of several new parties based on the CPSU. That, the analysts say, would define more

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duard

goals of Soviet

Top left: Mikhail

Gorbachev steeled

himself against

an attack from

conservatives.

foreign policy.

Shevardnadze

defined the

any delegates voiced their disapproval of perestroika in votes taken on the floor. Left: Boris Yeltsin outside the congress halls.

clearly the contours of alternative political lines.

The absence of unity in the party and society has actually prevented the progressive laws that have been adopted over the past 12 months from being implemented. President Mikhail Gorbachev had to admit bitterly at the Twenty-eighth Congress that the Law on Land, the most important of the recently adopted Soviet laws, was not working. Actually, none of the laws for which the President and his team had struggled so hard to enact are working. The hope that these laws may start working in the future is poor consolation for a society that has already waited far too long for change. This makes the democratic forces all the more uneasy.

The public showed a rather contradictory reaction to a warning strike of miners in a number of coal-mining regions last July. It was clearly a political strike since the miners demanded more radical reforms. Objectively, the strike contributed to the escalation of a confrontation between conservatives and radicals at the party congress. Passions were so high that the public, which was glued to television sets for 10 days watching the progress of the Congress, more than once was gripped with fear for the fate of *perestroika* and its promoters. If the conservatives had prevailed, it would have meant an end to *perestroika* and the loss of years of progress. It could also have meant a crackdown in the party, and what followed would have been anybody's guess.

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Why did the conservatives, who, confident of victory, had unleashed a truly aggressive political campaign at the congress, eventually lose? There are several reasons.

Having distanced themselves from the people in a closed bureaucratic world of their own, the conservatives misjudged the real state of Soviet society. Though the provinces do lag behind the cities in democratic evolution, the provinces are nevertheless not what they were five years ago obedient, politically amorphous, and frightened hinterlands. Recent polls point to the rapid radicalization of public opinion both in the cities and in the provinces.

Also, though the majority of delegates were conservatives, the Congress could not but feel the passions flying high beyond the walls of the Kremlin Palace of Congresses, and, so to speak, they were scared by the prospect of victory.

Gorbachev, who was supported by the democratic wing, succeeded in preventing the party from taking a conservative turn. Those who wanted  $\Box$ 

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such a turn found themselves in the minority and left. The renewed Central Committee and its Politburo, in which advocates of reform and democratization prevail, give grounds for hope that the party will in action, and not merely in words, become the vanguard of a movement to a democratic, law-based state.

Hope or no hope, the negative factors surrounding the CPSU remain strong. These are, first, a deep crisis in society's confidence in the Communist Party and, second, the dogmatism of the party, which was not overcome even at its Twenty-eighth Congress.

In spite of strong pressure from the reformers, the CPSU refused to proclaim itself a parliamentary party, thereby reserving a certain "special position" for itself. The fact that it retains the principle of democratic centralism, which was the prime object of criticism on the part of reformers, has also produced a very unfavorable impression on those party members who had hoped that the Congress might convince them to remain in its ranks. Yes, the party leaders made several tangible moves to pacify the reformers. A number of provisions of the Democratic Platform were taken into account in finalizing the text of the Congress statement. But the Congress proved incapable of taking any radical steps toward renewal. Hence, there was a symbolic split. The reformers who rallied around the Democratic Platform announced their intention to leave the CPSU. Vyacheslav Shostakovsky, the Democratic Platform leader and dean of the Higher Party School of the CPSU Central Committee, announced the creation of an independent party.

In view of the latest developments, some analysts are tempted to pronounce that the Communist Party is a flop, and the dwindling figures on party membership that are coming in from different regions support, in their opinion, that conclusion. The analysts predict that the CPSU will suffer the same fate as the Eastern European parties, which collapsed under the pressure of their own mistakes aggravated by miscalculations in the communist movement in general.

Personally, I think that those predictions ignore a number of important

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factors, including those of a historical nature. In Eastern Europe, the Communist parties were largely copies of the Soviet Communist Party. As such, they were alien to Eastern European political traditions, which has a greater tilt toward social democracy. As the pressure subsided, Eastern European countries took off their artificial raiment.

For Russia, on the other hand, communism, and the communist movement are part of its historic destiny. That was stressed more than once by the great Russian philosopher Nikolai Berdyayev in his time. In his book The Origin of Russian Communism, Berdyayev finds the roots of Russian Communism in the Russian national tradition. I think that in spite of the party's ideological crisis and its discrediting, many communist ideals remain close to the Russian people, who are known for their longing for universal justice and "happiness for all."

There are also other factors that favor the CPSU. As distinct from Eastern Europe, where alternative parties, if only pocket parties, existed even in the worst of years, in the Soviet Union the Communist Party has retained its monopoly on power for the past 70 years. The USSR has actually lost the tradition of a multiparty system. No one and especially leaders have kept the political "know-how" of old parties.

I have no doubt that in time alternative parties will appear in the USSR, as befits any civilized country. As for now, there is no real alternative to the CPSU in the "political wasteland" left by decades of totalitarian rule.

That is why many people believe that from a practical point of view it would be far more rational to democratize the Communist Party from within than to tear it to pieces. Presumably, Mikhail Gorbachev thinks so too—at least that conclusion follows from the struggle he waged at the Twenty-eighth Party Congress.

The dispute about the fate of socialism in the USSR reached its climax at the Party Congress. This dispute has been gaining momentum since 1985, when *perestroika* began, and it has become the talk of the city over the past few months since a course toward a "regulated" market economy in the USSR was announced.

This is by no means an idle discussion, especially now that political pluralism is gaining momentum. And an array of new parties are proclaiming anti-Communist slogans. Today, these political forces are still in the embryonic state. But with the present dynamics of the Soviet political process and with the ideological gap widening within the Communist Party, a number of new political forces may very well gain social prominence.

Furthermore, the idea of a market economy, which was received by the public with great caution only a few months ago, is gradually gaining ground as an alternative to the previous economic course. A flow of truthful information about the quality of life in the West, on the one hand, and sharp criticisms of "the real achievements of socialism" in the USSR, on the other, have seriously shaken ideological stereotypes, while the public's confidence about the finality of the socialist choice has started to recede very rapidly.

A "law-based state" is the most acceptable formula for the Soviet society, which is being born in pain on the ruins of totalitarianism.

Many analysts believe, however, that regardless of the pace at which the dismantling of state monopolism may proceed and a free market may be asserted, the socialist idea-the way Gorbachev interprets it-will not be erased from modern history. Knowing the roots of the sharpness with which socialism is being criticized in the USSR, one should remember, however, that socialism was not born in Russia and that socialism is more than 100 years old. It can be safely assumed, especially taking into account the experience of social evolution in Sweden, Finland, Switzerland, France, and a number of other Western European countries, that the fate of socialism will be determined over the next few decades not so much by the progress of perestroika in the USSR as by the evolution of humankind as a whole. Socialism exists, and will continue to exist, as a high humanistic ideal. As such, it is under no time limits.

#### IS THE USSR GIVING UP TOO MUCH?

By Alexei Pushkov

ne feature of democratization is that there is now open opposition to the leadership's foreign policy. No one should be deceived by the resolution of support that was passed by 90 per cent of the delegates to the Twenty-eighth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union after hearing the Central Committee's political report. To a large degree, the resolution was motivated by the survival instinct and the fear of causing a split and a further weakening in the party. The resolution failed to address such established notions as new thinking and universal values. That 1,116 votes were cast against Mikhail Gorbachev for the office of General Secretary shows that within the party there is resentment against his foreign policy.

Criticisms of Gorbachev's policies from the right appeal not to the reason but to emotions, long-held opinions, and ideological instincts. These are corroborated by statements, particularly by the military, that we are "destroying our own defense structures," making one concession after another at talks, and curtailing our military's strategic potential. But the commander of our general staff, General Mikhail Moiseyev, states: "As we sign disarmament agreements, we preserve the approximate equilibrium of interests of the parties. At these talks we have our principled positions." According to Moiseyev, such positions are worked out with the active involvement of the general staff and are intended to prevent any deterioration of the national defenses or the potential of our armed forces.

But what about the West? Is it true, as our hawks say, that the West has been making disarmament promises to us while it continues to arm itself at a furious pace? Indeed, the West has not abandoned its modernization programs and is even building up its arsenals in several areas. But we are not abandoning our own programs, either. Also, the NATO members are beginning to move from words to deeds in terms of military budget cuts.

If Soviet-American relations make further headway, the U.S. plans to cut its armed forces by 25 per cent between 1992 and 1997. Perhaps the Americans aren't giving us reason to rejoice, but they are moving in the right direction. In any event, larger cuts will only be possible provided the USSR maintains its current foreign policy.

Efforts are being made to convince us that the

current foreign policy of the USSR is undermining our status as a superpower. But this is not true in essence. Our status is not being undermined by our foreign policy but by the deplorable state of society, by the lack of economic competence, by technological backwardness.

In the meantime, when it comes to the international or domestic politics, the right has neither trustworthy ideas nor an alternative platform that would take into account both their subjective preferences and the genuine national priorities. What they do have is a painful feeling of nostalgia for the clear and well-organized past and an acute desire to find the "culprits" who are to blame for the need to enter a new and uncomfortable world.

What do the conservatives invite us to do? Should we slow down the progress at the disarmament talks? Or abandon the steps that got them off the ground, only to get bogged down again in senseless and ruinous confrontation? Should we turn down new thinking and the priority of universal human values?

Should we once again launch an ideological attack? What ideas should be used as weapons, or shall we again resort to tanks?

The country has neither the physical nor the psychological resources for a policy of moderate confrontation, for which the right is campaigning. This country has no alternative to Gorbachev's policies.

Conservative thinking has been rejected in a major way, and now it is engaged in rear-guard battles. An increasing number of people are coming to understand that most of our past achievements, both domestic and international, are castles in the sand, that military might without a viable economy, a free public life, technological progress, and democratic institutions is worth very little.

The structures of the cold war are being destroyed as we enter a qualitatively new world. We are faced with the issue of finding our own place, our own role, in this world. We must discover ways to meet our national interests, including those of security. For our foreign policy to be as effective and balanced as possible, we need criticism and analytical thought, which should appeal to the intellect, not the heart; to serious calculations, not to conditioned reflexes. If we fail to agree with the content of what is offered, we still should welcome that it is said. ■ Courtesy of the newspaper *Izvestia* 

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commentary

Kremlin Hill sounds a little like Capitol Hill, doesn't it? Anyway, both are seats of legislation. While U.S. congressmen set the pulse in Washington, people's deputies of the USSR meet in the heart of Moscow, in a building in the Kremlin on a spectacular hill overlooking the Moskva River. Igor Dobyshev, Novosti's correspondent assigned to cover the Third Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, shares his impressions.

ON THE HILL

IN THE HEART



years ago, being a deputy to the Supreme Soviet meant prestige, power, and a serene life. The deputies gathered for brief sessions over the year to raise an approving hand a dozen or so times. The clockwork ritual was never broken.

In 1989 the total overhaul of the USSR Supreme Soviet revamped the status of a deputy. The prestige was still there, but only if the deputy had a good head on his or her shoulders. Today, Supreme Soviet sessions are televised, and constituents can see the representatives in action. As People's Deputy David Kugultinov, a noted poet from Kalmykia, pointed out, "Now any sneeze or blunder is instantly broadcast across the nation."

The lobby of the parliament building is definitely the place where reporters lurk in every corner, obscured by cigarette smoke, eavesdropping for bits of news, and ready to pounce on easy prey. I pity the nonsmoking members of the press who must cope with the thick smoke screen, but à la guerre comme à la guerre.

The lobby is where you find people clustered in tight groups, often in odd combinations, like a minister, a general, and a manual laborer, each trying to buttonhole the others. Valentin Pavlov, USSR Minister of Finance, made the lobby his major domain and hunting area. Normally, Pavlov herded a sizable group of economically naive deputies around himself and began an extensive discourse on finance.

I'm not sure whether his tactics were perfectly irreproachable since after a session with Pavlov, an innocent deputy might just be bewildered enough to vote for a questionable government program. However, I must admit that I never saw Pavlov lure a single simple soul into his trap. Either he was a bad hunter or was cautious enough to make sure that no reporter was looking his way while he set his trap.

The new USSR Supreme Soviet is a living body composed of people of different nationalities with different backgrounds and with different points of view. An opposition, which would have been unthinkable a few years ago, is what makes the work of the parliament not only complex but also creative and rewarding. "Opposition" may be too strong a word, but that's how the Inter-Regional Group with Boris Yeltsin, the newly elected head of the Russian Federation; Gavriil Popov, now Moscow's mayor; Sergei Stankevich, Popov's deputy; among others, calls itself.

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Perhaps Anatoli Sobchak, the Leningrad lawyer who was recently elected mayor of that city, is the most colorful moderately left figure in the new parliament. Wherever he goes, a pack of reporters is trailing not far behind. Poor guy.

Sobchak possesses many good qualities. He is highly competent and talkative at times. Reporters love him for his verbosity and willingness to speak. He seems to love to talk, assuming an important air and making significant gestures. Thank heavens, he's not well versed in "academese," so any mortal fluent in Russian can understand him.

Anyway, the new parliament covers a broad political spectrum, including radicals, moderates, and old-timers. It's an explosive mixture when the parliament launches debates on the issues affecting the very political and economic foundations of this country, for example, on the laws on property, the ownership of land, the taxation of enterprises, and so on.

For instance, the government program for the transition to a "regulated" market economy provoked a storm of conflicting views. Speakers for and against, apparently forgetting all rules of conduct, shook their fists and launched into tirades. Economist Gennadi Filshin, the radical leader of the Inter-Regional Group, demanded that the resignation of Ryzhkov's government be considered, the unspeakable in Soviet official politics. In fact, the parliament heard a lot of criticism, more than enough to have had a dissenter jailed for "waging anti-Soviet propaganda" before.

The debates on the law on property sparked an especially fierce debate on the Soviet system. Remember, Marxist theory defies private property under socialism as allegedly fostering exploitation. Quite naturally, this dogma became a bone of contention for old-timers and radicals.

"What is socialist property?" questioned Eduard Kozin from the rostrum. "Who can tell? There's only one kind of property, either under socialism or capitalism. For example, for me, there's no difference between a socialist or a capitalist coat. I suppose that if we choose the way we are headed, I'll have no coat at all. Exploitation, either of man or machine, exists in every society. That's the way society is."

Having listened to all this, Deputy Leonid Sukhov boldly stepped up to the rostrum and read a letter from the workers of a Moscow taxi depot: "Giving a free hand to private business means betraying our children and depriving them of the chance to live in a society governed by social justice," the workers wrote.

For my money, Fyodor Burlatsky, the editor in chief of *Literaturnaya gazeta* (*Literary Gazette*), who is a moderate left-winger like Sobchak, was closer to the golden mean.

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"Who had the results of all labor for themselves before?" Burlatsky asked. "The landlord and the capitalist. We accomplished the revolution and gave everything over to the state. Who's the boss now? The peasant? The worker? The intellectual? No, who then? The bureaucrat? The bureaucrat hasn't become the proprietor, but he has quickly taken the reins in distributing the wealth.

"Now, the goal of the reform is to deprive the bureaucrat of that right and give it to work collectives and individuals."

However, the ardent debates produced few results. Private property is not mentioned in the new law, though a variety of property forms is elaborated. The radicals did a lot of grumbling.

In fact, moderation should become the sign of the times now, in a country on the verge of rending itself asunder. With society split into hostile camps, radical and conservative—Russia always went to extremes, alas—the parliament should always seek a Solomonian solution. Otherwise, the chasm between social groups will deepen to such an extent that it will undermine the entire *perestroika* process. Moreover, the ailing economy might collapse if a big leap like the radicals propose is adopted.

One ailment that seemed to spread through the newborn parliament was truancy. At times the spacious hall of the parliament looked like a body half eaten by disease, with a little over 300 of the 542 deputies in attendance. Invariably the absentees cited meetings with their constituency as their excuse. On occasion the lawmaking process ground to a halt whenever a quorum could not be reached.

When that happened, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Anatoli Lukyanov looked around and sternly reminded everyone: "Listen,... the taxpayers are shelling out 500 rubles a month for each of you—twice the average wage. Please be so kind as to give them their money's worth."

Though the parliamentarians divided into a cluster of groups, each lobbying for its specific interests, the divisions do not comprise Westernized factions. Political pluralism is still in the bud stage, and it isn't a meaningful factor in the country's policies. At present, it can only shore up the evolving new parties.

The Third Session of the Supreme Soviet turned out to be both the longest and most productive. Thirty-three laws were passed—twice as many as were adopted at the two previous sessions. Yet, I believe, the best achievement of the session was that it shaped a highly competent and able team of parliamentarians. The Soviet legislative system now has a, perhaps, green but strong branch in the separation of powers. A guarantee of genuine democracy is gathering momentum.

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30,000 Have Moved to Toronto Alone-and That's Not the Half of It By David Clark Scott

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new faces in government

# LENINGRAD'S ANATOLI SOBCHAK

By Tatyana Chesanova Photographs by Lev Sherstennikov

How has it happened that a university professor; a regular theatergoer; and a connoisseur of literature, classical music, and art has suddenly found himself riding the very crest of public attention? While some people all but worship him, others curse his name. Yet you won't find anyone in the Soviet Union who hasn't heard of Anatoli Sobchak.

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common name within the USSR, Anatoli Sobchak is also widely known outside his country. Two days after he was elected

chairman of the Leningrad City Soviet (in other words, the city's mayor), Sobchak visited the United States at the invitation of the U.S. Congress. Many prominent politicians, business people, and journalists there asked him why such a popular politician and one of the most outspoken deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet would decide to concentrate on local problems. Sobchak replied that he owed his first allegiance to his city.

Sobchak has never shied away from controversy. His first encounter with official censure took place 18 years ago. As a young and talented lawyer, he developed a serious interest in economics and wrote his doctoral thesis on the legal aspects of full cost and profit accounting in Soviet industry and on the need to denationalize state property.

His dissertation, however, ran up against some serious problems. The experts accused Sobchak of "selling off socialist property" and of "restoring capitalism." For six years the dissertation was shuffled around the Higher Qualification Board, sitting forgotten on various desks until it was finally declared "subversive."

This was not the only time Sobchak felt the effects of Soviet officialdom on his department at the university. Sobchak's scientific adviser, Professor Ioffe, was a living classic of legal science and the founder of the university's chair of civil law. His textbooks were mandatory reading for every Soviet law student. But then Ioffe's daughter emigrated to Israel with her husband. For this, he was expelled from the Communist Party and stripped of his professorship. Finally, Ioffe left the country, too.

Anyone who had studied under the professor was urged to condemn him as a "traitor," but Sobchak refused to renounce his teacher. Luckily, it was 1978, not 1937, yet it took 12 years before the two got in contact with

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each other again. The telephone conversation between student and teacher—the former, a professor at Leningrad State University; the latter, at Stanford University—lasted an hour and a half. It turned out that loffe had kept an eye on his talented prodigy. He was pleased with Sobchak's academic work and his personal valor, for Sobchak had continued to press for complete cost accounting and the economic autonomy of enterprises.

Studies by Sobchak have long been noticed not only in the United States but also in many other countries. Over the years he had received invitations to attend conferences and to lecture at foreign universities, but his applications for exit visas were always denied.

In 1982 Sobchak defended a second doctoral thesis. In 1984 he organized a new chair of economic law. "That's my baby. I can't give it up even now," he says. And Leningrad's mayor is willing to preside over the department even without pay. As for his "subversive" ideas about cost accounting and market relations, they have proved remarkably viable, and now Sobchak has taken them out of the classroom and into the halls of the Kremlin.

With Mikhail Gorbachev has come a general explosion and an upsurge of enthusiasm in many areas. It has brought about a new course for the country and new political thinking. Once-forbidden books and films have finally reached their readers and viewers, and hundreds of so-called dissidents have regained their freedom. The country is at a turning point, and Sobchak does not feel like sitting it out in his ivory tower.

In 1989 Professor Sobchak started a campaign for a deputy's mandate, mostly to prove that today a great deal really depends on the voters themselves. His wife at home and his colleagues at work tried to dissuade him. "You're smart. You've got a good position," they argued. "Why risk it by going into politics. You'll never win anyway."

Anatoli Sobchak, however, wanted to prove to himself, to his family, and to his friends that things were really changing in the country and that it was the duty of every honest citizen to get involved.

It wasn't long before Sobchak's wife and colleagues had to admit that they had been wrong. His political reputation was formed in the very opening days of the First Session of the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR. Since then, his statements and proposals have repeatedly helped the deputies to escape from procedural and other traps and to implement the most progressive decisions.

Sobchak was also nominated to sit on the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and he won. His goal was first of all, to translate into law the ideas for which he had fought for so long. He has some very concrete ideas on how to build the economy and the methods for implementing them.

Many members of parliament regard Sobchak as a tough and uncompromising legislator. And it's true that when he knows he's right, he'll engage his opponents with remarkable zeal. For example, he has avidly defended leaseholders and the cooperative movement from the very start.

In response came the sensational "exposure" of a "cooperatives lobby" within the Supreme Soviet, which allegedly "pushed through" the "new economy" and had received fat fees and bonuses from the cooperatives for doing so.

Those were the charges, but the facts prove otherwise. Before becoming a deputy, Sobchak had organized the Legal Aid Consulting Cooperative at Leningrad State University. He never tried to conceal his connection with the legal cooperative. He earned 50 to 320 rubles a month. As soon as he became a deputy, however, Sobchak severed all ties with the group. The charges were plainly made to discredit him.

The Leningrad deputy, however, proved not easy to scare. More than a year ago Anatoli Sobchak traded his fairly untroubled and secure academic life for the demanding job as a member of parliament because he believed in the possibility of change. Several months ago he took on another major headache by occupying the office of the chairman of the Leningrad City Soviet. He did so because he wanted to put changes into practice.





W hen Anatoli Sobchak talks, people listen, no matter where he might be. Above: Conferring with his colleagues. Left: At the podium of the Congress of People's Deputies. Below: At the center of an impromptu gathering of his constituents, who often stop him on the street.







The Holy Liturgy now sounds again under the domes of the incredibly beautiful St. Isaac's Cathedral in historic Leningrad. Sobchak unhesitatingly granted the request of Patriarch Alexius of Moscow and All-Russia to serve mass in that famous Russian cathedral. Believers have been waiting for this since 1928.

Then Sobchak invited the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, Boris Yeltsin, to attend mass. Yeltsin immediately agreed, understanding perfectly well the importance of this event not only for Leningrad but for the whole republic.

As a former mountaineer, Anatoli

The mayor at home. Clockwise from far left: Sobchak is an excellent cook and frequently makes dinner for his family. Last year the Sobchaks had to tape paper around the windows to keep the cold out. The family together. Sobchak knows how important it is to work with a team you can rely on. He has the same goals as the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Russia and a complete understanding of how these goals can be achieved.

"One of the most important tasks," says Sobchak, "is to draw up a plan for establishing a free economic zone in Leningrad Region. The market will help to fill the shops with goods and to get us out of the crisis. To achieve this, we must give up the mentality of banning everything and allow any initiative that can benefit the city."

As soon as the work on the plan is completed, the Leningrad City Soviet will submit it to voters as a referendum and to the Russian Supreme Soviet, which is waiting to take action on it. The whole country cannot switch over to market relations overnight. It's necessary to experiment and to try out different models first, one of which has been suggested by the people of Leningrad.

The new laws on which Sobchak has worked in the Legislative Commission of the Soviet parliament are coming into force today. He now has the chance to put them into practice. So, the new mayor of Leningrad has not only put forward his program but has started implementing it without delay. In the sphere of politics it means a real multiparty system. The City Soviet immediately started to register new political organizations, such as the Popular Front, the United Workers Front, the Voters Association, and others. In the economic sphere it means a real variety of forms of management, such as leaseholders and joint-stock companies.

"The Soviets of People's Deputies," says Leningrad's mayor, "are the only legitimate power in the city, and any decision by them is mandatory for everyone. There can be no exceptions either for groups or for individuals."

Countering resistance to the new ideas has become par for the course for the city officials. Each decision by the new Leningrad City Soviet is a hard-won victory for the deputies and their chairman.

But then, Anatoli Sobchak has always believed that truth will prevail. When he is asked about the source of his optimism, he normally replies very briefly: "A pessimist shouldn't go into politics."

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### TEACHER OF THE YEAR VISITS THE USSR

By Anna Nikolayeva Photographs by Mikhail Kuzminsky

> nbelievable!" said Mary Bicouvaris, pinching her arm to see if she was dreaming. "Well, it's real, but I still don't believe it."

That's what Mary V. Bicouvaris said after returning from the Kremlin, where she and Darlene S. Pierce met with President Mikhail Gorbachev. Bicouvaris, a government and international relations instructor at Bethel High School in Hampton, Virginia, and the 1989 National Teacher of the Year, and Pierce, then coordinator of the National Teacher of the Year Program, were in the USSR last March under the auspices of *Uchitelskaya gazeta* (*Teachers Gazette*), a Soviet weekly with a circulation of 1.7 million. The American women were among the first nongovernmental visitors received by the new Soviet President.

The Soviet sponsors of the Americans' visit to the USSR had wanted very much for President Gorbachev to meet with Bicouvaris, but no one was too hopeful considering the President's busy schedule. A year earlier Bicouvaris had received a Crystal Apple in recognition of her professional achievements from President George Bush at the White House.

And then, at quarter past 10 on Friday, March 23, while the women were packing to fly home the next day, the staff at *Uchitelskaya gazeta* received a phone call from Gorbachev's office, saying the President could receive the Americans in the Kremlin at 11 o'clock. That news threw everybody into a tizzy. Though the weekly's office is only a two-minute walk from the Kremlin, the women were staying at a hotel across town.

Quickly a car was dispatched to pick up the women, while the staff phoned the Kremlin, say-





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**ISSR-USA** 

ing the Americans were on the way. Gennadi Seleznev, editor in chief of Uchitelskaya gazeta, hurried to the Kremlin to await the guests. Expecting them to arrive from the riverside, Seleznev failed to notice the car rushing from the opposite direction toward Spassky Gate. Suddenly, the car screeched to a halt, and the two excited American women jumped out and headed for their meeting with the Soviet leader.

President Gorbachev received the Americans in his office. His warm smile and the friendly hand he held out to them were very reassuring. The next 45 minutes was spent discussing various topical problems of the day.

Bicouvaris and Pierce said they found the President "very easy to talk to." They were impressed by "his calm manner of speech and his grasp of things" they considered important.

"President Gorbachev is a very warm person with a wonderful voice," said Pierce.

Both Bicouvaris and Pierce were surprised to discover that the Soviet President had a good understanding of educational issues and was well aware of the status of teachers in society. Whatever topic their talk touched on—domestic

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problems, Soviet-American relations, global problems of human civilization, politics, or morals—they always returned to the subject of schools and teachers. President Gorbachev said that in his view teachers had a great role to play in *perestroika* since they were in charge of educating the coming generation, the nation's future. Learning that Bicouvaris was a government and international relations instructor, the President recalled that as a senior in high school he would often argue with his social science teacher, and once the teacher even had him reprimanded by the school principal for it.

Bicouvaris told President Gorbachev that to her mind the purpose of education was for the young to leave school healthy, strong, and knowledgeable and to see the earth as the inheritance of all of humanity.

Both women agreed that the meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev was the highlight of their trip, which took them to Moscow, Leningrad, and Novosibirsk, Siberia.

In Moscow, Bicouvaris spoke with teachers of private mo Sverdlovsky District. Her Russian counterparts with a Sov agreed with the American teacher on many schoolgirl.

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Darlene Pierce (left) and Mary Bicouvaris in front of a fountain in GUM, Moscow's largest department store, which is located on Red Square.



points, while on others they disagreed and debated at length. Gradually, all came to understand that they had common problems in many areas—from the relationship between the school and society to the role educators play in motivating students to stay in school.

In Leningrad, meeting with the students and faculty of a local teachers college, Bicouvaris concentrated her remarks on the teaching profession, noting that the prestige of teachers in the U.S. was equally low. In Novosibirsk, as in the other cities on the tour, the American teacher conducted a demonstration history class at a school offering an extended program in English.

How did Mary Bicouvaris' visit to the USSR come about? It all began when Uchitelskaya gazeta decided to start a USSR national teacher of the year program. To gain from the experience of others involved in similar undertakings, the U.S. National Teacher of the Year was invited to visit the USSR.

"I must admit," recalled Vladimir Misyuchenko, deputy editor in chief of Uchitelskaya gazeta, "at first we and the sponsors of the

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American program—Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., and the Council of Chief State School Officers—didn't think the trip was feasible. But Darlene Pierce, who for many years coordinated the U.S. program, was convinced that it would draw the public's, and even state leaders', attention to problems faced by teachers around the world. And she was absolutely right."

Readers of Uchitelskaya gazeta had an opportunity to "meet" Mary Bicouvaris even before she actually arrived in person. One of last year's issues of the weekly carried a detailed account of the procedure used in selecting the U.S. National Teacher of the Year.

"This year," said Misyuchenko, "we are planning to introduce a similar competition."

In parting, Darlene Pierce said she had another dream, the dream of uniting the National Teachers of the Year from all countries at an international conference of progressive educators to make their voice heard by the global community. President Gorbachev's response convinced her that it was possible for her dream to become reality. The women meet with President Mikhail Gorbachev. Second from left is Gennadi Yagodin, chairman of the USSR State Committee on Education.







#### RUSSIAN AMERICA UPDATE

By Marina Khachaturova Photographs by Yuri Rybchins! and Eduard Gladkov



he phrase "Russian America" sounds strange at first, but it reflects a long and dramatic history. Two hundred and fifty years ago the first Russians set-

tled in Alaska. Even now there is plenty of evidence to show that Russian America is certainly alive and well. And it most certainly will continue to flourish with the favorable changes taking place in Soviet-American relations.

Not long ago Vera Von Wiren-Garczynski, a professor at the City College of New York, came up with the idea for the Russian America Festival (see the May 1990 issue of SO-VIET LIFE).

The festival was conceived as a series of events highlighting the cultural, economic, and political aspects of Russian America. The events, which are to be held alternately in the Soviet Union and the United States, are meant to invigorate humanitarian and business cooperation between the two countries.

The first stage of the Russian America Festival took place this past spring, on the eve of the Washington summit. From May 25 to 27 the Variety Theater in the center of Moscow was a hub of activity, which gathered large audiences and received good press coverage.

**Smiling Natalya** Krasnova, 18, took first prize in the Miss Russian America Pageant. Krasnova is a first year student at Kazakh State University. Facing page (top to bottom): The Variety Theater decked with banners for the **Russian America Festival.** Three of the top winners (from left)-Yelena Trukhan, Natalya Krasnova, and Anna Medvedeva. Professor Vera Von Wiren-Garczynski (second from right) at the closing ceremony in Moscow.

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The highlight of the festival was the Miss Russian America Pageant. According to pageant organizers, Miss Russian America should be not only beautiful but also intelligent, clever, and knowledgeable about both Russian and American culture.

A large amount of preparatory work went into making the pageant a success. Though the contestants, aged 18 to 25, represented 125 cities and all 15 union republics, the greatest number came from Moscow and Leningrad. The women represented 57 professions, but the majority were students. Besides charm and wit, the contestants had to answer questions about the history, literature, and culture of Russia and the United States.

Twelve young women made it to the finals. According to the audience, each one of the finalists could easily take first prize, but under the rules of the pageant, the jury had to choose the top five, who would tour the United States this fall.

After five hours of straight competition, the first prize winner of the Miss Russian America Pageant was crowned—18-year-old Natalya Krasnova of Alma-Ata, the capital of Kazakhstan. A young woman of many talents, Krasnova is a first year philology student at Kazakh State University. Though she's not sure what profession she'll eventually enter—journalism, screenwriting, and film making all appeal to her—she does know one thing. She wants to be famous.

One of the other four winners is Anna Medvedeva, a Tartu State University graduate who is an editor with Estonian television. The other three are college students—Yelena Trukhan of Minsk, the capital of Byelorussia; Anna Kireyeva of Leningrad; and Alexandra Tursunova of Moscow.

This September, the Russian America Festival moves its venue to Peoria, Illinois, where the American finalists for the Miss Russian America title will be chosen. The Soviet winners will participate in the final show.

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These three Miss Russian America contestants didn't make it to the finals, but they have no regrets. They say it was a totally worthwhile experience. Below: Members of the pageant jury— Professor Vera Von Wiren-Garczynski (left) and Soviet journalist Marina Khachaturova. Far left: Performers like this harpist came from across the Atlantic to take part in the Russian America Festival.



Professor Von Wiren-Garczynski has been studying the subject of Russian America for many years. And as an American of Russian descent, she wants her compatriots to know as much as possible about this important page in their history. In addition to the Russian America Festival, Professor Von Wiren-Garczynski dreams of a Russian America trading company, a Russian America bank, a Russian America business association, and many other activities united by name.

The Russian America Festival is just the beginning. The Slavic American Cultural Association, which is headed by Professor Von Wiren-Garczynski, has been fundamental in promoting the festival and organizing its activities in the United States. Professor Von Wiren-Garczynski, who speaks Russian fluently, has visited the USSR often of late. She says that she'd like the spirit of Russian America to help consolidate Soviet-American relations.

Paul Wisniewski, who directs the American part of the Russian America Festival, shares the professor's dreams and hopes. "Our festival elaborates new ways of interaction between ordinary people and business people in the two countries," Wisniewski says.

The founding of an association of Soviet authorities on Russian America is the most recent development. And the association is sponsoring an international conference on United States history to be held in Moscow. The conference will focus on several areas, including the 500th anniversary of Columbus' discovery of America and the 200th anniversary of the Russian expedition to the northwestern part of North America led by Vitus Bering and Alexei Chirikov. In July 1741 Bering and Chirikov almost simultaneously landed in Alaska.

Organizers of the international conference in Moscow anticipate that this prestigious gathering of authorities on Russian America will prove once again that the chain of the times is fortified by the efforts of people from different countries. Changes take place down on the

FARM

In an all-out effort to increase agricultural production, Soviet agronomists are encouraging a new breed—the tenant farmer.



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ad you asked Pyotr Ponomarenko (right) only a few years ago if he ever saw himself running his own small farm, you most likely would have most likely would have heard his surprised reply: "No way!" But just last year Pyotr and his wife, Anfisa (far left), and their youngest child, Vladimir (center), bought an abandoned farmstead and started tilling the land.

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#### WILL LEASEHOLDERS BECOME OWNERS?

By Boris Alexeyev

ety of forms of property in the USSR has been lifted. While theorists debate models of a market economy, a large number of work collectives at enterprises of different caliber and significance have started putting into practice one aspect of the theoretical diversity.

This aspect is leased property. Leaseholders have quickly invaded Soviet reality.

Weary of the dominance of directives and decisions of the powers that be, the collectives began leasing whole enterprises or some sections of them. Within a short period of time, the leased property sector has led to the emergence of a considerable force that has to be reckoned with.

In industry, this means close to 2,000 leased enterprises; in construction, about 1,000; in retail trade and public catering, 1,100; and in agricultural production, 32,000 farms of various kinds. This form of property has entered the scientific community too: More than 130 scientific laboratories and institutes are under leasing arrangements. In all, more than seven million people are now employed in the leaseholding sector.

At first, it was believed that only small enterprises had switched to leasing property. The latest surveys show, however, that this is not quite so. Enterprises with a work force of up to 500 account for 46 per cent of leaseholding concerns in industry; with a work force of 500 to 3,000, 26 per cent; and with more than 3,000, 6 per cent.

A few more statistics: In a recent poll, 40 per cent of respondents stated that they believe the results of economic activity "improved considerably" after the transition to leaseholding; another 46 per cent described improvements as "insignificant." Also, it is interesting that almost none of the respondents pointed to a worsening of the situation.

Other surveys also show that leased concerns

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and leaseholders are in no hurry to become owners of enterprises. Only nine per cent of enterprises that were polled have agreed to do so. Analysts consider the small percentage as a result of leaseholders having been working under the new conditions for less than one year. Moreover, leaseholders are encountering a number of difficulties in their activities, and a clear-cut procedure for buying out leased enterprises is lacking.

But new legislation of the USSR and of the union republics on leaseholding does create the legal basis for this. The priority now is to make the laws work. Resistance of old administrative and other structures must be overcome, and psychological stereotypes and prejudice must be done away with.

The newly formed Union of Leaseholders and Entrepreneurs held its first congress in Moscow last June. It defined its urgent task to protect and support the leaseholding movement, to represent its interests in state and economic bodies, and to further leaseholding relations during the country's transition to a regulated market economy.

Pavel Bunich, a prominent Soviet economist, epitomizes the new trends within the leaseholding movement. A people's deputy of the USSR, Bunich uses his understanding of economics to put forward the radical position on leaseholding. And it is not by chance that Bunich has been elected president of the Union of Leaseholders and Entrepreneurs.

In Bunich's view, "powerful roadblocks" stand in the way of the leaseholding movement. He points to, among other things, the ban on leased concerns setting wage rates and salaries for their workers independently, the sharply higher taxes paid by leased concerns, and the "very strong resistance of many ministries and departments to the idea of leaseholding."

Laws now being drafted pay much attention to leased, cooperative, and joint-stock property. These are, so to speak, intermediate forms of property combining the economic effectiveness of private property and the social justice of the public form of property. It is in these intermediate forms that optimists see room for compromise today.

There are pessimists too, however. They view the intermediate forms as a myth meant to divert the economy from cardinal reforms that are long overdue.

"Leaseholding arrangements propagated by Bunich don't exist anywhere in the world," the pessimists maintain. "Sure, it's possible to lease a plot of land, an automobile.... But a whole plant? Who's kidding whom? Today leaseholding is, if you like, a transitional form of property. Tomorrow the question will inevitably arise as to who is going to be the owner."



A lexander Tadeyev is the chairman of the Kalinin Collective Farm, He often visits the Ponomarenkos to see how they are faring.

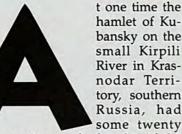
#### THE **PONOMARENKOS OF KUBANSKY**

Text and Photographs by Olga Kropova

A family willing to take the risk of leasing.







some twenty houses standing on both sides of the road that cut through it. However, in the early 1980s the district authorities designated the hamlet "a nongrowth area," and people began moving away. Some left for the city; others, for nearby villages. Pyotr Ponomarenko and his large family-wife Anfisa, one son, three daughters, two sonsin-law, and three grandchildren-settled on the neighboring Kalinin Collective Farm, where Pyotr began

At that time, Pyotr Ponomarenko could hardly have imagined himself a tenant farmer. But two years ago he acquired 20 young heifers from the

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collective farm, with the provision that he pay for them over the next 10 years in milk.

In the spring of 1989 the Ponomarenkos returned to Kubansky and bought two of the ramshackle houses that still remained. Pyotr, his wife, Anfisa, and son, Vladimir, moved into one of the houses. One of his married daughters is planning to move into the other house with her own family in the not too distant future.

Kubansky seems ideal for small farming. It is fairly close to the district center, and there are good grazing land and a river nearby. Also, the collective farm has built a good road to the hamlet.

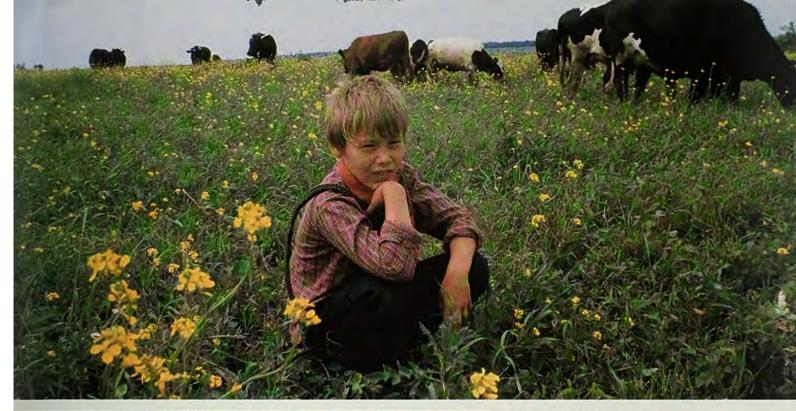
The Ponomarenkos started by erecting a covered enclosure to shield their cows for the summer. A more sturdy brick structure would be needed by winter.

Most things went pretty smoothly for the family at first, but there were obstacles to overcome. For example,

the chairman of the Kalinin Collective Farm, Alexander Tadeyev, promised Pyotr that the brick structure would already be in place and ready for operation by the time the family settled in at the farm. The Ponomarenkos planned to machine-milk the cows there by winter and to install an automatic feeding system. However, Tadeyev decided that housing for collective farmers was a much higher priority, and by fall only the outer walls of the structure stood in the Ponomarenkos' yard. The outside frame had been put up under contract by the collective farm builders.

Family members finished the interior of the building themselves, though admittedly they didn't have time to equip it as they had planned. But Pyotr isn't all that upset.

"Sheltering the feed from the elements and keeping the cows warmthat's enough for now," he says. "The main thing is that we're already seeing good results, and we're turning a





he farm now has 20 cows, 10 calves, four horses, and a few sheep. Right: The tractor that Pyotr acquired secondhand from the collective farm is a godsend. Facing page: A family portrait.

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N ever tempted by the convenience of city life, Pyotr and Anfisa couldn't imagine raising their family anywhere but among the beauty of the Krasnodar countryside. Above: Son, Vladimir, in the field.

profit. We lead the district in milk yield per cow, and our milk has the highest fat content."

Pyotr Ponomarenko is now his own boss, and his growing operation is completely self-sufficient. He keeps his own books and buys his own supplies. The Ponomarenkos now have 20 cows, 10 calves, four horses, and a few sheep. They purchase their feed and fertilizer from the collective farm and pay the costs in milk, only at lower than the established price—not at 30, but at 25 kopecks per liter.

Tenant farming, however, is not without risks. When Pyotr bought a tractor secondhand from the collective farm, he had to make sure that it needed only minor repairs. Anything more would have been a real headache. Now he wants to add a thresher and to learn how to do the repairs himself. And he has another dream. In a few years, after the little farm gains stability and the debts are all paid, he'd like to start a cheese dairy.

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history

# THE SOLOVETSKY Islands

By Sergei Markov Photographs by Alexander Lyskin

The Solovetsky Islands are situated in the White Sea, north of the Russian Federation. In the fifteenth century the largest island in the grouping became the cite of the famous Solovetsky Monastery, which for several centuries served as a reliable defense outpost for Russia. In the 1920s and 1930s the monastery became a prison camp for thousands of innocent victims of Stalin's repressions.



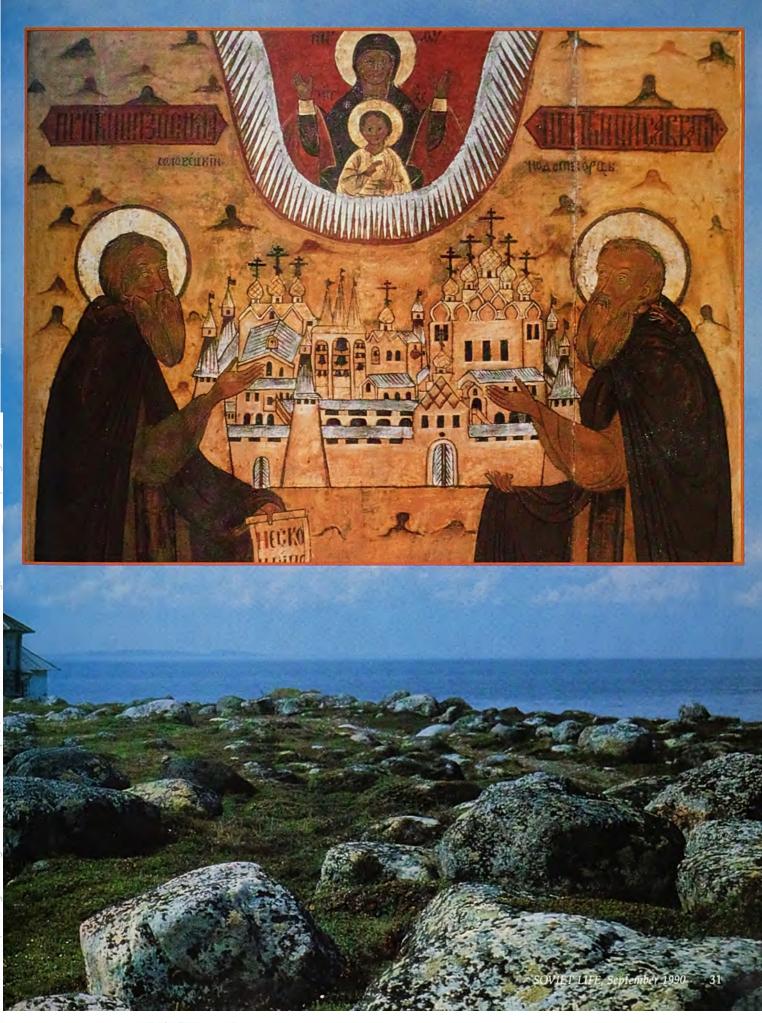


or 10 years I'd been planning to go to the Solovetsky Islands, but I flew to Central Asia, Kamchatka, Siberia, and the Baltic coast instead. In

the galleries of Russian masterpieces I admired the icon from the Anzer Hermitage in the Solovetsky Monastery and another work that depicted the monastery with its cathedrals, churches, fortress walls, and the cloister of Zosima and Savvaty. I read as much as I could find on the local history and architecture and asked people who had been there a lot of questions. Then one fine day, I gathered up my spinning reel; bought some solitary medieval wooden church amid expanses of water and huge gray rocks makes up the typical landscape of the Russian North. Right: This icon of Saints Zosima and Savvaty, the founders of the Solovetsky Monastery, is kept in the local museum.



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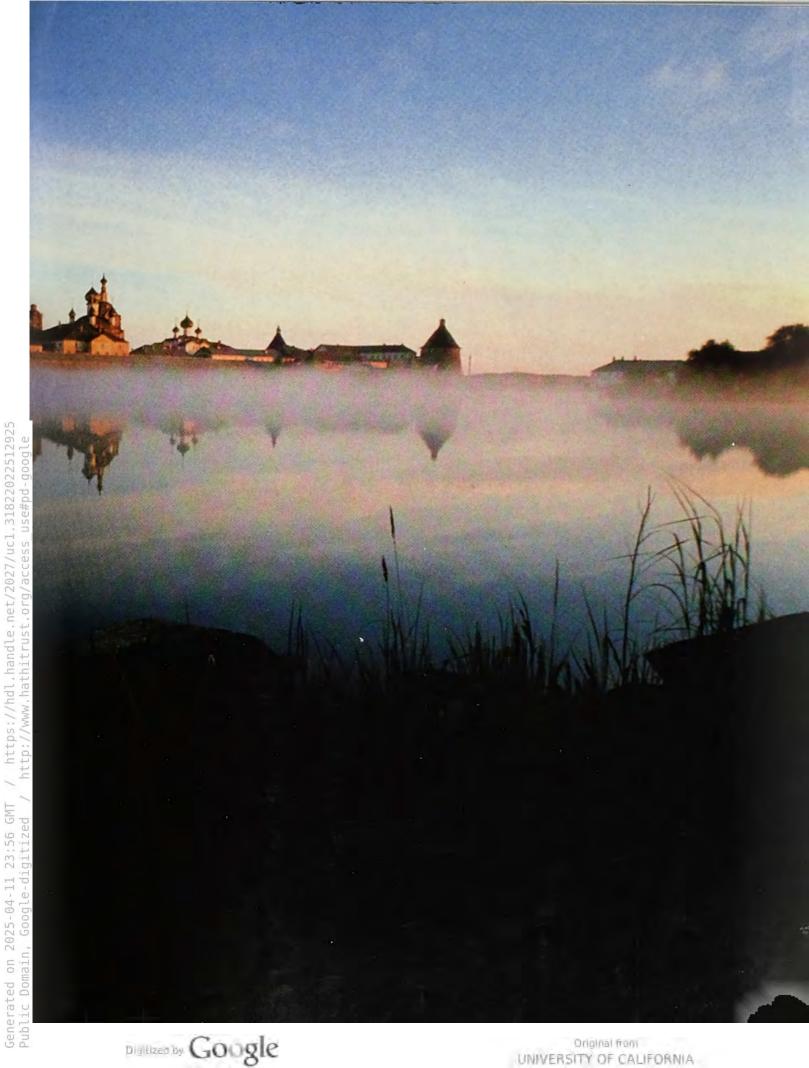




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**O** n approaching the ancient monastery," one visitor to the Solovetsky Islands wrote, "you sense a mixture of something pleasant, strange, and majestic."





Enormous walls with towers built of unhewn boulders surround the Solovetsky Monastery, which at times served as a reliable fortress against various invaders. Inset: Today sailboats are a common sight on the nearby sea.

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hooks, lines, and sinkers; packed my backpack; and set off on the long journey north with a friend of mine, photographer Alexander Lyskin.

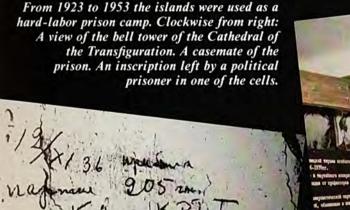
As we flew northward, our plane was suddenly enveloped in a dense and gloomy mist, from which it emerged just before landing. A dank wind was blowing when we deplaned, and the icy breath of the ocean nearby greeted us. We felt like running for shelter from that bleak reception, but that was impossible. We simply had to get used to the proximity of the ocean, to the dampness, and to everything else.

The tourist agency had us lodged in a former monastic cell on the northern side of the Solovetsky Kremlin. While Alex and I unpacked, we looked out of the small window of the cell, which faced the northern courtyard, giving us a view of a square patch of sky, the bare wall of the Council Chamber, and its foundation laid of unhewn boulders covered with lichen. Though night was approaching, the sky showed no signs of darkening. On the contrary, it seemed to grow lighter and filled our cell with a pale-greenish hue.

Suddenly, in the middle of the night, Alex and I got up and decided to explore our island habitat. We sat down on a log near the lusterless, pale-gray lake dotted with patches of hazy mist and, in silence, contemplated the reflection of the Kremlin in the water. It occurred to us that the reflection had not changed in the past 100 or 200 years, showing the huge dark boulders of the Kremlin's walls and the white dome of the Cathedral of the Transfiguration.

Early the next morning Alex and I went to Prosperity Bay to meet a tourist ship and to join the passengers in a guided tour of the island. The tide was out, and sea gulls and eiders scattered along the shore pecked at the pebbles covered with seaweed. A milky-white mist hung over the sea. Walking alongside the fortress wall covered with brownish-gray, yellow, and vividly rust-colored lichen, we arrived at the Nikolsky Gates.

Our guide's name was Innokenti



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Korovin. He was a little over 50, tall, well built, and full of energy. He had been a flier in the Second World War, and later a history teacher and schoolmaster. After he retired, he started coming every summer to the Solovetsky Islands to work as a guide.

Korovin told us about the monk named Savvaty, who, wanting to retreat to a "silent," uninhabited spot, had heard about the island. Years later, Zosima, who was born not far from Lake Onega, left home in search of solitude after the death of his parents. He hoped to build a hermitage away from the hustle and bustle of the world. Zosima came across the elderly monk Gherman, who had once lived with Savvaty on Solovetsky Island. Zosima learned everything he could about the island and then set out on his journey to find it. His very first night on the island, he had a vision of the future church that would be built there.

Father Superior Filipp—boyar Fyodor Kolychev in secular life—realized in full measure the visions and dreams of Zosima. Filipp was eventually canonized in 1652 as a "man wondrously good and pure of heart, who performed many good deeds for the benefit of the region."

A biography of Filipp records that this outstanding Russian used his wealth "to erect handsome buildings on the island" and "to dig deep trenches so that water could be brought from the nearby lake to the monastery."

According to Academician Dmitri Likhachev, an authority on the history of the region, the ensemble built in Filipp's lifetime is not only a remarkable historical monument of Russian architecture of the mid-sixteenth century but also the sole remaining relic of the Russian technology of the day.

Czar Ivan the Terrible summoned Filipp to Moscow in 1566 and appointed him Metropolitan of the Russian Orthodox Church. However, in less than three years, Filipp was deposed, imprisoned, and, on the Czar's orders, murdered. In 1591 Filipp's remains were sent to the Solovetsky Monastery. Fifty years later, they were brought back to Moscow and interred in the Cathedral of the Dormition in the Kremlin. Accompanying the relic back to Moscow was the future Patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church, Nikon, Metropolitan of Novgorod, who had also been a Solovetsky monk. Later, in the Cathedral of the Transfiguration, Nikon read a letter written by Czar Alexei in which the Czar asked Filipp to forgive Czar Ivan the Terrible.

Our guide, Korovin, went on to tell us about Trifon, the monk who had supervised the construction of the fortress out of boulders that abounded in the area, and about how the Solovetsky Monastery had defended the Russian North from attacks by the Swedes, Danes, Lithuanians, and English.

We also learned about the unique historical and architectural complex on Kii Island (also in the White Sea), where a branch of the Solovetsky Monastery was located. The complex has remained untouched to this day, without any crude reconstruction or remodeling.

"But I don't know what will be left of the complex in another two or three years," Korovin said. "Probably only the walls of the refectory, the monks' cells, the belfry, and the Cathedral of the Exaltation of the Cross. The roofs and the floors are just about ready to cave in, so pretty soon there won't be anything left to restore. A group of students had come to restore the wooden roofing originally built in the nineteenth century, but their efforts literally went up in smoke. The roofing on the refectory and the monastic cells caught fire and were destroyed when the management of the local recreation home was criminally negligent and burned trash on a windy day. Without roofing, these buildings are now totally at the mercy of the elements."

On Solovetsky Island proper, Savvaty's Hermitage is in a deplorable state, as are buildings on the smaller islands, including the ruins of the only stone pier in Russia and the church named for Andrew the First-Called, the patron saint of the Russian fleet. The church was built on the order of Peter the Great.

The following day we met with Lev Vostryakov, the director of the island's museum preserve, who told us

that many changes have been taking place since the mid-1970s, when the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation designated the local museum a state history, architecture, and nature museum preserve. Vostryakov assured us that conservation and restoration work is now under way, but when we looked at the restoration plans, we realized that none of the 29 monuments that were to have been restored by now is finished. A commission of the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation that visited the Solovetsky Islands recently cited how slowly the work was progressing. More importantly, the commission found that the work already done was of inferior quality.

Take the first refectory in Russia, for instance. It is a genuine architectural masterpiece. The huge hall, which once seated more than 400, is 16.75 meters high, and the brick vaults are supported by a single round column less than four meters in diameter! Restorers have fortified the walls and the vaults, fixed the broken brick details of the interior décor, laid new wooden floors, and repaired the arched ceiling and the window frames. Putting in windowpanes is another matter since that would increase the humidity in the structure. Installing a heating and ventilation system would help, but who knows when that will happen? So, for now, the restored sections of the refectory are at the mercy of the cold sea breezes, and the building continues to deteriorate before it can be repaired.

The longer Alex and I stayed on the islands, the more we came to realize that they were in need of help. A multitude of propositions and plans have been offered over the years, but to no avail. Some people suggested using public contributions to restore the Solovetsky ensemble. Others proposed having the islands declared a national reconstruction site under the sponsorship of Soviet youth organizations. And still others dreamed of making the islands a tourist haven, complete with comfortable hotels, campsites, concert halls, high-speed launches running from island to island, Russian baths, and wayside taverns whose menus include fresh fish from the nearby sea or lakes.

"Over the years much has been written concerning the fate of the islands," said Victor Pakhtusov, chairman of the local Village Soviet of People's Deputies. Pakhtusov has been on the Solovetsky Islands since 1942, when he came as a minelaying instructor. When the war ended, he stayed to work at an amalgamated seaweed factory.

"But we can't do everything at once," he continued. "Everything will be more or less restored by the year 2000. We'll have new apartment houses, shops, canteens, kindergartens, a community center, and a restaurant. The new tourist center will be able to accommodate up to 500 people. So be sure to come back and see us in the year 2000."

It's hard to say whether the chairman's optimism is justified.

After a visit to the Solovetsky Islands, Russian writer Mikhail Prishvin once wrote: "God himself has designated this place for the salvation of the soul. The nature here is so pure that it is without sin. It seems it hasn't developed to the extent of being capable of committing sin."

And yet the conscience of the Solovetsky Islands is heavy with terrible sins.

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Throughout history this out-of-theway spot has been the site of exile for the undesirable-vagabonds and merchants, soldiers and grandees, and thieves and poets. Their "crimes" in-cluded "drunkenness," "stupidity," "dissidence," and so forth. The is-lands had seen such outstanding personalities as Pavel Gannibal, uncle of the great Russian poet Alexander Pushkin and the grandson of the famous "Negro of Peter the Great." Sergei Pushkin, Pushkin's great greatgrandfather, who was accused of making counterfeit money, served a term of 14 years there. Several of Leo Tolstoy's ancestors were also at one time prisoners on Solovetsky Island. Tolstoy had planned to write about them, but he never got around to it. Sylvester, a priest who was one of Ivan the Terrible's tutors, was also exiled to this distant spot. Pyotr Kalnishevsky, the last Cossack chieftain of the Zaporozhakaya Sech who died at the age of 112, spent 25 years Continued on page 61

### NEWS ON SMALL BUSINESSES

By Vladimir Mytarev

he Soviet Government's recognition of private property and freedom of enterprise obviously follows from the publication of a decree of the USSR Council of Ministers on measures to promote the creation and development of small businesses.

Small businesses will themselves determine the disposition of their products and after-tax profits and set their own wage levels and methods of payment. The businesses can be established by individuals; by families; by state, leaseholding, collective, and joint enterprises, or by public organizations. The principle of registration, not permission as before, simplifies the procedure to establish and acquire a concern. The local Soviet where the person applies for a business license must, within two weeks, either register the new business or decide on a valid reason for refusal, for example, that the proposed concern presents an ecological hazard or involves an activity prohibited by law.

Moreover, small businesses will receive primary goods and energy resources at state prices (unlike cooperatives, which must pay several times more) and will enjoy financial privileges, such as paying only 25 to 50 per cent of tax rates. One should add that the managers (and owners) of small businesses will also bear full liability for their obligations, which, naturally, presupposes their right to proprietorship.

In industry and construction the number of employees at such businesses must not exceed 200; in science and related services, 100; in other spheres of production, 50; in concerns with no product, 25; and in retail trade, 15.

Why has the Soviet Government

decided to have a small-scale alternative sector of the economy and is even offering it privileges and assistance? I see several reasons.

BUSINESS

 As the Soviet economy is moving. toward a market economy, enterprises and institutions that cannot avoid going under have already come to light. The establishment of small businesses will help to find proprietors for the factories that are to be closed and, perhaps more importantly, will help to provide jobs for millions of people.

 The appearance of the decree on small businesses combines with the draft of an antimonopoly law that is being prepared for consideration at the autumn session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

 Small businesses will become the foundation for innovation in the Soviet economy and allow for a crossing of the rigid boundary that runs between science and industry: Enterprises are not interested in investing in innovations, while science does not have the funds to apply the results of its research. Small, narrowly specialized businesses, more sensitive to new ideas, will assume the role of introducing and selling novelties and delivering them both to the consumer and to large enterprises not interested in producing small batches of articles.

 Foreign capital that is being attracted to the USSR with the help of joint ventures is represented mainly by small- and medium-sized companies, which are risking relatively small investments. For them, our small industrial, scientific, and service businesses will become an optimal form of cooperation. And for the Soviet side, the creation of joint enterprises in this sphere will provide a good school of business, which is so needed in the transitional period.

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n 1988 Sanyo-Fisher, the electronics giant, unveiled a new professional audio system featuring speakers manufactured with a molybdenum coating. Few people

know, however, that that invention, which has made millions of dollars for Fisher, was developed by the USSR Institute of Refractory Metals and Hard Alloys in Moscow.

After receiving the right of independent access to foreign markets, many Soviet agencies and producers, both state-owned and cooperative, have discovered that it's not so easy to find the right partner.

Metaphorically speaking, those in the East are discovering that "all that glitters is not gold," while those in the West are probably coming to realize that "there are a lot of fish in the sea." Actually, the number of potential partners is exceptionally large, but their objectives differ. As a rule, Soviet traders want a bit too much—and all at once. Westerners, meanwhile, dream of stumbling onto a gold mine that is ripe for development.

"Before perestroika," said Finnish businessman Sappo Vestrinen, "we used to deal with a limited number of foreign trade agencies, and we had no problems with them. Now, in contrast, numerous Soviet firms are bending over backwards in a bid to close a lucrative deal. You can expect anything from them, for they live according to the law of the jungle."

Vestrinen's words reflect the way it used to be. Things have definitely changed, and those who are willing and ready to take the risk can win.

Quality is perhaps the most formidable problem facing the Soviet economy. The USSR built giant factories and plants that turned out enormous batches of goods; however, Soviet merchandise was usually passed by abroad, with rare exceptions like Zenith cameras and Lada compact cars, which sold well in Europe, among other places.

Wares offered by the USSR Institute of Refractory Metals and Hard Alloys are different: These are new products and processes for precision engineering.



#### SOVIET METALS TECHNOLOGY Making Advances

By Vladimir Yelbayev

"The trouble with Soviet merchandise," explains Anatoli Podolsky, a senior researcher at the institute, "is shoddy manufacturing, while the underlying concept may be brilliant. In practical terms, this means that transistors tend to burn out; mechanisms, to seize up; metals, to corrode; and 'strong' metals, to become deformed. Faulty manufacturing is to blame for the laughably low prices of our export goods. Such are the results of many years of chaos and mismanagement."

What kept the USSR Institute of

Refractory Metals and Hard Alloys going for decades was the enthusiasm of its staff. That was an exception to the rule too. At least half of its products went straight into the defense and aerospace industries. Other promising plans were shelved, or they were used only to build prototype models.

The Volga Auto Plant in Togliatti was one of the few manufacturers to fully incorporate processes developed by the institute. As a result, Volga Auto managed to make its way into European markets. How-

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These samples of superhard cutting tools, drills, and gears designed and produced by the USSR Institute of Refractory Metals and Hard Alloys look not unlike works of avant-garde art.





ever, its example did not attract many followers. Many manufacturers who could have employed products and processes devised by the institute preferred, as their managers put it, "not to reinvent the bicycle" and to spend as little as possible on retooling.

Although senior economic managers paid lip service to the need for improving quality, it was the people at the bottom of the economic pyramid, such as the staff of the metals institute, who tried to do something about it. The institute continued its research and development, struggling to push its discoveries through a mountain of red tape.

Perestroika broke the deadlock the institute was in. "I can't say how much longer our researchers could have continued working under the old system," Podolsky says. "Now we know we're needed. We're going to grow into a bona fide research center devising new technologies and the methods for implementing them."

That's not just wishful thinking. Podolsky's point is confirmed by the many products that are now available since the large number of defense-related plants switched over to civilian production.

Podolsky, who oversaw a great deal of development projects at the institute, believes that looks are as important as technical standards. Foreign trade partners first learned about the institute's wares from glossy advertising brochures. Highaccuracy engineering was visible to the naked eye, and buyers were not disappointed: Rigorous tests confirmed the superior quality of the goods.

Today the name of the USSR Institute of Refractory Metals and Hard Alloys is no stranger to American business. Several companies have shown an interest in acquiring its processes and products.

"We've told the Americans we're ready to make deals and to set up joint ventures," Podolsky says. "Anyone interested in doing business with us should let us know. Our address is 56 Varshavskoye Chaussée, Moscow 113556, USSR."

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#### **BRINGING THE CHURCH BACK TO THE VILLAGE** By Father Mark Smirnov

**Father Mark** Smirnov is a professional journalist and a frequent contributor to Soviet newspapers and magazines. Formerly the dean of the Cathedral of Vyborg, north of Leningrad, Father Smirnov has been living in Moscow for the past several years. Here he looks at the role of the Church in the village.

ctually, the subject of spiritual life in the countryside should have been broached 10 or 20 years ago, when more villages dotted the land. It's true that the topic was present in the works of

many of our best writers, but in those days, even if writers did speak of the troubles of the village, they dared not even hint of the absence of religious life. That subject was strictly taboo.

At the same time, many good people who lived in our villages were attracted by the churches, which lent variety to the modest rural landscape. Perhaps quite unwittingly, without a thought to religion, these lone champions strove to save the disintegrating beauty of the churches, which were falling into ruin out of neglect and the inexorable effects of time. Their demise was helped along by kolkhoz chairmen, who were eager to have the structures as warehouses or simply as a source of bricks to be used on the farm.

The way we see things today, spiritual life is made up of several components, yet a school, social club, library, amateur theater, and dance pavilion are all that we can think of as requirements for the rural areas. If we recall the traditional notion of what spiritual means, we see that it refers, above all, to religion, to people's relationship with God. It was religion and the Church that shaped people's moral values and linked them to nature and the land. Even the Church calendar was connected with planting, sowing, and harvests.

Did religion promote the molding of individuals and their understanding of self as a spiritual value? Undoubtedly. People saw themselves and everything around them as part of the universe and their work, one of the most ancient professions in the world, as a duty assigned from Above.

By stamping out religious life, by persecuting believers, by closing churches, by simultaneously "dispossessing the kulaks" (well-to-do peasants) or, to put it more simply, by annihilating the Russian peasantry, the state dealt the Russian village a terrible blow. As a result, spiritual and religious life disappeared from the countryside,

and the village started to decline. The peasants, for whom their hard work had lost all meaning, wasted away or, gathering up their meager belongings, moved to town in search of a decent livelihood.

The exodus into towns started back in the thirties, when not only rich peasants fearing "dispossession," Siberian exile, or death in the gulags but also simply well-to-do, hardworking farm families abandoned all their worldly goods and fled. That's what my great-grandmother and her family did. She left behind two houses, several prize cows, a horse, and land in Kostroma Region and migrated to Leningrad, where her husband got a job as a cabinetmaker. Forsaking everything that they had accumulated through years of hard work was the only way to save themselves from humiliation and reprisal.

Those who were really rich were not spared. Not even the petitions signed by their fellow villagers and presented to the authorities could save the rich peasants, who had built schools, fire-fighting facilities, churches, and hospitals in order to improve village life for all who lived there. Though these people had acquired their wealth through their own hard work and though they had earned the respect of their neighbors, it made no difference. Peasant property was destroyed with an iron hand, as was the flower of Russian peasantry, the way of life of the countryside, and its time-honored traditions.

No small damage was done to the village again in the sixties, when the authorities took on, not the kulaks, but the collective farm members who worked their little private plots of land. They were forced to turn over their cows to the kolkhoz herd and were denied access to pastureland for personal use. That was how the peasants' desire to work the land was discouraged and, what is most important, their hope one day to be masters of the land they tilled was completely destroyed.

What about the Church? How did it make out during those hard times? Why didn't it keep the peasants on the land and prevent the deterioration of morals?

How could it? How could the Church withstand the unequal battle with the machinery of terror and lawlessness? Reprisals against the kulaks went hand in hand with the struggle against religion. The peasantry, the mainstay of the Russian Orthodox Church, disappeared, and that dealt the Church a heavy blow.

In most countries where Christianity is the leading religion, country folk compose the majority of the faithful. However, in Russia today, it's quite the opposite. Religious life is on the upswing only in the cities, principally the large industrial centers, because that's where the larg-Continued on page 56

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ne of the first things Father Anatoli Young and dynamic, Father did after being Anatoli Denisov is the elected deputy personification of Good. That's the Village Soviet was to what the village folk in Spas-onarrange for air Vodoga think. Last year they service to elected him to represent them or connect-his isolated hamlet their Village Soviet of People's to the district Deputies. center. PASTOR

## PASTOR AND DEPUTY

By Elvira Mezhennaya Photographs by Sergei Metelitsa

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newcomer is always big news in the hamlet of Spas-on-Vodoga, a tiny village of 30 families in the marshy woodlands of Yaroslavl Region, Central Russia. That's especially true if the newcomer is the first

Orthodox priest to come to live in this rural community for years.

The architecture of the Church of Our Savior, to which the village owes its name ("spas," or "spasitel," is the Russian word for "savior"), is impressive, even by urban standards. Yet, what Father Anatoli Denisov found when he arrived in the hamlet in August 1985 to assume his pastoral duties could be described only as a desolate abomination. Though the walls and floors of the church were intact, the roof sported a huge gaping hole, opening the interior to rain and snow.

Without wasting time, Father Anatoli and his wife, Galina, settled their young son in their home and quickly got started washing and painting the church. It was hard work, and the villagers looked on spellbound—but offered no help. When the priest and his wife had cleaned all the icons and lugged the bulky baptismal font to the river to scrub it, the villagers knew they and this remarkable couple were cut from the same cloth.

The remoteness of Spas—the nearest town lies kilometers away across hectares and hectares of marshlands—has made the hamlet a wholly selfsustaining community. Every household has plenty of cows, sheep, and hogs. The farmhouses are neat and spacious.

The local women excel in baking, and the aroma of freshly baked bread filters from the windows of every home. The first thing that catches your eye when you step into a Spas home is the huge wooden flour box, which has two compartments, for wheat and rye. Fortunately, flour shortages are rare in this region, and every household buys several sacks whenever it runs low.

However nice homemade bread might be, the village could do with a commercial bakery. Life is really hard on the local women, who must stand in front of a hot oven after a busy day in the fields or in the stockyards.

Spas does have a church, which caters to the needs of the spirit, and a store, which caters to the needs of the flesh—but nothing much more in the way of vital services. The nearest school is several kilometers across a field and a forest, and the nearest first-aid station is even farther away.

There's no paved road to the village, which is located around 155 kilometers from Moscow. So for almost half a year Spas is cut off from the rest of the world. Since the local dirt roads wash

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out in the lightest rain, they are of no use except during the deep frost of winter or the dry heat of summer. True, work on a paved highway connecting Spas with the district center has begun, but the work is going at a snail's pace.

The villagers soon discovered that the kind and enterprising Father Anatoli was worth his weight in gold. First, he bought a power saw to help the elderly women of the community stock up on firewood. Next, he went back to Zagorsk, where he had studied at the theological seminary, and purchased an old tractor, which he used to cart several loads of wood to the nearby streams. Out of the wood he made three bridges that spanned the streams.

Somewhat later, Father Anatoli bought a powerful motorcycle. It had to be strong enough to tow the sled trailer that he fashioned to transport the older parishioners home from church in winter. The Denisovs' next acquisition, this time with parish money, was a secondhand truck. "A real treasure," Father Anatoli calls it. Now, the village can regularly obtain bakery-made bread and other consumer goods from town.

The priest's latest brainstorm was bringing air transportation to the village. It would be extremely useful, he thought, when the roads were impassable. Again and again, he approached Nikolai Kuprianov, head of the Yaroslavl Air Service, saying that an airplane would be like manna for the residents of Spas. Eventually, Father Anatoli's persistence convinced the stubborn boss, and the villagers got to work making an airfield.

The arrival of the first flight from Yaroslavl brought all the villagers out to greet the plane and welcome the crew. It was a festive occasion, and Father Anatoli gave a blessing. He considers that day his own "Victory Day."

> seldom meet such loving and generous people as the Denisovs. They were at a loss for words when I told them I was going to write an article about their charity. Though I felt like an intruder peering into their personal life, it gave me great pleasure to describe their good deeds.

In the village reside two aging sisters, Anna and Sophia. One is bedridden, and the other has lost the use of her hands. If they lived in almost any other community, the women would most likely have been sent to a nursing home by now. That's not the way things are done in Spas. When Father Anatoli brought the sisters' situation to the attention of his parishioners, they decided to "adopt" the elderly women and see to their needs. Father Anatoli visits the sisters every day, while Galina takes care of their laundry. Other members of the con-

acing page, top: 'It's not just a truck; it's a blessing from God," says Father Anatoli, making the most of the vehicle by helping his neighbors. Bottom: The pilots who made the first regular flight into Spason-Vodoga are greeted with the traditional Russian breadand-salt welcome.



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gregation take turns with other chores. For example, Alexandra Smirnova, a retired farm accountant, supplies the women with dairy products.

The Denisovs help the villagers in every way they can. Whenever Father Anatoli is planning a trip into town, he collects a shopping list from every villager. Galina, who is a certified nurse, visits the sick, giving injections and other forms of treatment.

Since moving to this rural community, Father Anatoli has earned the great respect of his neighbors. Therefore, it was no surprise that in the summer of 1989 he was elected to the Village Soviet, to fill a vacancy that resulted when a disreputable deputy was recalled.

This past spring Father Anatoli was reelected. The district newspaper now also sings his

The district newspaper now praises, though it belongs to the Communist Party committee. But then, he isn't the first member of the clergy to sit on a secular elective body.

When I expressed my concern to Father Anatoli about the proverbial poverty of the rural Soviets, the priest assured me that the biggest problem was not a lack of funds. If a village cemetery is overgrown with weeds and overrun with cows grazing and scratching their sides on the headstones, who is really to blame—the central authorities or the villagers themselves? A reasonable

question, I thought. With such attitudes, Father Anatoli is bound to win the hearts and minds of believers and nonbelievers alike.

The village women compare Father Anatoli to the priests that Spas had before. They knew their liturgies backwards and forwards, but they never bothered to do anything for the parish or the parishioners.

I spent last Christmas Eve with the Denisovs. The aroma of mouth-watering cakes filled the air of the cozy house as Galina toiled away at the oven preparing for the next day's feast. Little Pyotr, who is seven years old, was learning a carol in the prettiest corner of the book-lined living room, close to the decorated Christmas tree, while Father Anatoli and I talked about his background.

He comes from a big Siberian family. Two of his brothers are also in the Church. Graduating from high school, he enrolled at an art institute, where he fell in love with handicrafts—I could see that much from his makeshift workshop. After he got his degree, he did his army stint sta-

*inters* can be quite severe in Spas, and neighbors must rely on neighbors. Top: Father Anatoli carries water for a neighbor's livestock. Bottom: The priest has started a Sunday school for the children of members of the parish.





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he priest gathers his young flock near the church after a Sunday service.

tioned in Moscow. Later, he decided to take up theology and completed his studies at the Zagorsk Seminary. From there, it was Spas-on-Vodoga, his first pastoral assignment.

Father Anatoli is a passionate outdoorsman and hiker. He spent a part of last summer with friends in neighboring Vologda Region in search of a church bell that had been hidden in a lake to keep it from being confiscated by militant atheists in the 1930s. Though their elderly guide's information turned out to be of little use, the priest and his friends haven't given up hope, and they are willing to try again.

Father Anatoli is effusively enthusiastic about the villagers. "Listen!" he said, interrupting his story when he heard a truck go past. "That's Smirnov coming back from the fields. All the others are home having their supper by now. Smirnov's a hardworking guy. He can handle any vehicle-truck, tractor, or harvester. He works all Spas fields on his own."

I remembered that it was Smirnov who drove the tractor with the wood for the bridges that the priest built when he first arrived.

"The village women, some of whom are up in years, are also wonderful," Father Anatoli continued. "I helped them harvest flax last fall. Each woman gathered 120 bundles-and still looked fresh-while I, a strapping young man, could barely cope with a hundred.

"This is a good parish. When Galina and I came here, we hardly had anything in the way of household items. The parishioners went into their own homes and gathered up all the goods we could ever need. These people have hearts of gold. Take Dinah, the local mail carrier. She had been a schoolteacher for 27 years before taking the mail carrier's job. She's amazing. She delivers the mail in any weather, including in a heavy snowstorm on skis. She knows there are lots of retired people here in Spas, and if the pensions don't arrive on time ... Also if she notices that some people haven't received any cards for a holiday, she'll write them one herself.

"It's really a joy to be living here in this rural community. We've got good soil to sow the seeds of my favorite Christian truth: Faith without good deeds is nothing."

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#### history

## BEN EIELSON'S LAST FLIGHT By Yuri Salnikov

By Yuri Salnikov Photographs from the album of Mavriki Slepnev

 n the fall of 1929, two ships became trapped in the ice in the Chukchi Sea. They were stranded near Severny Cape (later renamed Cape Shmidt in honor of the renowned Soviet arctic explorer
 Otto Shmidt), west of the

Bering Strait, which divides Eurasia and North America.

One of the ships, the Soviet steamer Stavropol, was on its way back to Vladivostok after unloading its cargo of foodstuffs, consumer goods, and machinery at the estuary of the Kolyma River. The other ship was the American schooner Nanuk, owned by Olaf Swenson, a businessman from Seattle, Washington. The schooner was headed home after bartering its cargo of food, liquor, clothing, arms, and munitions for Chukchi furs. Swenson had arranged to sell his valuable purchases at a Seattle fur auction, and every day at sea brought him closer to bankruptcy. It looked as if the ship would have to spend the entire winter icebound 350 miles from the nearest Alaskan port. Swenson contacted Alaska Airways Incorporated, then headed by the famous arctic pilot Carl Ben Eielson, known as Ben, with the request to transport himself, his daughter, several members of the crew, and his precious cargo to his home city by air.

The Stavropol's plight was much

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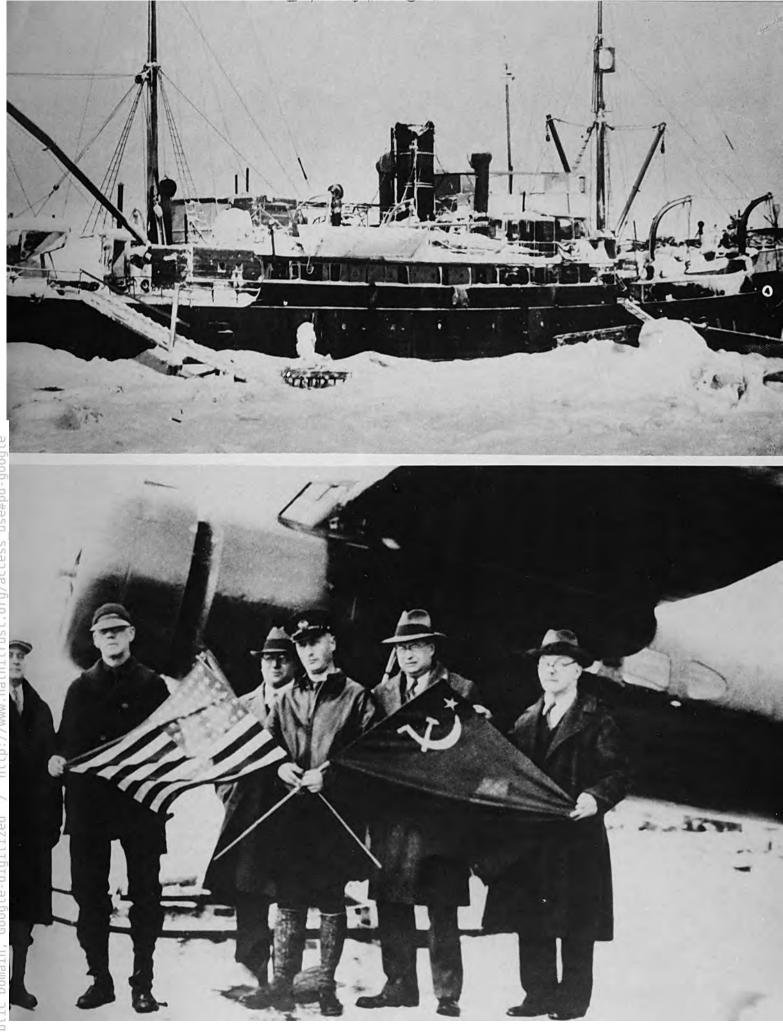
more serious. Its 30 passengers, including four women and three children, were unlikely to survive the winter. Its captain, Milovzorov, sent a cable to the Soviet Government, asking that they be airlifted to Vladivostok. The government sent the *Litke* icebreaker on a rescue expedition, with two Junker planes, purchased in Germany, onboard. The flight crews were to assemble them in Providence Bay, the *Litke*'s point of destination, to fly them to Severny Cape.

The ship reached the frozen bay in late November 1929. Despite the storm, the crew was able to transfer both planes, as well as sufficient stores of food and fuel, to shore. The planes were assembled in due time but were prevented from taking off by stormy conditions. The *Litke* proceeded to Vladivostok to avoid getting caught in the ice. Flight commander Mavriki Slepnev, pilot Victor Galyshev, and the local authorities worked out a plan to deliver fuel and food for the rescue crew to the vicinity of the *Stavropol* by dog sled.

Late in January 1930, 20 dog sleds started out on the dangerous venture. The pilots and mechanics got the planes ready. The crews were to fly along the coast from settlement to settlement as detailed maps of the area did not exist at the time. After the men had fixed the damaged radio, they heard a torrent of news.

Now they knew they weren't the D

The American merchant ship Nanuk, one of two ships icebound in the Chukchi Sea. Soviet pilot Mavriki Slepnev and American pilot Ben Eielson took part in rescuing their crews. Right: In Nome, Alaska, Slepnev was presented with a Soviet and an American flag.



A vriki Slepnev (second from the left, first row) with other Soviet pilots and cosmonauts, Heroes of the Soviet Union. Inset: As a young officer in the czarist army, 1915.

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only pilots in the area. Two American planes, Ben Eielson's and one flown by Frank Dorbandt, had reached the *Nanuk* toward the end of October to transport part of the cargo to the United States. On November 10, they took off for another flight. The forbidding weather made Dorbandt turn away from Cape Dezhnev back to Nome, Alaska. Eielson and his copilot, Earl Borland, were missing.

The makeshift ice airfield between the *Stavropol* and the *Nanuk* became the world's first international arctic airport. Slepnev was uneasy about Eielson and Borland and anxious to start a rescue effort. Americans and Canadians tried to dissuade him: Eielson had left a letter, asking that a search not be started until a month Allowing the second

after his departure. The two aviators were expert arctic travelers; they were probably plodding across the Chukchi tundra after an emergency landing.

Then an Alaskan pilot, Joe Crosson, returned from a reconnaissance flight. He had spotted something that looked like a plane's wing jutting out of the snow close to the Amguema River, about 25 miles from the airfield. Crosson proposed that he and Slepnev go there together in a light American plane to save Mavriki's formidable machine for the rescue expedition. Years later, Slepnev wrote in his memoirs:

We couldn't make out the horizon in the milky mist. The sky was overcast. Joe was right: The thing he had seen was the lost Hamilton's wing.

The plane was buried in the snow. Only a wing stuck out—the one Crosson had seen. Slepnev's Junkers reached the *Stavropol* and brought sailors with shovels. After several days of digging through the rock-hard snow, they found Ben's pistol, a stock of bullets, and both pilots' helmets. Now it was clear that the two men were dead: They would never have set out bareheaded and without their weapons. Several more days' excavations uncovered the bodies, their chests and heads crushed.

Slepnev's memoirs continue:

To all appearances, Ben had spotted a hunter's log cabin on November 10, circled over it twice as he determined his course to Severny Cape, and bravely rushed on into the snowstorm 25 miles away from the *Nanuk*. He was flying at a daredevil altitude of 30 feet, and his landing gear struck the high bank.

When Slepnev and Galyshev were getting their planes ready to take the pilots' remains to Severny Cape, Captain T. M. "Pat" Reid delivered a State Department request to bring the bodies to the United States.

The coffins had to be covered with American flags, but not a single starspangled banner was to be found throughout the Chukchi Peninsula. Slepnev was at a loss until the local women offered to help. They made two patchwork flags out of reindeer skins—masterpieces of needlework.

After I published a short description of these events in the February 1986 issue of SOVIET LIFE, several American papers commented on it. The community of Hatton, North Dakota, home of the Hatton-Eielson Museum, was especially interested. A local reporter had telephoned Lillian Lynch, the late curator of the museum, to ask what had become of the fur flags. She said she hadn't the slightest idea. The museum didn't have a trace of them, except on the photograph of the memorial service. Further search brought no result. The flags are gone.

In August 1989, I traveled to Fairbanks, Alaska. A huge photograph of Ben Eielson and a model of his plane were the first things I saw at the local international airport, which bears his name.

I had been dreaming of a talk with Ben's mechanic, a Fairbanks resident. He is full of life at 89 and still goes hunting. As bad luck would have it, he had left on a hunting trip before I got there. But I met many people who remembered the Soviet pilots who had brought the bodies of Ben and Earl home 60 years ago. The Americans' reminiscences were welcome additions to Mavriki Slepnev's.

In winter 1930, the Soviet plane was met by the Mayor of Fairbanks, who warmly greeted its crew and introduced them to Ole Eielson, Ben's father, and to Earl Borland's widow. In a voice choked with emotion, Slepnev addressed the bereaved families. A local man fluent in Russian interpreted:

"...I am a pilot, like these fallen heroes, and I know that wives and parents are the ones who suffer most. No words can ease your pain.

"Your son, sir, and your husband, ma'am, fell in a life-and-death struggle with the White Silence... Brave hearts do not weep at heroes' graves, so let us be staunch.

"Please don't thank me. I was sent on this mournful mission by my country....I wish I could bring you these two heroes safe and sound, but fate deemed otherwise."

In a silence broken by the sobs of women and children, Ole Eielson stepped forward, clasped Slepnev's shoulder, and brought out a stifled "Good man, Commander!" He asked that a Soviet flag be put on the American flag over his son's coffin.

The officials present were in consternation: Mr. Eielson, Sr., was creating a diplomatic problem since official relations did not exist between the United States and the Soviet Union at the time. But the bereaved father was adamant, and a red flag was brought.

Every time a plane flies over the sandy spit stretching from the mouth of the Amguema to the Arctic Ocean, it dips its wings in memory of Eielson and Borland. Soviet pilots named the spot Two Pilots Spit. With the years, the name was officially adopted, and it can now be found on maps.

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THINGS

#### Moscow Choral Synagogue— **Alive with Life**

C elebrated Israeli cantor Josef Malowani visited Moscow recently to give recitals and to help the USSR's first cantor art academy, which was organized with his assistance. The performance given at the Moscow Choral Synagogue (right) was a huge success.

At one time Russia boasted the best cantors in the world. But many left as growing anti-Semitism and pogroms at the turn of the century caused the first wave of Jewish emigration. The opening of the Cantor Art Academy in Moscow inspires hopes for a revival of the ancient tradition.



#### A Ballet Star's Jubilee

he Bolshoi Theater recently held a soiree in honor of the fiftieth birthday of outstanding dancer Vladimir Vasiliyev, who first appeared on the Bolshoi stage 30 years ago.

For the jubilee, the Bolshoi presented two one-act ballets, I Want to Dance (a nostalgia piece) and Fragments of One Biography, which Vasiliyev had staged several years ago. He also staged the ballet Anyuta, in which he dances.

Vasiliyev is currently busy staging Romeo and Juliet to Prokofiev's music at Moscow's Stanislavsky and Nemirovich-Danchenko Musical Theater. He's in top form and continues to amaze the world with his celebrated dance partner Yekaterina Maximova. Below: A festive cake is presented to Vasiliyev.



#### And the Winners Are . . .

C ince beauty contests were first introduced in the USSR several years ago, the Concept has expanded to cover all sorts of categories. This year the International Venets Center and Moscow television's 2x2 commercial channel teamed up to inaugurate a mother-and-daughter competition, which was broadcast live. Though the program meant to select the mother-and-daughter pair with the greatest likeness and affinity, it took on the appearance of a variety show, complete with entertainment, jokes, and fun. When all was said and done, the pairs of finalists were so charming and compatible that the judges decided to crown all of them winners.

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#### **Mister Twister Visits the USSR**



Good-by, America is a new play about the illusions of past and present realities. Staged by Henrietta Yanovskaya at the Moscow Youth Theater, the play is both funny and sad. A "parade show based on Samuil Marshak's stories," as the playbill reads, Good-by, America revives a comic poem about a fictitious American millionaire, Mister Twister, "the owner of several factories, newspapers, and ships," who comes to the Soviet Union as a tourist with his wife and his daughter.

"The key element in this production," says stage director Yanovskaya, "is that every actor plays the part of different people. While all the characters are different, they are the same. They represent one man, and, yet, all people."



#### A Special Way with Animals

The halls of the USSR Nature Protection Society in Moscow abound with wild animals and birds. There you see an elk sinking in the snow as it tries to escape a pursuing pack of wolves. There's also a tiger, the king of the Ussuri taiga, descending to a spring for a drink and a wildcat in the act of leaping. All of these dioramas are the creations of Nikolai Nazmov, a top-class taxidermist, who has been working in this field for the past 70 years.

Unwilling to stuff the animal hides with straw, a taxidermy method dating to the seventeenth century, Nazmov prefers the sculpture approach. First he makes an exact replica of the animal out of plasticine. Then he makes a plaster mold. He fills it with a lightweight papier-mâché padding and finally stretches the animal's skin over it.



#### Madame Tussaud's—Soviet Style

A museum of wax figures—the historical Tetris Theater—has opened in Sokolniki Park in Moscow. Once you step inside, you get the impression you've just entered a theater of the absurd. But that's just what director Nikolai Zelenetsky wants you to think. He has assembled displays combining historical figures from different eras. For example, Czar Ivan the Terrible is killing Pushkin, Stalin is posing in front of his portrait, while his disciple Beria is playing chess with gloomy Malyuta Skuratov, Ivan the Terrible's ally and the chief of his secret police. There are Brezhnev and Nicholas II too.

"If we get a positive response," says Zelenetsky, "we'll enlarge our exhibition."





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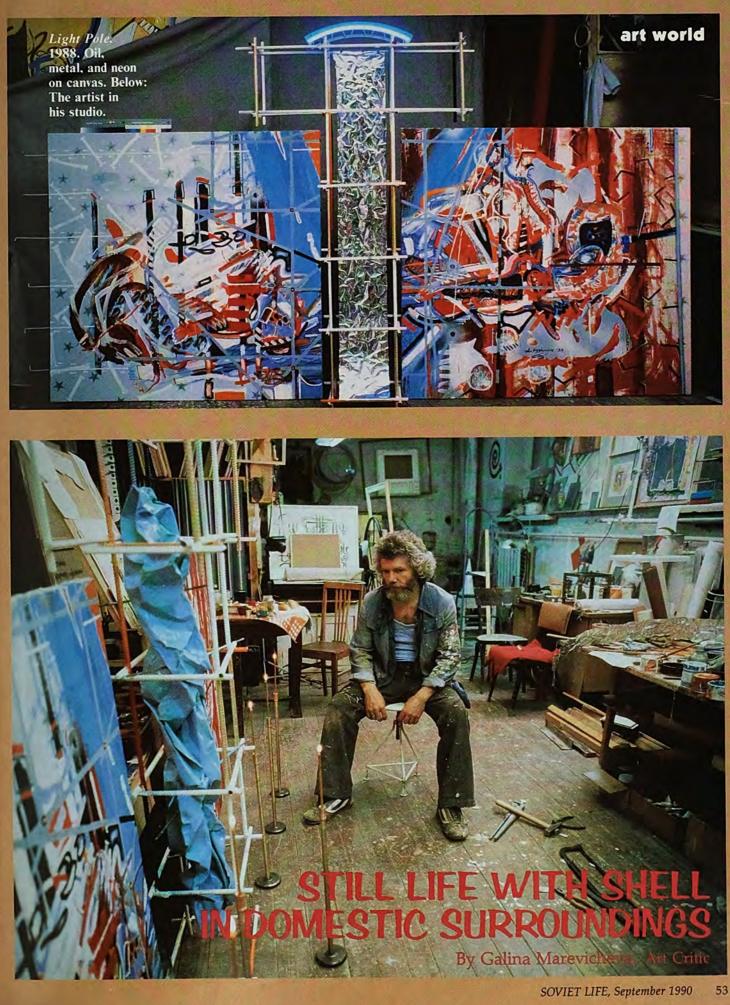
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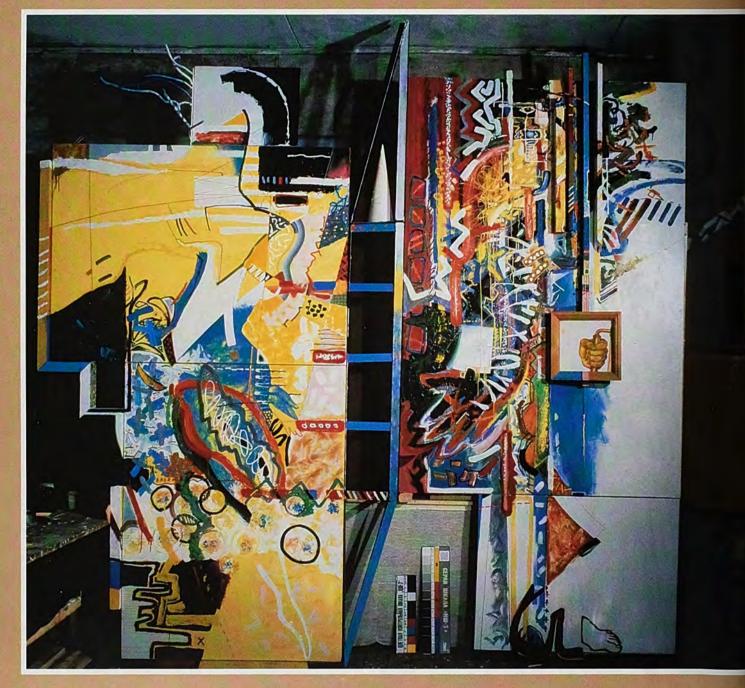
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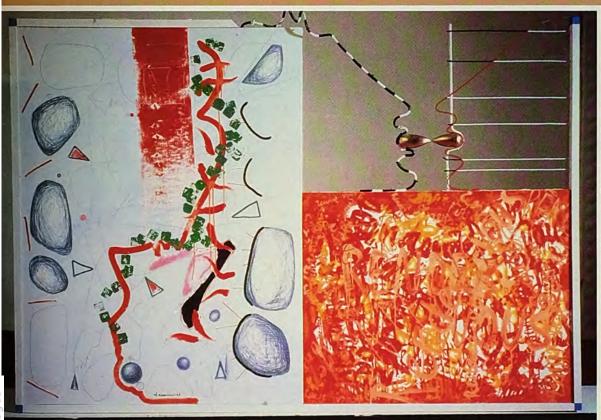


n my work I first distance myself from an everyday article. Then I try to view it as a particle of the entire universe. I perceive it in either dismantled or layered forms," says Moscow artist Vladimir Kuzmin. He believes that traditional art forms are incapable of expressing the full spiritual and emotional essence of our disturbed and stress-filled world. Vladimir Kuzmin was born in the Ukraine in 1943, one of six children. The large peasant family found it difficult to make ends meet. With the death of his father, the hardship increased. To help his family out, Vladimir took a part-time job as a miner while he was still in high school.

In the senior grades he developed a strong interest in mathematics and logic and decided to continue his education in the Physics and Mathematics Department at Donetsk State University. Later he transferred to the Mechanics and Mathematics Department of Moscow State University. It was during his student days in the Soviet capital that Vladimir took up drawing, not seriously at first but just for fun.

Then chance changed his life completely. He showed some of his works

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Rendezvous. 1989. Oil and metal on canvas.

Then. 1990. Oil on canvas.

Certainly. 1990. Oil on canvas.





to some friends who were students at the Institute of Architecture. Their approving comments became a source of proving comments became a source of inspiration for Kuzmin, who subse-quently passed the entrance exam of the renowned institute. The study of architecture developed his thought processes along philosophical and constructive lines and taught him use-ful graphic design skills. ful graphic design skills.

After graduating from the Institute

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of Architecture in 1972, Kuzmin worked as an architect for a while. He later switched to interior design, but he discovered that he could most fully express his creative impulses in painting. His primary goal was to achieve total freedom from official artdom and to define his own artistic identity.

Kuzmin's paintings are minimalist. He rejects the "conventional" ways of depicting subjects, preferring to paint canvases that represent an outpouring of his emotional perception of the world.

The artist's range of sensations is vast, accommodating mystical apparitions and everyday life, ancient civilizations and space fantasies, and erotic, social, and dramatic moments. Abstract and representational forms coexist contentedly. In destroying the traditional realm of the canvas, Kuzmin creates works with external elements. In a picturesque composition he includes metallic constructions, stone objects, sculpture, and luminescence. He combines images on a fragmented plane, deforming shapes and contrasting colors.

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Kuzmin's works heighten one's awareness of the world and the need to revitalize it. It's no wonder then that during the years of stagnation, official artdom refused to recognize Kuzmin's contribution. Not one of his works was ever included at a USSR Artists Union exhibit.

In 1986 Kuzmin was allowed to show his canvases publicly, when the History and Art Museum in Zagorsk, near Moscow, proposed holding an exhibit of his works and that of some other like-minded artists.

At that exhibition Kuzmin took an unequivocal stand with his cycle of emotional engravings entitled Architectural Monuments of Russia and a cycle of topical and controversial drawings representing an encounter with the militia. These works left no viewer indifferent. Many other art exhibits soon followed.

"A heightened sense of generality, abstraction of form, and an orientation toward the viewer—this is his credo," wrote art critic Vitali Patsukov about Kuzmin. "Kuzmin is a volatile and impulsive painter. His lines may be artistic and self-assured, with instrument-like precision, or entirely the opposite—as if carelessly daubed with a brush—yet both are a natural feature of his works."

It is true that Kuzmin can be interpreted on the intuitive and intellectual level. He is simultaneously accessible and elitist.

Kuzmin's exhibitions have earned him official acclaim. In 1988 Kuzmin and other previously unsung artists were represented at the Labyrinth exhibition, which gave all the informal artists associations of Moscow their first opportunity to officially display their works.

Recognition has come, but serenity has not. Kuzmin is affected by all the worries, stresses, and sorrows of the present day. He remains perturbed by the meaning of human existence and humankind's links with the celestial. For instance, an unexpected painting for Kuzmin is In Memory of the American Astronauts (see the back cover). Having originally conceived the work as a still life with a shell in domestic surroundings, he was working to complete it in optimistic huesdepicting the Atlantic Coast and noise of the ocean merging with heavenly tranquillity....Just at that moment, news of the Challenger disaster burst onto the television screen like a clap of thunder. And the seashell on top of the television falling to the floor became a fatal herald. As he continued his work on the still life, he employed tragic and somber tones. Kuzmin intends to turn this work into a monumental canvas and eventually to present it to the National Air & Space Museum in Washington, D.C.

## **CHURCH**

#### Continued from page 40

est number of churches remain standing. In the countryside, with few exceptions, the churches are gone along with the spiritual life.

Today, we are living in a new era, when the faithful and the Church should breathe new life into the Russian village, make it receptive to finer things, and be the light that illuminates the darkness. I'm firmly convinced that the Russian village is doomed unless its spiritual life revives. People should be able to choose how they want to live and what they want to believe in. And they shouldn't have to travel tens, sometimes hundreds, of kilometers to attend church services. Every village should have its own church.

I believe the time has come when the village priest will not have to humbly beg for permission from the Village Soviet or the district authorities in order to mend a leaking roof of his church. As the law presently stands, wealthy parishes or an eparchial center cannot give material support to a less solvent religious community. Believers now await the day when, finally, the law will change.

Now that the fresh wind of change is blowing across the country, the people are getting a chance to choose their own destinies, to elect deputies mandated to adopt responsible decisions at all levels, including the level of the Village Soviet. How do these officials perceive the Russian village, and what means will they choose for its regeneration? Will we be a society divided as before into believers and nonbelievers, or will we all join efforts to build our new common home?

There was a time when the village priest was the soul and conscience of the community, when he lived the life of his parishioners. People looked to him to settle all disputes and make things right. He baptized the newborn, blessed newlyweds, and buried the dead. He spent his life ministering to the bucolic Russian folk. Today, when the country is reviving, it might be worthwhile to return to the image and likeness of our past. The people, rallying around their pastor, might turn their gaze toward the land and they might realize that it is our mother and our provider.

All people need something to look up to. For some, it is science or art where talent and genius are extolled. For others, believers, it is God. Alexander Solzhenitsyn ends his early novella *Matryona's House* with the Russian saying, "No village can exist without the righteous." Paraphrasing Solzhenitsyn, we believers might add, "Our country cannot stand firm without the righteous, the pillars of the world."

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#### Photographs by Vsevolod Tarasevich

SIE

When a collection of Victoria Vetrova's poems appeared in the press recently, readers thought somebody must be joking. No one could believe that the writer of such subtle and wise verse could be only 11 years old. SOVIET LIFE correspondent Olga Kuchkina offers a personal glimpse of the young girl who is causing such a sensation.

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n the daytime, Vicki's a shy and happy young miss," says Victoria Vetrova's proud father. "But at night it's a different story, and her bossy side comes out. If her mother and I

don't get the rhythm right when we're deciphering her scribbled lines, Vicki is quick to snap, 'You've got it all wrong! Make it a run-on verse!' and things like that."

When I speak with Victoria, who at only age 11 is causing ripples in poetry circles, I tell her what her father says.

"He's right, but I can't help it," the child wonder responds. "It's hard to explain inspiration. Some nights I can't get to sleep, and then, all of a sudden, whole stanzas come to me, flooding my brain. I've just enough time to scribble them down before waking Mom or Dad to write them out. In the daytime I have pretty decent handwriting, but at night it's almost illegible because I'm in such a hurry to get everything down on paper before I forget."

Vicki continues: "I think my parents are used to seeing their 'midnight apparition' by now, but sometimes Dad tells me to stop being a pest and to go back to bed. 'Mom and I can't stay up all night writing verses,' he barks. 'We've got to go to work in the morning.' But what about me? I think. I go to school all day, and I work all night."

I tell Vicki that I like her poetry immensely and ask her what her schoolmates and teachers think of her poems.

"Thank you," she replies politely. "As for my classmates, they don't

bove, from far left: Vicki helps her mother in the kitchen. The Vetrovs are their daughter's most avid fans. The young poet has just recently begun to recite her poems in public. "No one is closer to me than Dad-well, perhaps Mom," says Vicki. Right: Gathering new impressions from the window of a train.

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care. My teachers—it depends. Some ask me for copies; others hate every line I write."

"Besides poetry, what do you like best of all?"

"Walks, wildlife, and summer."

"Oh, summer is the best season for poetry, right?"

"No, winter is, but I like summer best, all the same. It has the most colors. And, my birthday is in summer too. Oops, now I remember! I like playing with dolls most of all."

"What about reading?"

"Sure! Know who my favorite poets are? Pushkin, Yesenin, Mayakovsky, Mandelstam, Tsvetayeva, Akhmatova, and Baudelaire."

"Did your parents read verses to you when you were little?"

"Mom did, and she still does."

"Our family is very close, a uni-

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verse unto its own," Vicki's mother explains. "All three of us often read verses to each other. That's our idea of fun."

Vicki's Uncle Alex, who is a good friend of mine, once told me that many people used to ask him how his niece could possibly write love poems at only 11.

"You mean, they think I'm too young to know about love?" Vicki retorts. "But if you have someone you cherish more than yourself, you *know* what love is."

Alex told me he has two brothers and a sister, and all are big on poetry. Some even write poems, though professionally they are either technology experts or military officers.

"The male members of the family have no problem believing that Vicki's verses are truly her own," Alex tells me. "The women are much harder to convince."

"Don't they know the real thing when they see it?" says Vicki's 82year-old grandfather, who was the first to recognize his granddaughter's talent. A veteran of the Spanish Civil War, he has written over 40 books on technology but only two about his experiences in Spain.

"At first we were frightened by Vicki's genius," her mother tells me. "And her father and I took her to a string of neurologists. All of them told us nothing was medically wrong. After enough sleepless nights, we were exhausted, so we tried giving Vicki something to help her sleep. But that only made her mumble in her restless sleep, and when she got up, she'd be more dead than alive."

If I were to choose one word to describe the Vetrov home, I'd have to say, "dignity." Never did I sense a touch of false modesty whenever the parents spoke about their child, or she about herself. I wonder, wouldn't it be better to play her genius down? I don't think so. Harmony between you and your milieu is the best thing a person with a special gift can hope for. The Vetrovs have created a harmonious environment for their special flower to blossom. If only more parents were like them!

> Courtesy of the newspaper Komsomolskaya pravda

#### VICTORIA VETROVA

Пока еще зеленая трава,

Не верь дождям - они плохие судьи,

И сумерки, похожие на студень,

Сливаются по капельке в слова.

И озеро, как стеклышко, рябое,

И роща только кажется больной.

Когда под ветром голову закружит

И в небосводе, сотканном из кружев,

Зеленый луг и небо голубое,

Не откликайся и не окликай,

Сольются в ожерелье облака.

Не слушай никого, когда со мной

The grass is green, though you can't hear the birds;

Don't trust those rains, they aren't the best of judges,

And jelly-like, this dusk is slowly cuddling

And drop by drop it trickles into words.

Don't listen to a person if they still

Are with you, this blue sky and the green meadow,

The lake that sparkles like a glass you tread on,

The birch tree copse that only looks so ill.

Do not call back and do not call aloud When in the wind your mind is slightly whirly

And in the sky that glistens as if pearly The streams tie up a necklace out of clouds.

—August 29, 1989

\* \*

I feel gloomy. Can't realize, why? The confusion of colorful tatters. And the moment is fading to die On the rope of that voluble chatter.

The air stiffens in lumps spelling trouble,

As foretold by the yesterday's raving. In the sky mica, shattered to rubble, A deep trail of the crane flock is waving.

On its shoulders the oak tree holds high The old branches where spiders are

swinging,

And the gloom of late summertime lies Like that famous black mark in my

-September 22, 1989

fingers.

Я грущу. Непонятно, зачем? В разноцветных осколках смятенье. На веревочке длинных речей Умирает, смеркаясь, мгновенье.

Воздух замер в комочках беды Предсказаньем вчерашнего бреда. На осколках небесной слюды Колея журавлиного следа.

Держит дуб на костлявых плечах Паутиной облитые ветки, Опустевшего лета печаль На ладони, как черная метка.

22.9.89 г.

29.8.89 г.

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I cannot say I've got an untrue friend. And yet my friends betrayed me in some manner.

- Their names are seen on those white paper banners
- Of mighty forts that armies won't defend.
- There are just these eternal words "I love,"
- And just my heart plunged in the turbid anguish.
- And grasping loneliness, I will be standing
- On precipitous height with only birds above.

The precipice with its unbroken chain, The endless sky where heavy clouds are

- sailing.
- I'll press my pain to stop its piercing wailing And then step back to love this life

again.

-November 30, 1989

Sugar frost on my lips is clear. My head's fettered with air's gray chain. I am keen to worm out of fear How to exorcize this my pain.

My hands uselessly fuss together, Poking ashes to make time pass. They are twisting, these snakes of letters,

Crawling over the table glass.

They fall down, after cringing, fighting, On the specter of unruled page. Like a runaway slave, I'm frightened By the whip that was smashed in rage.

There's no choice, so I have to bear it, But I'll never forgive the whip. It's too early for me, you hear it, To let childhood out of my grip.

-November 30, 1989

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Нет у меня непреданных друзей, Но есть друзья, предавшие однажды. Их имена на знамени бумажном Сдаваемых без боя крепостей.

Есть только слово вечное "люблю", Есть только сердце в помутневшей боли, Я одиночество зажму в свои ладони И у обрыва встану на краю.

Обрыва необорванная нить И небо без конца и без начала. А я сожму тоску, чтоб не кричала, И отойду, чтобы хотелось жить. 30.11.89 г.

На губах леденеет сахар. Серый воздух сомкнул виски. Я выведываю у страха Заклинание от тоски.

Тереблю ненужные руки, Перемешиваю золу. Извиваются змеи-буквы, Расползаются по стеклу.

Опадают на призрак белый Челинованного листа. Я боюсь, как невольник беглый Размочаленного хлыста.

Я терплю - никуда не деться, Не прощая злому бичу. И никак уходить из детства Раньше времени не хочу.

30.11.89 г.

Translated by Andrei Patrikeyev

## Islands

Continued from page 37

in solitary confinement on the islands. The Decembrists also pined away in Solovetsky dungeons.

There were countless other unknown prisoners, among whom might have been geniuses, perished without a trace.

Back in Moscow, Alex and I visited an exhibition that took us once again to those distant northern islands, however, this time during the darkest period of their history. One section of the exhibition entitled Solovetsky Hard-Labor Prison Camp, 1923-1953, included documents, testimonials, and photographs of those tragic years. The special hard-labor camps, which were set up in June 1923, were known for their severe regime, complete isolation, and inhuman treatment of the inmates.

On display were lists of the prisoners who were shot, excerpts from correspondence between gulag chiefs, and samples of orders and instructions. There were also books written by former inmates, the intellectual cream of their generation; newspapers of the times reporting the achievements of the prospering motherland; and posters of the day.

The photographs of the prisoners showed men from all walks of lifemilitary officers, aristocrats, clergymen, peasants, workers, and college students. Pavel Florensky, the brilliant scientist and priest; Dmitri Likhachev, the renowned philologist; Oleg Volkov, the outstanding writer; and many others peered out at us from the photographs. Their eyes seemed to question whether we knew and whether we remembered. They seemed to be wondering whether we will ever be able to move beyond the memory of the tragic symbol of the Solovetsky prison camp.

Unfortunately, the history of the Solovetsky Islands would be incomplete without a description of its terrible page. The exhibition we visited in Moscow describing the dark times of the islands, times that must never return, will soon become a permanent part of the Solovetsky Islands Museum Preserve.

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A wire figure molds his world in Twists and Turns.

Hemp meets cord in Marriage.



rina Lennikova, shown here, is an animation artist. Since graduating from the art department of the USSR Institute of Cinematography in Moscow in 1972, she has

worked at Soyuzmultfilm, the Soviet animation studio.

"Animation lets us film artists give free reign to our imagination," says Lennikova. "That's why I love it."

Outstanding ability, an unswaying belief in herself, and natural talent helped Lennikova quickly learn the rudiments of the art. Working with a variety of directors, film-making methods, genres, and materials, she gained invaluable experience and professionalism. Today with almost 20 animated feature-length films to her credit—many winning prizes at international film festivals at home and abroad—Lennikova is a widely recognized master of animation.

Three of her films, which were done in collaboration with Gary Bardin, deserve special mention.

Break!, the thirteenth film in Lennikova's portfolio, takes a lighthearted yet poignant look at boxing. The film took second place at an international animated film festival in Los Angeles, California, in 1987.

... Against the approving roar of the fans, two plasticine boxers mercilessly pummel each other. A welllanded punch transforms one contender into an unrecognizable blob. An answering blow brings the same fate to the other. Losing their human aspects, the contenders grapple in a furious embrace, rolling around the ring, oblivious to the referees' calls to "break"—the boxing term used to separate opponents.

The match is both funny and sad funny because it is a parody replete with irony, caricature, and the unexpected tricks inherent in the genre and sad because it questions the rationale of letting people cruelly beat up each other in the name of sport.

Another film, Marriage, tells the story of an unsuccessful relationship with the use of rope and cord, materials that are unusual even for animated films.

The figures in the drama possess their own, easily read personality, which is determined by the material from which they are fashioned. The male figure is made of ordinary hemp, rough and unpolished. The top of his "head" is evenly trimmed into a crew-cut hair style. Later, his hair appears to thin out and he begins to bald. But while "He" is still young, unattached, and sturdy, he meets the love of his life, portrayed by an elegant length of white Japanese silk cord, bright and beautiful. "He" and "She" fall in love and quite literally tie the knot. Now they are one. But, with time, arguments pull them apart. Other rope figures appear in the film: the vulgar red home breaker, the passersby-a teacher leading a group of motley-dressed students, and a slender black maiden. Moviegoers and critics alike gave the film good reviews and noted its originality.

The rope and cord figures in the film *Marriage* are reinforced with wire, the basic material used in the film *Twists and Turns*. As genre goes, the movie is a parable.

... The film begins with a coil of wire. Unwinding, it forms the shape of a man, who goes about constructing his surroundings from the remaining wire. First he builds a fence, and behind the fence, a garden. Then he adds a dog on a chain, a house, and in the house, a table, a chair, a bed, and finally, his partner in life, a woman. One would think that he'd live happily ever after in his self-contained little corner, but the surrounding reality constantly disrupts his tranquillity. Realizing the futility of trying to fence himself off from the world, the man, grieving and embittered, begins to disassemble all the structures that he had fashioned and to roll up the wire into a coil.

Like the other Lennikova and Bardin films, *Twists and Turns* contains no words, only exclamations, vocal trickery, and background noises. The film won the Grand Prize in the animation category at the Cannes Film Festival in 1988.

Break!, Marriage, and Twists and Turns are just three of Irina Lennikova's original creations. Moviegoers keenly await what her imagination and skill have in store.

#### **Opponents face off in Break!**



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The motley cast of Marriage.



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### LOKOMOTIV'S LIO By Vladimir Vatutin Photographs by Igor Utkin

didn't recognize Dale Mulholland right off the bat when I saw him a few days ago at the stadium where Lokomotiv Moscow practices in the old Cherkizovo District of the city. Mulholland, 25, had signed a oneyear contract with Lokomotiv Moscow last March. Then I realized that was him on the field in the bright training suit, going up on a pitch. I marveled at his cannonball shots and traced the intricate combinations that he practiced with his teammates.

This time, the inconspicuous though certainly handsome and smiling young man was out of uniform and standing on the sidelines watching his teammates dodge the men on Spartak Vladikavkaz, a team from the capital of North Ossetia. I saw his respite as an opportunity to find out more about the American.

"Not playing today?" I asked.

"No, I've got a sore throat," Mulholland answered, trying to pull himself away from the action. "Too much ice cream, I guess." "Where are you from, and how did you get here?" I pressed.

"I'm originally from Tacoma, Washington," he explained. "My father is retired, but my mother continues to work at a local hospital. I'm one of five children.

"I've been playing soccer since childhood, but over the past few years I've been playing mostly with foreign clubs. I was with a West German team for two months, a South Korean team for four months, and a Mexican team for three months. Then I returned to Florida, to my club the Orlando Lions. Earlier this year, I joined Lokomotiv Moscow."

What brought him to Moscow? The decisive factor, Mulholland told me, was Lokomotiv's tour of the United States at the end of last year. That was his first encounter with Soviet athletes, and he decided to give Soviet soccer a try.

Later, he learned that such well-known first-

sports



ale Mulholland is the first American player to sign a contract with a Soviet soccer club. He now plays halfback for Lokomotiv Moscow. Above: Mulholland (center) with Lokomotiv coach Yuri Syomin (right) and teammate Boris Gorkov.

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division teams as Spartak Moscow and Zenit Leningrad had also wanted him, but he stuck to his word and has been with Lokomotiv since March, even though this year the club isn't in first-division play but in second-division—chiefly because it lost several key players at almost the same time and now must rebuild.

I think that Mulholland made a wise choice. Today Lokomotiv is a young and promising club, but it has a long-standing and well-earned reputation.

"I consider myself lucky," said Mulholland, "to be playing for such a celebrated team. I hope Lokomotiv will return to first-division play this year, and I'm going to do what I can to make it happen."

As for living accommodations, Mulholland has been given a tworoom summer cottage in the outof-town holiday resort belonging to the USSR Ministry of Railroads. He spends most of his time, however, with the team at its training camp.

The financial terms of the contract? Like other players, Mulholland receives a regular salary and bonuses for victories in rubles.

Chairman of Lokomotiv Moscow Vadim Korshunov, who had joined us, explained further.

"The one-year contract," Korshunov said, "is only part of a long-term agreement on cooperation and specialist exchange that Lokomotiv Moscow has with the Orlando Lions. One of our most experienced players, Alexander Golovnya, has left to play in the United States. Soon one of our coaches will be going to Florida, while Lion's coach Zoran Savic will be coming here."

It was getting late, so I said Goodby to the "roaming forward," as he calls himself in reference to his eventful soccer biography.

"I hope to see you score soon," I said.

"I won't keep you waiting," smiled Dale confidently. As he walked toward his teammates, I saw that he meant business.



#### RUSSIA AND THE RUSSIANS

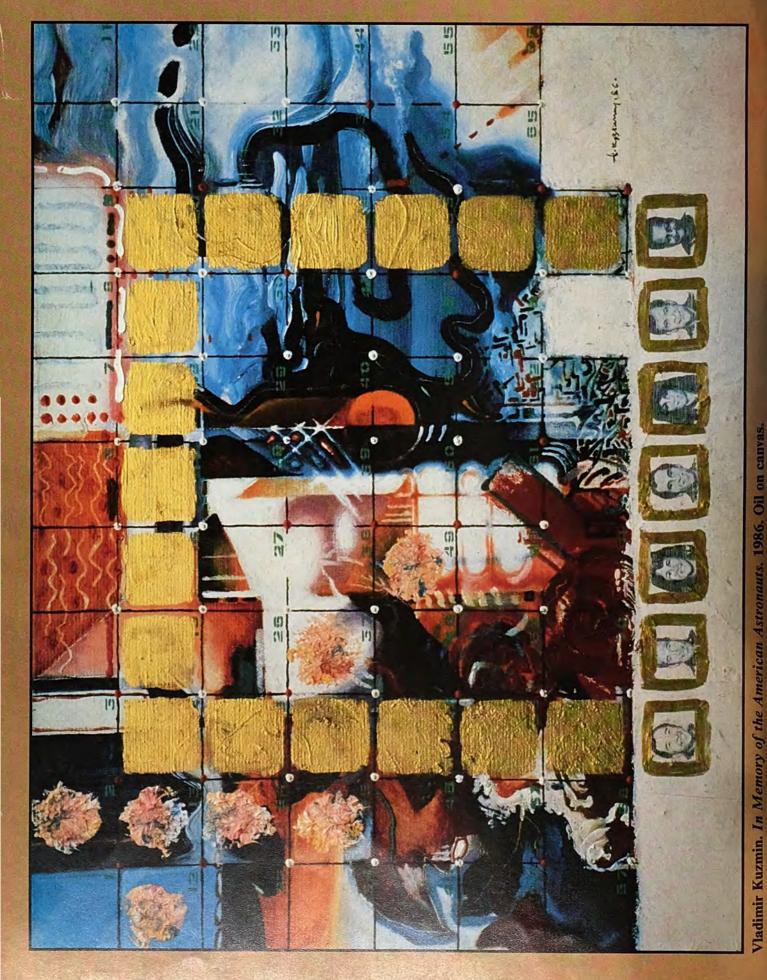
All Soviet republics are being swept by a wave of ethnic selfawareness, which sometimes takes the form of aggressive nationalism. The consequence is animosity toward the union's largest republic, the Russian Federation, and the most numerous people, the Russians. Russia and the people who live there are the focus in October.



Americans of Russian ancestry recently visited the USSR. Their names are impressive: Golitsyn, Sheremetyev, Pushchin, and the like—the aristocratic families that glorified Russia with their deeds. Some representatives of the new generation of these dynasties have never been in the land of their forebears. Still, they feel close to it. They saw that much was changing for the better—especially attitudes toward their cultural heritage.



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## Special Issue **Russia and** the Russians

What lies ahead for the younger generation?

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October 1990 •

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#### **EDITOR'S NOTES**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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#### Robert Tsfasman

#### Miraculous Icon A Muscovite's

Gift to Ronald Reagan

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





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Front Cover: A youngster from Totma, a town in Vologda Region of the Russian Federation. Story begins on page 10. Photo-graph by Vladimir Cheishvili.



Material for this issue courtesy of **Novosti Press Agency** 

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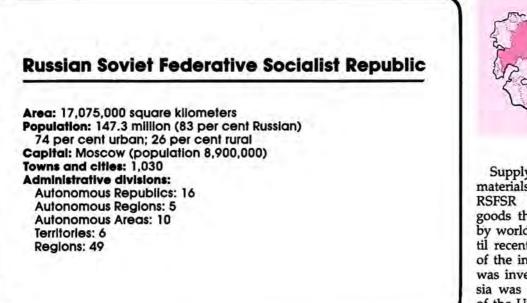


Theater studios are proliferating 6 in Moscow.

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## Russia's Road to Independence

By Dmitri Marchenkov





Supplying other republics with raw materials for almost nothing, the RSFSR receives in return finished goods that are often poor in quality by world standards. Furthermore, until recently a considerable proportion of the industrial profits of the RSFSR was invested in other republics. Russia was supporting the other regions of the USSR. The total volume of the RSFSR's industrial production for January and February 1990 came to 83.3 billion rubles, of which only 24.1 billion was budgeted to Russia.

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

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

This situation caused a chain reac-

any people in the West still confuse Russia, the

largest of the 15 republics that compose the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,

with the Soviet Union as a whole-in the same way that we often confuse England with Great Britain as a whole.

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

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



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

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

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

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Generated on 2025-04-12 00:02 GMT Public Domain, Google-digitized The Congress agreed, after hearing the report "On the Social and Economic State of the RSFSR," that the republic had serious crises in its economy, in its social structure, and in the environment.

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

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

On June 12 the Congress passed its declaration on the state sovereignty of the RSFSR, claiming for the Russian Federation the exclusive right to dispose of its own natural resources and its economic, technical, and intellectual potential; independently to determine its own future; and voluntarily to establish relations, on an equal basis, with the USSR as a whole and with other republics and foreign governments.

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

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

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

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

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

#### Autonomous Republics:

Buryat Tatar Bashkir Daghestan Chechen-Ingush Kabardin-Balkar Kalmyk Karellan Komi Marl Mordovian North Ossetian Tuva Udmurt Chuvash Yakut

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



#### Autonomous Regions:

Adygel Jewish Gorno-Altal Khakass Karachal-Circassian Autonomous Areas: Koryak Chukot Taimyr Evenkl Khanty-Mansi Agin Buryat Yamalo-Nenets Komi-Permyak Nenets Ust-Ordyn Buryat

kinds will still belong to the state."

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

The revolution in psychology will take place: The Russian people are thinking more and more favorably about the prospect of a market economy. In Russia today 1,300 industrial enterprises, about 100 construction enterprises, and 12,000 trade and food service concerns are rented from the state, and in agriculture 70 per cent of all state and collective farms— 17,800 of them—are also rented from the state. On July 1, 900 farms and about 100,000 cooperatives were registered; they employ two and a half million people.

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

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

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

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

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

The main cause of disagreement between the RSFSR and the USSR, however, is Russia's natural resources, claimed as Russia's property in "The Declaration on the State Sovereignty of the RSFSR." Apropos of this, on August 9 the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR declared unlawful any use of natural resources on Russian territory without the sanction of the government of the RSFSR and declared invalid all agreements for their export concluded after June 12, the day the declaration was approved.

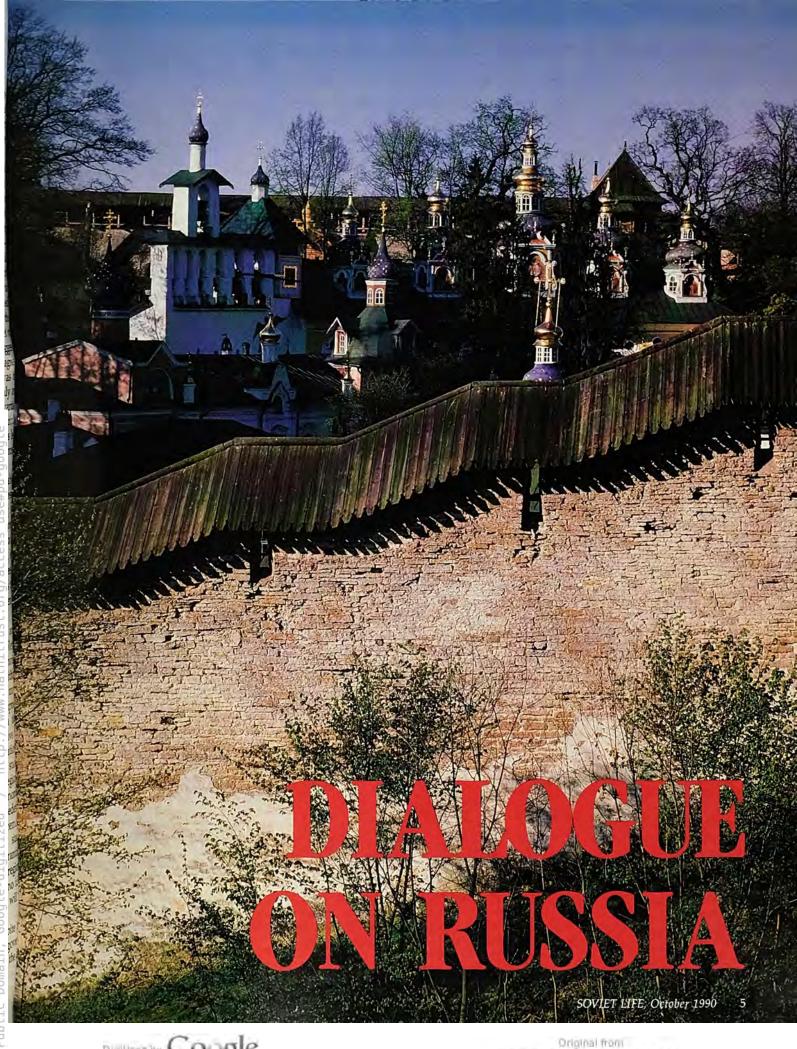
The central government was quick to reply. On August 23 the president of the USSR abolished by decree the resolution of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR on the pretext that, under the present-hopelessly antiquated-Constitution of the USSR, all natural resources are under the jurisdiction of the Soviet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

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

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

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

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Genera

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

### RUSSIA HAS REARED

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

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

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

I had not been a prominent figure

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

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

My social standing was largely



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

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

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

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

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

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Generated on 2025-04-12 00:02 GMT Public Domain, Google-digitized I have often been asked if I would ever go abroad. On a visit—yes; for life—never. My soul will never feel free outside of Russia—unfortunate, deprived of rights, plundered and looted, but still my Russia!

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

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

People talk a great deal about the mysterious Russian soul. I agree with Vasili Grossman, who believes, as he says in his story Forever Flowing, that the key lies in the meekness of the Russians, which at times turns into slavishness. Remember that Chekhov wrote: "We have to squeeze the slave out of our system bit by bit." I, for one, never managed to do that completely: I'm still afraid of the word "chief"; I walk timidly into high offices, though I know that the person in there may be a complete nonentity.

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

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

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

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

Russian character is spontaneous. We should not idealize the patriarchal village life and say everyone in the rural areas lived in harmony. As a man who came from the country, I can testify that people in the villages also wrote denunciations of their neighbors. That was the reason my grandfather was jailed.

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

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

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

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

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

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

In Russia literature has a messianic role. That is a tradition that developed historically: Whenever the government ceases to function effectively and loses the confidence of the peo-*Continued on page 30* 

SOVIET LIFE, October 1990 7

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

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

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

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

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

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

### THE STRANGE SOUL OF RUSSIA





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

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

Q: Do you believe that Russia was coerced into adopting a government system of militant godlessness? A: Yes, and it experienced and bore and fused this militancy to its heart, which is the real miracle and mystery!

Recently I witnessed a funeral service in a country church. "Who is the deceased?" I asked. "We are burying a Communist," an old woman explained to me. "He fought with us for 50 years and completely wore himself out; may he at least rest in that other world." How can you argue with such logic?

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

A: The burden of the cross is our common destiny. Everyone suffers, but some are able to separate themselves from personal and foreign suffering by a screen of pleasure, entertainment, and so forth. What is behind that screen? More suffering loneliness, hate, sickness, and death. There is a parable about bearing the cross: If you shorten the cross by sawing off a part of it, it will be easier to carry, but then when you come to a chasm, there is nothing to span it with. Your cross was given to you to be a bridge.

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

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

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

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

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

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

A: Politics is almost always as Talleyrand said: "Promises, promises, promises!" Lying, in other words. On all levels. With the rarest exceptions. No, I don't expect anything from politics. We should cure ourselves of this political mania; it makes our thoughts wretched, and for writers it would be a crime to sit by and allow this to corrupt people's souls. After all, the authority of literature in the eyes of the reader has always been exceptional in Russia.

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

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

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

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

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

A: It is a mystery. And the unexpected cruel frost that immobilized the German tanks commanded by General Heinz Guderian outside Mos-Continued on page 30

SOVIET LIFE, October 1990 9

# THE FATE OF TOTMA

By Yelena Chadayeva Photographs by Vladimir Cheishvili

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

The fate of things and places once held sacred determines the fate of a nation. That was always so in ancient Rus. Our ancestors relied more on the spiritual, invisible bulwarks than on the tangible thickness of fortress walls. Isn't that why, having rejected these bulwarks, the Totmanians, like all other Russians, are now reaping the sad harvest of moral desolation?

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

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

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

Archival materials on people from Totma in Russian America are very

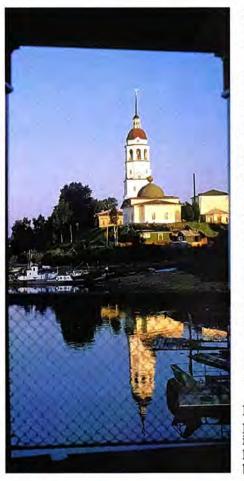


scanty; we have more information about Ivan Kuskov than anybody else. In 1812 Kuskov, prominent in the Russian American Company, founded Fort Ross, California, the southernmost Russian settlement in the New World.

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

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

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



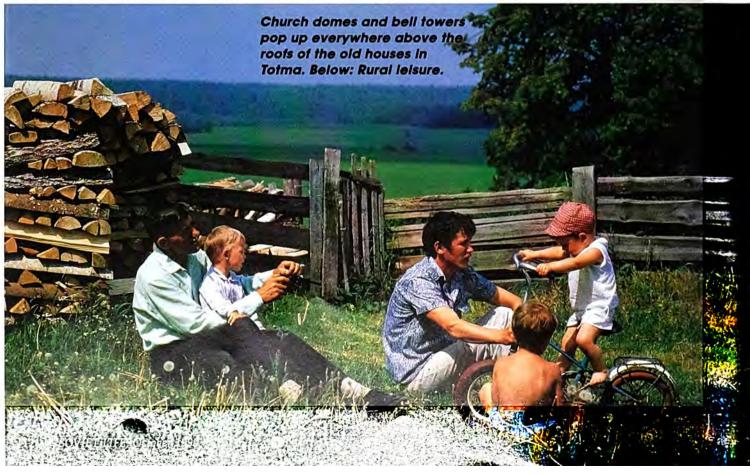
The idea of homecoming first struck him 10 years ago, when he read an interview with Zaitsev.

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

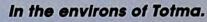
Zamarayev's goal is to revive the handicraft school in Totma, which was nationally renowned until the late 1920s.

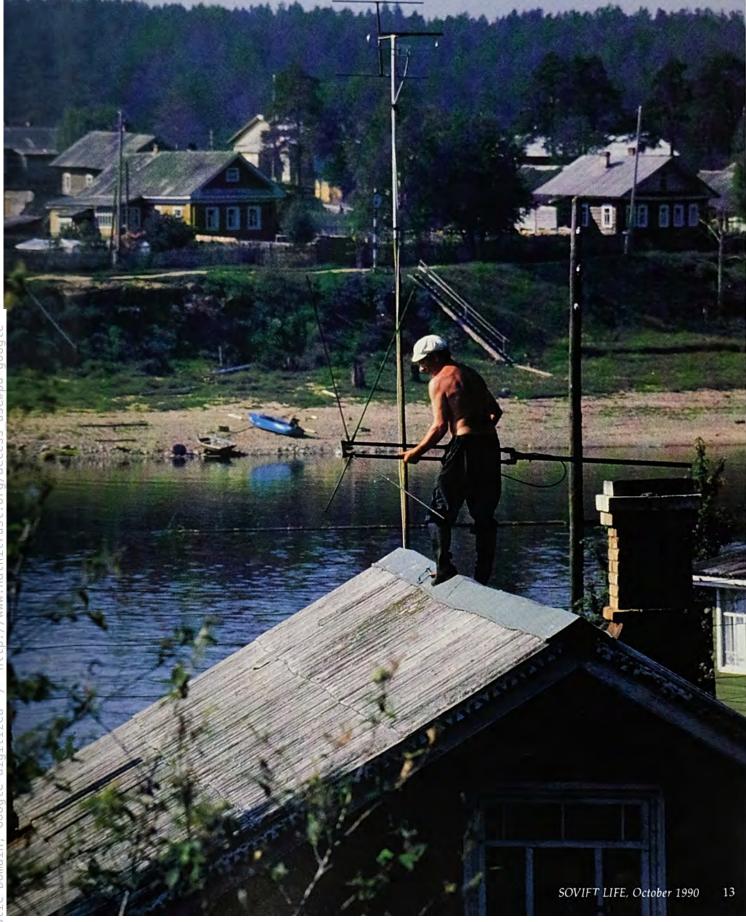
Russia today is like a ship with a lot of leaks—you simply don't know which one to fix first. The first breach is our agriculture. The main forces in Totma have grouped themselves under the slogan: "To produce sufficient food means to survive." The original meaning of the word peasant is being restored—and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

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









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

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

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

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

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Generated on 2025-04-12 00:02 GMT Public Domain, Google-digitized the lion's share of their produce. The better they work and the richer their harvests, the more they have to give up—in return for nothing.

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

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

Sergei Simonov, chairman of the executive committee of Totma's Town Soviet, seems to agree with the objections of the town's residents, but at the same time he raises his arms helplessly and asks: "If we don't pull down those old houses, how are we going to build new ones—or should we stop housing construction in Totma altogether?"

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

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

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

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





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

"What does the town need most?" That was the question I asked each of the town leaders, and they all answered in chorus: "Money!" It goes without saying that any law passed by the state requires material support. That includes the Law on the Protection of Relics of History and Culture, especially in towns like Totma, which have been included among the 115 "gems" of the Russian Federation because of their historical significance. Boats on the Sukhona River near Totma. Many town residents have boats. Facing page: Residents share a potluck meal.



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

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

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

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

#### The younger generation of Totmanians.

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# Russia's Search for a Balance of Interests

By Andrei Kortunov

he foreign policy problems of Russia's newly developing statehood mainly boil down to a search for a balance of interests with other members of the future confederation. We may assume that, one way or another, these problems will be solved in the new USSR treaty. But sovereign Russia will inevitably have to outline its specific place in world politics, even taking into account the fact that the republic of Russia will be a part of a renewed union.

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

The new Russian version of the new thinking rhetoric will hardly help find answers to these questions. This is not only because over the past five years the striking formulas have become thoroughly outdated. The new thinking was mainly given destructive tasks, such as the elimination of old approaches and the old system of alliances. Today these tasks have mainly been fulfilled. Now constructive aims are assuming great importance for the republics-to find new partners and allies, to fit into the reviving regional balance of forces, to seek diplomatic recognition, and so on. To achieve these aims, the republics must limit their urge to gain global stature, and their leaders must resort to less moralizing, more prudence, and more diplomatic maneuvering.

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

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

This lesson could be rather useful for Russia's diplomacy also. I don't mean that our leaders should cynically play on contradictions. The main problem they will have to address is Russia's participation in a new political game, the main figures in which will be the United States, a united Europe, and the Asian-Pacific community. Russia will not quickly be able to play on an equal footing with these giants, but precisely its temporary weakness increases its freedom for diplomatic maneuvering. The strategic task of the 1990s is to start cooperation with all the centers of strength without becoming an economic and political appendage of any of them.

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

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

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

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

# BANK FOR INNOVATIONS The First Year

By Dmitri Marchenkov

# The new bank's success surpassed all expectations.

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

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

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

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

Vinogradov, in addition to being the bank

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mosinkombank has something to offer Western partners. Mosinkombank's address is 115612, Moscow, Kashirskoye Route, House 57, Block 5, Currency Account No. 67084032 at the Vneshekonombank of the USSR, 01009.



## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

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

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

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

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

> Morgan Stanford Atlanta, Georgia

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

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

He questions the "fact-checking and editorial standards" as if he were expecting an issue of Popular Science! A reporter must have the freedom to write the story as he or she sees it—even if it is about a murder apparently being solved in an "albeit" unusual manner (a matter of opinion). Part of becoming a mature, educated, and well-rounded adult is to use one's mind in determining what one views as "factual" information; yet not trashing an entire magazine and its esteemed reporters in a lowly manner unbecoming of a true gentleman. (One can disagree without being a complete "ass" in print.)

#### Robin Kincaid Woodinville, Washington

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

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

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

Syd Hall Nevada City, California









VAL



Peace Tree Takes Root

By Marina Mamatsashvili Photographs by Georgi Tsagareli

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

US

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

How did this American "tree" stretch

its roots all the way to distant Soviet

Georgia? Leslie Schulten, the head of

the organization, said: "I was in [Soviet]

Georgia for the first time two years ago as a member of a delegation represent-

ing the administration of the state of

Georgia. Our welcome in Tbilisi, and especially at School No. 53, was very

warm. We established the basis of our

A memento for the photo album (above left). One of the events at the festival (below left). Gela Charkviani, playing the plano, hosted Tyler Blanton (second from right). friendly relations at this school. I brought 5,000 letters from Atlanta students to their Soviet counterparts."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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The Americans visited the Tbilisi Ballet School.



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

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

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

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

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

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# Prospects For the Family Farm

By Valeri Grigoryev Photographs by Victor Chernov

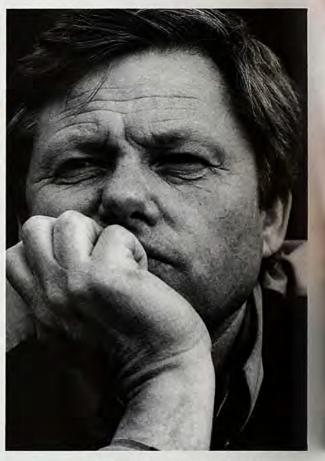
uch has been said and written about the utter failure of collective and state farms. But the Dzerzhinsky Collective Farm, in Belgorod Region in the central European part of the Russian Federation, is prosperous by today's standards, producing seven million rubles in net profit every year.

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

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

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

<image>



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

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

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

The livestock-breeding barn.

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

Anisimov and Ponik have one

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

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

mmmm

Examples of traditional crafts are on display in the farm's museum. Below: Music is an Important leisure-time activity.

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



that Ponik would be back by then. I did not find in him the usual farmer's reticence, behind which village folk seek to conceal their inability to speak "smoothly." Ponik would eagerly discuss any topic, be it the economy, politics, or everyday matters. He was wearing blue jeans and a jacket to match, and his hair was long and tousled. "I don't have to take orders now about what I should do or when," he said, "and that is freedom. Yet it's not the kind of freedom I'd like to have, not full freedom, so to speak. I have to deliver a certain amount of pork to the state farm and pay for fodder and the lease of the land and barns. Only then can I think of how to support my family and buy discarded machin-



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

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

"The possibility of bankruptcy is always a worry. Our livelihood depends on the good will of the state farm managers, I'm afraid. They may refuse to supply fodder, or price my pork as second-rate, or use any other of the tried-and-true methods of suppressing initiative. And yet I hope that even before my relations with them worsen, economists will manage to persuade the government that family-run farms will die without a free market, that the peasantry as it was before the forced collectivization cannot be revived if farmland is not sold and bought freely."

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

Has it begun to work? The answer is No. The few private farmers that have appeared depend on the selfsame collective and the state farms, and, hence, cannot play the role of Archimedes' lever. On the contrary, the private farmers' industriousness and their resulting high yields, much higher than most collective and state farms can achieve, have been greeted with irritation by those who are used to working halfheartedly and earning a fixed salary.

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

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

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





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

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

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

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

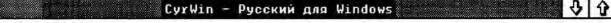
changed condition. I do know what kind of collective farm I want. The main thing is to make every member of a collective farm the real, rather than pretend master of the means of production and the results of work. Yes, your guess is quite correct; I do think that a collective farm should be a joint-stock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

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

"While we may have millions of rubles in the bank, I cannot use that money the way I see fit, for instance, to buy some machinery, because I'm not the one who sets the quota-the state distribution organizations do. The same is true of fodder, fertilizer, fuel, and building materials. The lack of a market turns us into beggars and the state apparatus into a 'benefactor,' or rather, into a monopoly imposing its will upon everyone.

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

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



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# RUSSIA HAS REARED

Continued from page 7

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

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

Q: And yet we do not hear the voice of fiction writers as loudly today as we did before because journalism has leaped boldly into the foreground. A: You are quite right. We are now engaged far more in social and political problems than purely artistic.

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

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

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

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

I have been officially invited to Israel, and I expect a lot from my trip. I want to see Jerusalem, the Holy Sepulcher, and other sacred places with my own eyes. I want to see the desert that was made a blossoming garden in 30 years, as Lyubimov put it.

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

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

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

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

Yet I hope for the best.

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

# SOUL OF RUSSIA

Continued from page 9

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

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

# Q: Where did the Jewish question spring from?

A: It would be a gross simplification to boil down everything to a search for "the enemy," and we've had enough of this! The tragedy is that many Jews moved away from their culture but did not adapt to the foreign one—maybe with their minds they did, but not with their hearts. They did not become its humble devotees, and on the strength of this became the most vulnerable for the antinational mass culture and for every sort of mechanical experiments in art—avant-garde and so on. Yes, and not only in art and literature, but also for every kind of risky experiment in social life.

#### Q: Your prognosis?

A: A wise old woman once said: "Don't plan anything yourself, my son; everything is already planned without you." Let it be planned. People always will have a free choice, nevertheless. For some reason we are embroiled in the debate between Westernizers and Slavophiles for the hundredth time. We will continue to go around in this vicious circle, experiencing continuous revolutions and perestroikas until we finally decide to be ourselves. Q: I heard someone say, "Fine, let Peter the Great, let Gorbachev carve out a window onto Europe or America. Why do they carve it so deep, down to where there is only stagnant water?"

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

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

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



### Photographs by Anatoli Goryainov



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

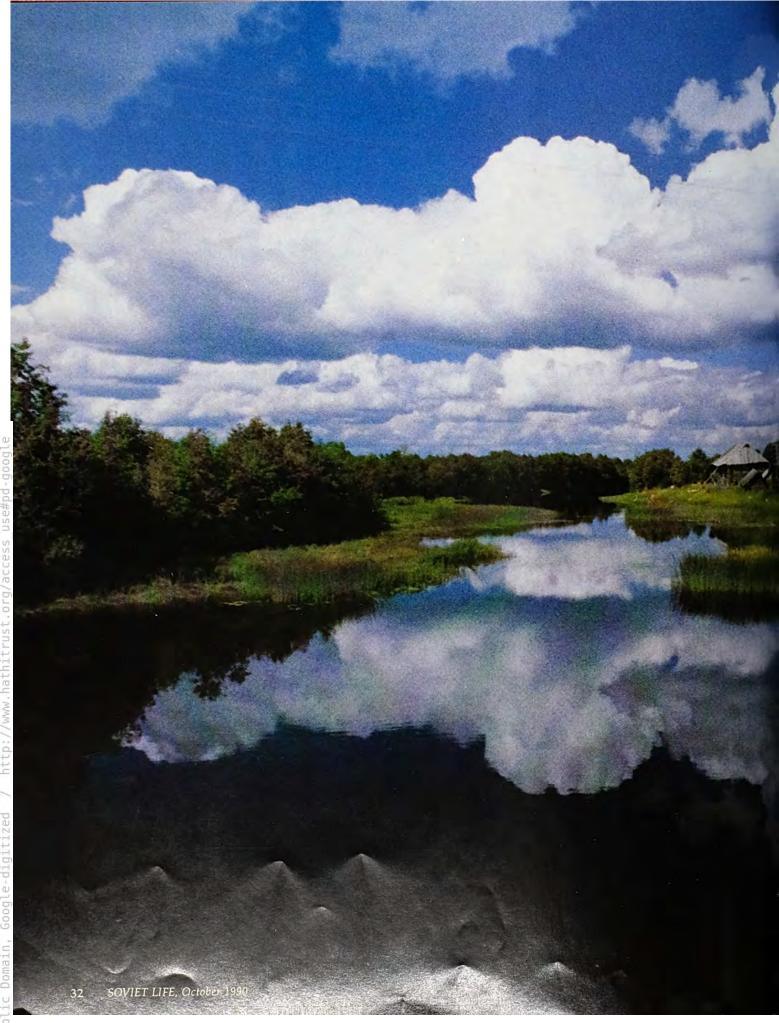
# Folktale Country

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

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

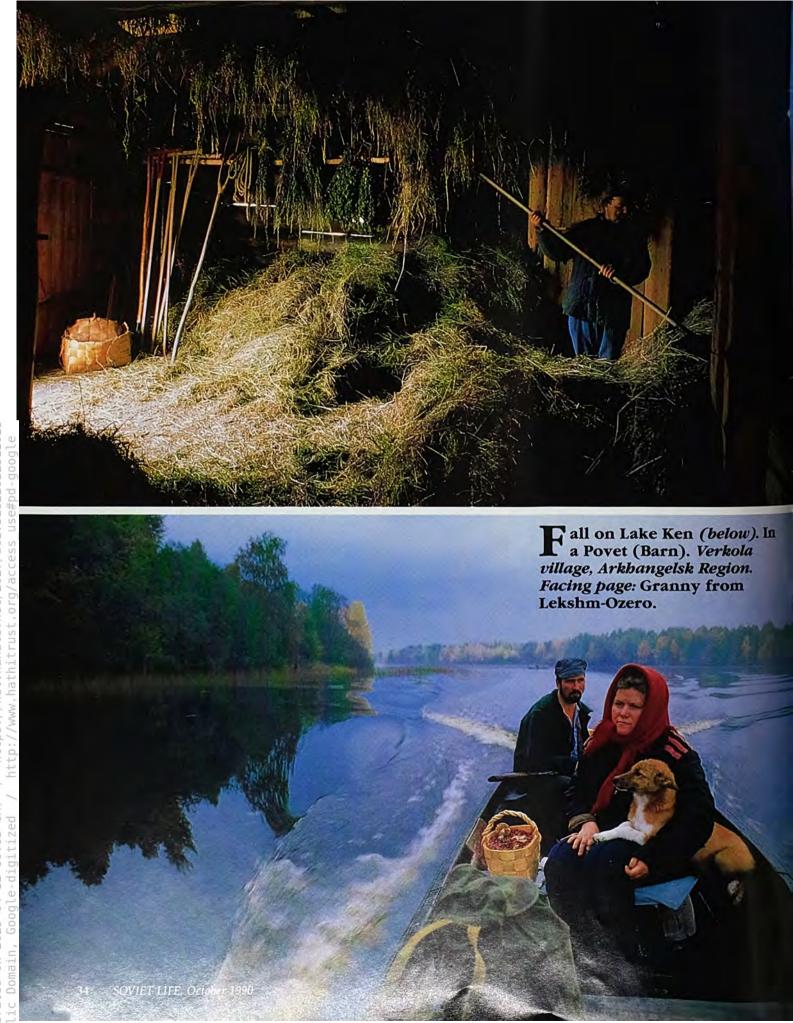
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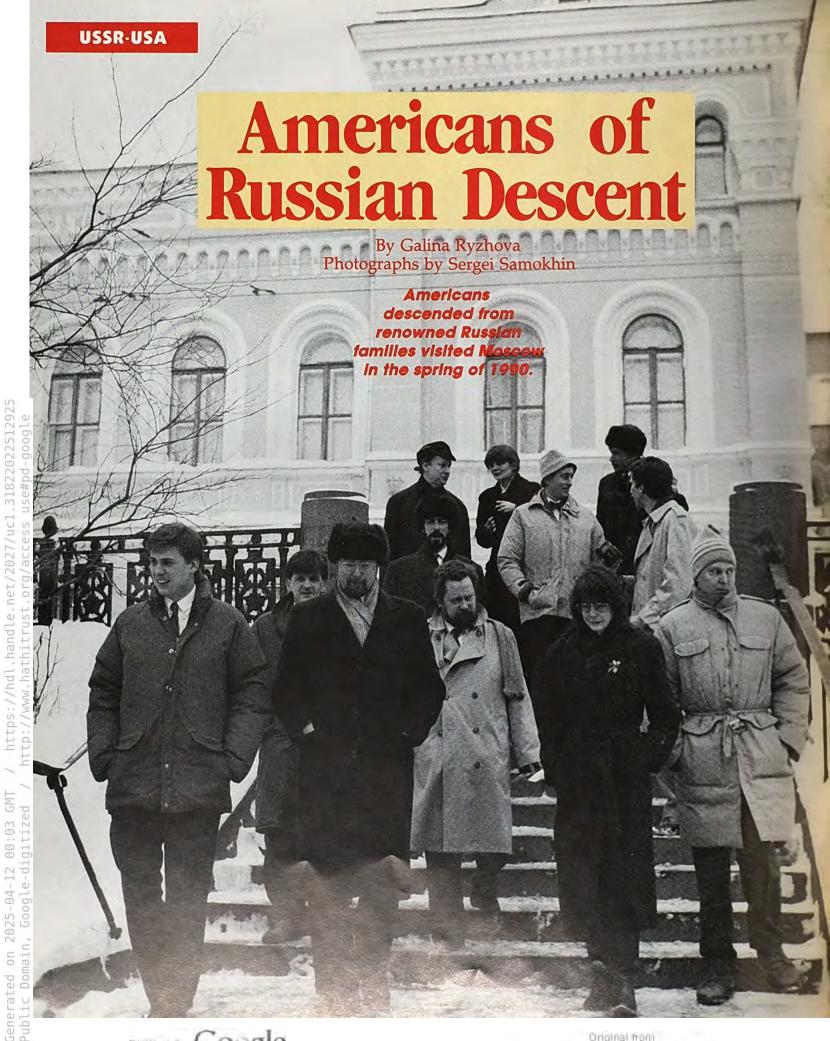






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erhaps the vast expanses of our two countries influence national character, and that's why the Americans and the Russians are so much alike. They are equally friendly and goodhearted; they are open for communication with one another." This hypothesis was expressed by an American with the Russian name of Mikhail Khlebnikov. He was visiting The ancient families of the Sheremetyevs, Trubetskoys, and Golitsyns, whose younger members have recently visited this country, have their roots in the Middle Ages. The progenitor of the Sheremetyev dynasty, Ivan displayed miraculous courage in leading 7,000 soldiers in a battle against a huge Tatar army in the mid-sixteenth century. His descendant Boris Sheremetyev was appointed a field marshal by Peter the Great. The tates are brilliant examples of Russian architecture and interior design. They have been preserved with their parks, ponds, home theaters, and vast collections of paintings and sculpture.

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



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

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

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

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

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





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

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

In the Soviet Union, however, we knew nothing or next to nothing about the twentieth century scions of the dynasties. The younger generaMetropolitan Pitirim of Yurlev and Volokolamsk told the Americans about the cultural regeneration of society.



Vladimir Morozan (right) and Pyotr Fikula.

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

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

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

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



## **SHEREMETYEV**





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

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

Film director George Nakhichevansky had his camera ready at all times. Above: Visiting the kremlin in Rostov Veliky. Pyotr Golitsyn on television in Yaroslavi.





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

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

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## GOLITSYN

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WYA .

Pyotr Golltsyn at Karabikha, the estate of the Russian poet Nikolai Nekrasov.

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

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

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

Vasili Golitsyn, head of the Russian nobility during the reign of Czarina Sofia.





Mikhali Golitsyn in an eighteenth century miniature.

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

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

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

Pitirim told of how the Russian Orthodox Church had established contact between Afghan and Vietnam veterans, of the Church's work to reinstate the Afghan veterans spiritually Visiting Yaroslavi artists (above). Below: Alexander Neratov, the son of an outstanding Russian architect.



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

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

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

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



# LOPUKHIN



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

TRUBETSKOY







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

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

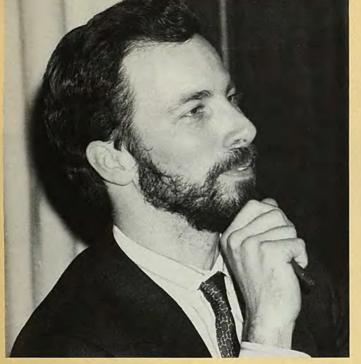
A few words about one encounter that stands out among others. Russia's Academy of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture has been restored in an eighteenth century house on Kirov Street in Moscow. The house was built by the great Russian architect Vasili Bazhenov. The walls of the house remember dozens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

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

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

Everybody liked the idea.

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





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present-day Ivan Pushchin (above). Bottom: The Decembrist uprising in which Ivan's ancestor participated.







USGR

# American Artist Meets Soviet Ace

By Alexei Lipovetsky Photographs by Vladislav Runov

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

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

But Crandall dreamed of meeting him not only for this reason. Kozhedub has gone down in the history of military aviation also because he was the first to shoot down a jet warplane—the famed Messerschmitt ME-262—while flying a conventional piston-engined fighter. Crandall drew the fighter plane in that historic battle and brought the picture to Moscow.

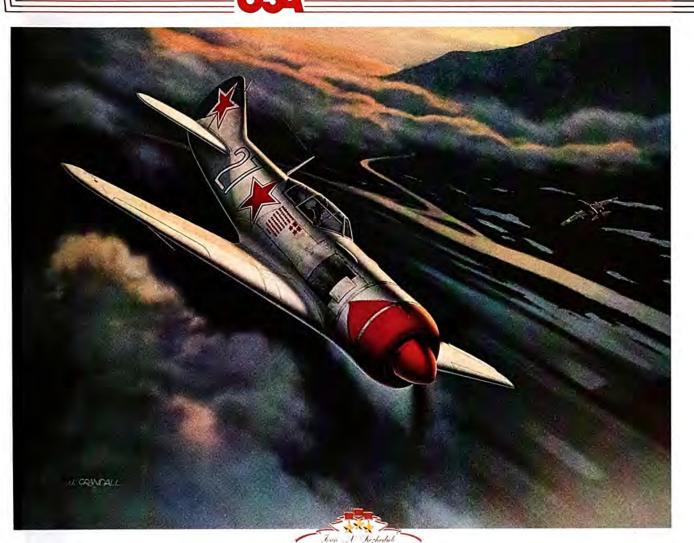
The LA-7 (the two letters come from the name of the designer, Semyon Lavochkin) was one of the principal fighter planes manufactured in the Soviet Union during the Second World War. Soviet pilots also flew their missions in American Airacobras. General Alexander Pokryshkin, now dead, another holder of the three Gold Stars, scored his splendid victories in the Airacobras. "We were likewise to have received Airacobras, but none were available at the airfield, and we were given LA-5s, later LA-7s," recalls Kozhedub. "Their maximum speed is 375 miles an hour, while the Messerschmitt jet could go much faster. When the Messerschmitts appeared near the end of the war, their high speed and other flying qualities gave the German pilots a great advantage. We had to adapt to that, using the better maneuverability of our slower aircraft."

Crandall's picture shows that on that day, February 19, 1945, a Messerschmitt was flying along the Oder River—the border between Po-

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

USSR in the summer of 1941. The

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

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

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

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

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#### art

## Kazimir Malevich 1878-1935



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azimir Malevich has been described by J. Carter Brown, director of the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., as "one of the twentieth century's most extraordi-

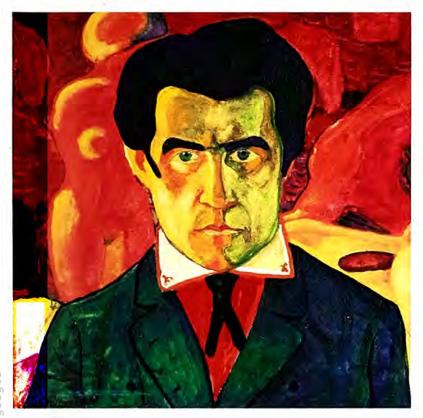
twentieth century's most extraordinary and influential artists." Malevich's work has been known to people all over the world mostly through reproductions in books. Last year people in the Soviet Union had the opportunity to view his paintings at the first exhibition of his work in his own country.

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

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

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





Suprematism. 1915. Oli on canvas. State Russian Museum.



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

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

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

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

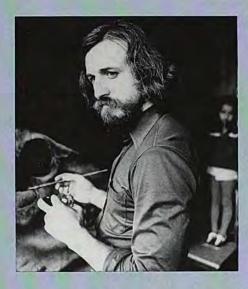
By 1915 Malevich had broken with this group and was moving in an independent direction. In a very short period he produced 35 completely abstract paintings based on a system he called suprematism. These early works, depicting roughly geometrical elements unified on white surfaces, went on exhibit at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

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

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

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

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### The Artist's Sixth Sense

By Oleg Torchinsky

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

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

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

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

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



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



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

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

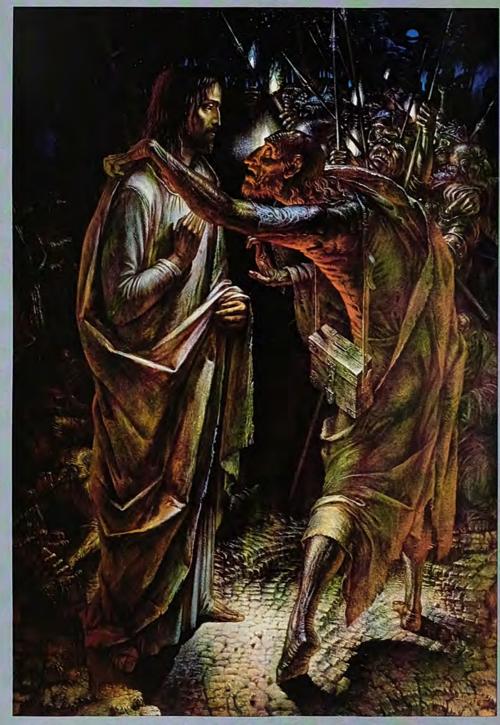
microcephalic head, crazy bulging eyes, and a mouth twisted by a shout.

"Is he really like this?" I asked. "Certainly," was the reply, and everyone laughed.

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

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

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

Provotorov impressed me instantly. He was so different from some of his colleagues, who are burning in their search for glory and money. His intellectual potential and knowledge of European culture are just amazing. On top of all that, he gave the impression of a man confident in the path he had chosen. The Stroganovsky school, where Provotorov studied, is the fortress of traditional realism, altogether different from Provotorov's work. I asked him why he did not paint portraits of exemplary workers in hard hats.

"I am grateful to the school for teaching me the techniques of painting. I had an opportunity to expand my education by borrowing books from its library, which is one of the best art libraries in the world. I was tempted by everything there—impressionism, cubism, surrealism, pop art. "About my painting. To begin with, I think that unlike other human beings, the artist should have a sixth sense—a special channel of perception that cannot always be described by words. This is the specific characteristic of art. I believe that in science and art there are eternal ideas—archetypes that are beyond us and that have always existed. The task of the artist is to uncover them with the help of this sixth sense and to convey them to the people in the form of artistic images.

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

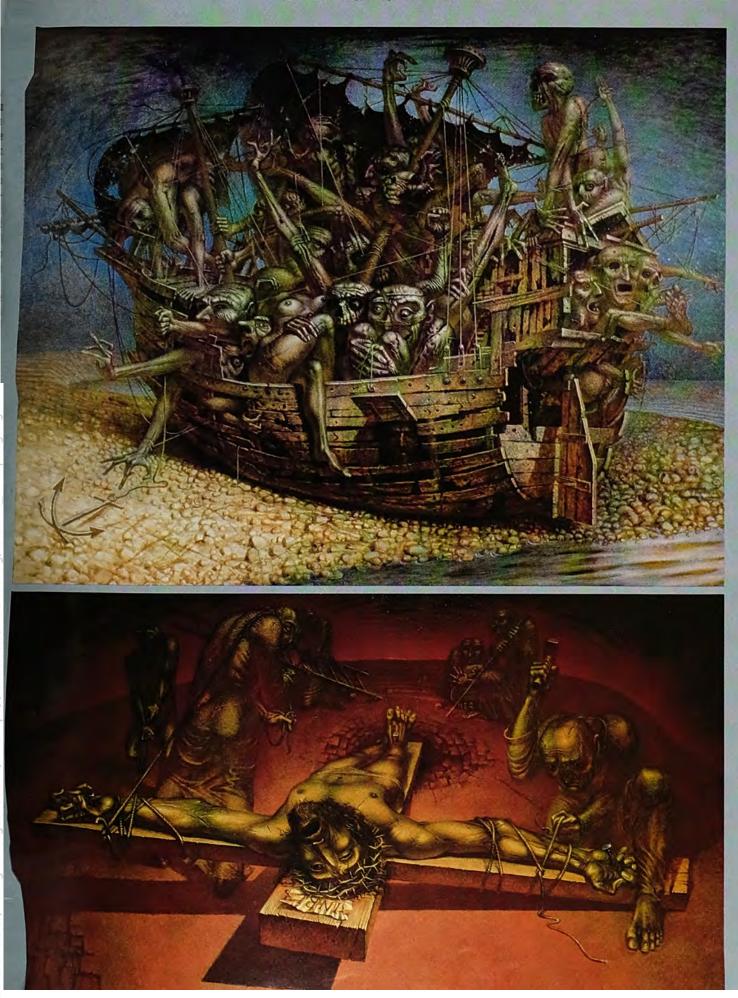
I asked Provotorov how the Church feels about his work.

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



Eve. 1984. Above left: Judas' Kiss. 1984. Facing page: The Ship of Fools. 1988. The Crucifixion. 1981.







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

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

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

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

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

"Would you identify your works with surrealism?"

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

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

"That's because of our traditional love for 'Aesopian language.' We look for a certain hidden meaning even where there is none. It is likely, however, that my pictures have absorbed the atmosphere of recent years. I certainly did not set out to depict the regime of the stagnation period, but, if I may say so, the regime guided my hand in painting its own image. I could not predict future disasters in the minutest detail-the Chernobyl catastrophe, the earthquake in Armenia, and the bloodshed in the streets of Sumgait, Baku, Ferghana, and Osh, But this is what people think of, for some reason, when they look at some of my past works."

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

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

### See Them in New York

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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A bright chapter in Russian art—miniature carving on semiprecious stones—flourished in the late eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries. This art developed in Russia not only in the workshops of the St. Petersburg (now Leningrad) court carvers, in the Art

Academy, and in the grinding mills in the St. Petersburg suburb of Peterhof, but also at the state-owned stone-carving factories that were built in Siberia and the Urals near the stone deposits.

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

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The history of cameo making in the Urals began with the exploration of flaky minerals. Empress Catherine the Great (1729–1796; ruled 1762–1796) ordered groups of miners into almost inaccessible regions. The lucky finds that met all the

requirements were cut into elliptic plates at a factory, polished, and sent to St. Petersburg. Catherine, an enthusiastic collector of carved stones, called her passion for them "a cameo disease." She gave these unfinished products to court carvers, who worked to her order. Later Ural stone carvers were entrusted not only with the initial working of flaky minerals but with the carving proper. That must have begun in the time of Catherine the Great and on her initiative.

Cameos from the Urals

By Yulia Kagan Photographs by Alexei Sverdlov

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

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

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

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

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

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Cupid. Sardonyx. 1843. Designed by Pyotr Ponomaryov.



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



Man's Portrait. Yamsk jasper. 1820s. Designed by Yakov Kokovin.



Alexander of Macedonia. Orsk jasper. 1830.



One of Laocoon's Sons. Orsk jasper. 1832.



Jupiter's Head in Diadem. Onyx. 1828.





Sibyl. Sardonys 1835.



Aesculeplus. Sardonyx. 12-2.





Peter the Great. Orsk jasper. c. 1806.



Catherine II. Orsk jasper. 1838.



Venus the Bather. Orsk jasper. 1839.



Designed by Dmitri Petrovsky.



Plato. Orsk Jasper. 1832.



Neptune. Sardonyx. 1835.



Isis. Orsk jasper. 1835.

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Bust of Genius. Sardonyx. 1842.





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A Paul Wischman

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30,000 Have Moved to Toronto Alone-and That's Not the Half of It By David Clark Scott

### **ALSO**

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VOL. 2, NO. 5

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## **Beyond News: The Power Of Perspective.**

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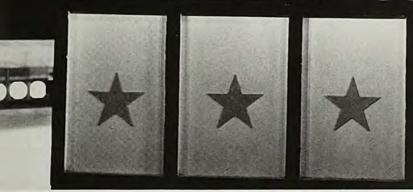
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### Moscow's 'Off-Broadway'' Theaters

By Olga Galakhova Photographs by Sergei Ivanov





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

the status of state (subsidized) theaters, while others, for example the Chelovek (Person) Studio, already operate as promising professional theaters in practice despite a lack of subsidies. Some, unfortunately, will never make it as theaters. Moscow has a festive air because of all the posters—typeset and handmade—that are put up by these theaters. Just like the venders at an openair market, the theaters all invite you to sample their wares. The posters advertise plays written by the entire Who's Who of names from the European avant-garde of the 1960s, authors who until recently were banned, and Russian émigré authors.

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

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

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

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Krasnaya Presnya Theater A scene from Dream.



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

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

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

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### Oleg Tabakov's Drama Studio

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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be found within their own ranks.

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

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

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





### A TRIBUTE TO SLAVIC CULTURE

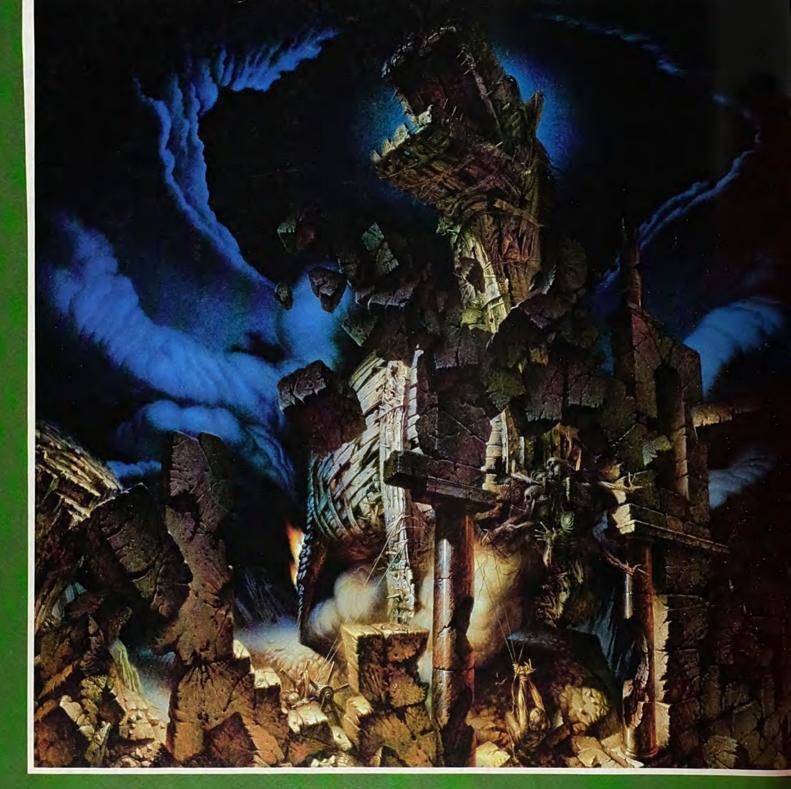
Slavic children learn the names of Saints Cyril and Methodius as soon as they enter school. These renowned ninth century Christian preachers and educators developed the Cyrillic alphabet, the foundation of the Slavic languages. A festival celebrating the saints and Slavic written culture is featured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



### CHILDREN AND SCHOOLS

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

COMING SOON Northern Peoples-Will They Survive?



### Vladislav Provotorov The Trojan Horse. 1987. An article on Provotorov begins on page 52.





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### Visiting the home of his youth

Text and Photograph by Olga Kropova

**P**rofessor Arnold Reisman of Case Western Reserve University has a doctorate in managerial sciences and many honorary degrees, and is well known in American business circles. He is a member of the New York Academy of Sciences and the author of many books.

Not long ago Reisman visited Krasnodar Territory, in the south of the Russian Federation. The reasons for his visit were not only professional. During World War II the Reismans, Polish Jews from Lodz, lived in the village of Smolenskaya, near Krasnodar. Arnold's brother went to the front and was reported missing. His father also soon joined the volunteer corps. His mother and sister worked on a collective farm. Fearing for his father and brother, the 10-year-old Arnold had a nervous breakdown and was taken to the hospital. Several times a week he was visited by his mother and their neighbor Yevdokia

Krivokhizha, who had five little children of her own.

During his visit to Krasnodar Territory, Reisman had an emotional reunion with Krivokhizha, who is now 86. "You saved me then," he told her.

In 1946 the Reismans moved to New York, where Arnold went to high school. After graduating, he worked during the day and continued his studies in the evening. He went on to become a professor.

Reisman has taught many of America's promising young managers. Now he has decided to share his knowledge and insights on the art of management with the Soviet people.

Reisman welcomes the Soviet Union's shift toward a market economy. He stressed the need to grant Soviet enterprises greater independence, to pay people according to their work, and to improve safety engineering. He is determined to do all he can for the country he once called home.

### **EDITOR'S NOTES**

O nly a year ago, no one could have predicted with certitude that the two Germanies would unite in the autumn of 1990. Neither could anyone expect that cracks would appear in the Soviet monolith of union republics.

The reaction of the world press to these developments would have seemed equally strange 12 months ago. The Soviet press is not sounding the alarm about a possible upsurge of vengeful German sentiment. The Western press, for its part, is not gloating over the collapse of the myth of eternal friendship among the nations of the USSR.

Humanistic considerations are only part of the explanation. From a practical viewpoint, the West, and the United States in particular, stands to gain more from a reliable partner with a steady political structure.

Apprehensions about the splits that have appeared in the Soviet Union have often been voiced in the American media recently. Their various concerns can be summed up in one question: "What kind of partners will we be dealing with in the future?"

Americans, although they are keenly interested in a stable Soviet Union, are basically casual observers. But what about the feelings of the Soviet people themselves as they witness their own house crumbling? Their common awareness that it was not built properly does not make things any easier.

Whereas previously, people obediently sang the praises of "the indestructible union of free republics," now practically every village in the country demands state sovereignty and a customs office on the road to the neighboring village.

Generally speaking, American business people will be hard put to collaborate with the USSR until we Soviets ourselves put our house in order. But it is gratifying that U.S. business people keep arriving in Moscow in growing numbers, confident and optimistic.

**Robert Tsfasman** 



November 1990, No. 11 (410)

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Front Cover: Metelitsa, a Soviet women's skiing team, made an Arctic expedition with two American women. Story on page 52.



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# HIGHLIGHTS

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Novgorod



A new "lyceum" in Moscow offers students a classical education.



28 Every year Slavs gather to celebrate their written culture.



56 Photographer Audrius Ulozevičius captures life's mystery.

## EDUCATION, REBUILDING FROM THE BOTTOM UP

SOVIET LIFE talks to Vladimir Belyayev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet subcommittee on public education.



Pravda recently published an open letter written by members of your committee. In that letter

you expressed deep concern about the problems that our system of education faces. Do you really think those problems are so serious?

A: Yes, I do. We cited dramatic figures concerning the failure of builders to meet building schedules for schools and kindergartens. We spoke about the poor quality of equipment in educational institutions at every level. But it is not those little things that we find most alarming. The main point we made in the letter was that society must pay much more attention to education in general; otherwise, our country will be in serious trouble.

**Q:** Education is considered secondary to the economy, for instance.

A: Precisely. But the prosperity of a nation depends largely on whether or not it has enough competent workers. That is a fundamental principle of progress in science and technology. All of the developed nations began their advancement by reforming their educational systems. In this country, far too little attention has been paid to





Cleven today some people view education as a secondary priority. **JJ**  education. I find that surprising. In 1961, when the Soviet Union launched the first manned spaceship, the entire world was stirred. In Great Britain, the United States, everywhere, they talked about the "Soviet miracle." And they concluded that since the Soviet system of education was more efficient, their own educational systems should be upgraded. They borrowed many things from us. But eventually we lost our superiority because we gave education short shrift. Just imagine, other countries have applied our ideas-those concerning correspondence, evening, and refresher courses, for example-and those ideas are really working there. In the United States, they have developed into a ramified system of adult education. True, the funds to finance that system come mostly from nonbudgetary sources. But we could do that too, couldn't we?

We keep marveling at the incredible economic growth in Japan and South Korea. But how was South Korea's "miraculous" advancement first begun? The Koreans invested huge sums in education.

**Q:** So investment in that sphere pays off.

A: We've worked out a precise analy-

sis, which indicates that the standard of living in society will rise nearly twofold within a space of three or four years if the funds allocated to education are doubled. But if the nation reduces its investment in education, there will be a proportionate fall in the standard of living. In fact, the process has already begun. The empty stores speak for themselves.

**Q:** But our budget can only be stretched so far. Is it possible that the government simply cannot allocate any more money to the schools? Besides, there are many other problems —in agriculture, ecology, and health care. Where are we going to find the funds for all of this?

A: First, the government should do a better job of planning. Obviously, public education must be one of our top investment priorities. If our society can be described as a tree, then education is its roots. And if the substances the tree needs don't get to the roots, the tree will die.

Nonbudgetary channels must also be used. Let us hope that public movements and foundations will pay more attention to education. There must be changes on the municipal level too. For instance, the Law on Local Self-Government, which was passed recently by the USSR Supreme Soviet, has opened up opportunities for that. The new system of taxes allows local Soviets to help the neglected school sector. I am convinced that many companies, cooperatives, and citizens would contribute to it if they were sure that that money would go to improve the standard of our children's education.

**Q:** But that might lead to the introduction of paid education.

A: I don't think that paid education as such is so objectionable, if the fees are reasonable. It is even a good thing. And paid education means additional funds. Most developed countries have paid education. True, it is backed up by a sound system of public stipends, loans, and so forth. Without copying their pattern blindly, we could borrow certain things from them. But we should proceed mainly from the situation in this country.

Here is another proposal: A constit-

uent republic must add a ruble of its own for every ruble allocated to it for education from the State Budget. Things must be changed to make it beneficial for enterprises to invest part of their profit in education, in the education of their workers, for example. Such investments would be partially tax-deductible.

Unfortunately, the Ministry of Finance has so far turned a deaf ear to our proposals.

Q: It seems that the introduction of a market economy is going to change the system of education in some way. A: I have my own ideas about that, which some may find questionable. I think we must have two kinds of education: professional education and liberal arts education. Today college graduates often choose occupations other than those they were trained for, and the public funds that were spent on them are never repaid. So

### (( I don't think that paid education as such is so objectionable, if the fees are reasonable. ))

the purpose of their going to college was self-improvement. That is not bad in itself—it is even commendable. But why should the state pay for it? These people should pay for their education themselves.

I think that the state must provide everyone with primary, basic education. This must be followed by vocational training, which should be subsidized by the enterprise intending to employ the person in question. A system of loans must be introduced for those who wish to get an education independently.

Such a person would take out a loan, interest-free and repayable over a period of five years or so after graduation. This kind of loan would not reduce a young person to poverty.

**Q:** And what if, after graduating from an educational establishment, a per-

son discovered that his or her calling belonged elsewhere?

A: Then that person's professional training would have to be financed by the enterprise that employed him or her, or expected to do so. An interestfree loan for education would not be granted again. And the loan would still have to be repaid. Such a twophase system is very convenient in conditions of a market economy. It enables every specialist to change his or her specialization fairly easily.

**Q:** I think it is time we discussed the teachers.

A: There are plenty of problems in that area too. I think that if we are to introduce a purpose-oriented system in the financing of education, we had better begin with a new program for training teachers. I certainly don't mean to imply that all of the teachers in this country are incompetent. But I think that many of them still take an approach that is based on stereotypes, and that should be changed. Many other teachers must upgrade their knowledge. However, we must avoid "tough" measures, like immediately sacking teachers who are deemed incompetent. Teachers must be given an opportunity to adjust to the new situation, to the new requirements in particular.

**Q**: Isn't it time the schools in this country were relieved of the burden of ideology?

A: Ideology and professionalism should not be linked forcibly. People must be given an opportunity to get the knowledge they want. Their allegiance to any given social theory is their business and no one else's. But I believe we should think twice before dismantling everything that belongs to the social aspect.

**Q**: Are you afraid that mental ferment might result?

A: There's plenty of mental ferment as it is. As a result of the repudiation of the old values, many people are at a loss now. This tells on the young more than on us older people. And yet, any group, including those in the teaching profession, will surely see change in its thinking. *Continued on page 12* 

## THE LYCEUM: elitist or progressive?

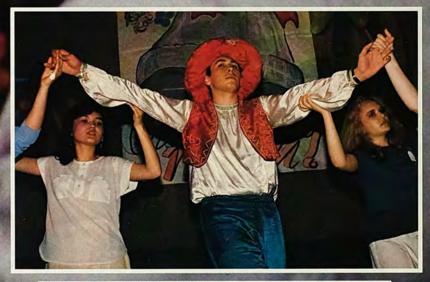
By Boris Gaikovich Photographs by Oleg Lastoch



Graduation day.

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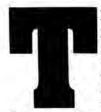




Students celebrated their completion of the lyceum with music and dancing.







he new, so the saying goes, is the forgotten old. And in these times of democratic change, when we are all reflecting on the urgent problem of

how to make our life more efficient, we could do worse than to look to history for innovative ideas.

Take the present educational system, for instance. Educators are trying to evolve new models for learning. And the past, with its neglected wellspring of precious experience, is very helpful here.

One model from the prerevolutionary period is the lyceum. To a Russian, the word "lyceum" brings back radiant images of the past. The most famous Russian lyceum was founded early in the nineteenth century in Tsarskoye Selo, near St. Petersburg, as an elite school for future statesmen. It is now inseparable from the name of the great Russian poet Alexander Pushkin. To the end of his days, the poet remained loyal to his schoolmates and their brotherhood at Tsarskoye Selo. His verse, glorifying the idealism that flourished there and his freedom-loving fellow students Ivan Pushchin, Wilhelm Kukhelbeker, and Anton Delvig, is a bright page of our history.

Recently I learned that a school in Tyoply Stan, one of Moscow's residential areas, had developed a program of study that it calls "the lyceum." I decided to go there to talk to its principal, Yevgeni Yamburg, a well-known educator and writer.

Would an educational structure that was so fruitful nearly two centuries ago fit into the present day? I was pondering this question as I approached the headmaster's office. But as I came closer, I heard a loud voice coming from behind his door.

"If you don't enroll my Ruslan in that group, you'll have to answer to the authorities," threatened a woman.

"But I can't do that," a man answered in a weary voice.

"If you think that boy isn't from a good family, I'll have you know that my husband is a retired colone!!"

"Your family has nothing to do

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with this. Ruslan has different educational needs."

Obviously, the lyceum is not equally good for everybody. But it is very fashionable today, and much fuss is being made over it. Parents camp out on the principal's doorstep to get their children into the program; entrance exams must be used to screen the too-numerous applicants. But vogue or no vogue, the lyceum curriculum does look fascinating. Advanced mathematics, Ancient Greek, Latin—we haven't seen such a program since before the Revolution.

The lyceum is only one part of the campus under Yamburg's supervision. School No. 109 is a kind of archipelago of school buildings and ordinary apartment buildings. The principal, like a navigator, steers me around his

Will an educational structure that was so fruitful nearly two centuries ago fit into the present day?

"islands." The lyceum itself is an attractive and spacious three-story, twowing building with a sports field.

Granted, there is something magical in the very name "lyceum." But we can expect a beneficial effect only if the preschool and elementary school have laid a suitable foundation for learning to take place. A child's physical and mental health should be the target of improvement starting in kindergarten. Little ones need constant checkups not only by physicians but also by psychologists.

Yamburg is also in charge of a rather unusual kindergarten. First, one-third of its staff is male—something that is extraordinary in itself in our country. When I dropped in, I saw a group of children learning yoga in the open air. In one of the rooms, a male teacher supervised a group of five-year-olds who were acting out the story of Little Red Riding-Hood in French. The toddler who played the wolf even roared with a French accent. Another unexpected thing was a simplified Bible lesson.

When they turn six, these children will take their bags in hand and move to the school building opposite their kindergarten. Their teacher, who has already taught them to read, write, and do many other things, will move with them. They'll step onto the "island" of School No. 109 naturally, without having to make a major adjustment. You may say that that is not so significant. But the famous psychologist Lev Vygodsky asserted that if a teacher speaks harshly to a first grader who has failed to write a letter correctly, the level of stress the child experiences may be quite severe indeed. A smooth transition from kindergarten to first grade may help avoid a lot of wretchedness.

The lyceum seemed to me like a green branch of School No. 109. But the headmaster makes no distinction between those studying at the lyceum and the rest of the students. They simply take different classes. No uniform sets them apart: There is no dress code here, and many of the students wear jeans and T-shirts.

But the eternal question of how and what to teach is acute here too. On stripping the curriculum of previously popular ideological subjects, the headmaster filled the gaps with classical education. That is the nucleus of the program; the rest of the subjects are optional. For instance, a group of seventh graders may come to the headmaster and say that they want to study Sanskrit. Any other principal would exclaim: "Don't be silly!" But Yamburg is more likely to say, "Okay. I'll find you an expert who will give you lessons." And indeed, he will find such an expert somewhere at a university philology department and offer him or her a university-level salary.

A leisure center is now under construction at the school. Clubs will meet there. Students will be able to try their hand at tapestry making or

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to learn to work a full-sized forge there.

By eighth grade, every student will have accumulated a data bank indicating his or her vocational abilities and inclinations. The idea is not to recommend any specific trade but to reveal a complex of qualities. For instance, Andrei (or Oksana or Maxim or anyone else) will best be able to express himself working with abstract ideas, or in the field of communications, or in some activity where he can be close to nature.

Yamburg says: "No, we have no right to impose anything upon Ruslan. He has a different psychological makeup. He works well with his hands. And he will be able to satisfy his passion for leadership as a maker of things.'

Let's return to the beginning: What is the lyceum? The final polish applied to advanced students? A hothouse for especially cherished plants? It would be more appropriate to compare it to an experimental field for selected seeds. It is senseless to talk about the advantages of flax over those of barley. Both are useful.

In Yamburg's school, lyceum and other students make up two equal currents. It is just that for the former, a so-called classical education is beneficial, while for the latter it is not.

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Recommendations on who goes where are based on students' data banks. This principle can be criticized as mechanical, but it's worked so far. Do the students on the ordinary track envy their "elitist" schoolmates? I don't know. I saw them all talking and laughing together.

As we walked from one building to another, we passed a group that Yamburg told me was made up of both regular and lyceum students. He called to one of the girls, who had a jacket in hand and a mane of chestnut hair she would throw back ostentatiously from time to time.

"Why are you here, Tatyana? Are your classes over?"

"The mandatory lessons are over. I'm not into the nuclides."

"What a way to talk!" Yamburg said. "Speak properly, please, without the slang."

"I meant a lecture on polymers. I'm not too interested in that. But in half an hour I want to go to the seminar on ancient Russian literature."

"Okay, go. And don't be late for the rehearsal." The school was staging a performance of Manuscripts Won't Burn, based on the writings of Mikhail Bulgakov.

Yes, Tatyana has the right to attend extracurricular lectures as she sees fit. She has an affinity for the arts, and tests have shown that she could make a good historian or archivist. But of course, she won't get out of learning about the sciences altogether. Yamburg explained that she will have to take a class on the philosophy of mathematics. If you add Latin and Ancient Greek to this, the luggage of knowledge will be rather weighty.

Advanced mathematics, Ancient Greek. Latin—we haven't seen such a program since before the **Revolution**.

What about the lyceum's other division----the physicomathematical and medical department? Students there will have elective subjects in the humanities, too: the history of culture, great books of humankind, the history of religion, and so forth. In the religion class, students read the holy books of the world's great religions. The Bible is taught by an Orthodox priest.

So the lyceum will impart enough knowledge to its charges. I don't know whether it will graduate future statesmen, but the school's patronsthe Institute of Radio Engineering and Electronics, the History-Archival Institute, and the Second Moscow Medical Institute-are certain to get promising students.

Still, I was intent on finding a simi-

larity between the present-day lyceum and that of Pushkin's time. Will we see modern Pushchins and Delvigs graduating from this school? Will it inspire them to serve the lofty ideals of reason and freedom? Or perhaps our society will just get knowledgeable conformists? That would be a sad outcome.

Fortunately, the principal and the staff are also preoccupied with this idea. They are well aware that making sure their charges are physically healthy is easier than fostering moral principles in them. The school has two gyms, three language labs, and a swimming pool to be completed soon, but not a single textbook on ethics. In Yamburg's opinion, the three whales that support us are still the pursuit of a life goal, spirituality, and a reverential attitude toward thinkers who have gone before us.

"Yes, we want to build strong characters," said the principal, "but without setting them in opposition to their environment. Enough destruction! It is time to bow in reverence to everything good that was done in the past.

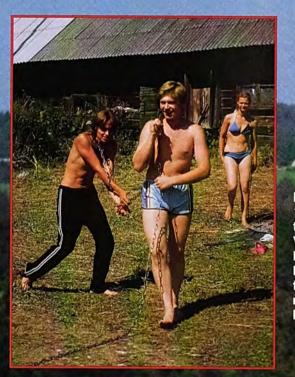
"But these students will live in a world that is far from perfect. There is much confusion all around us. Some people think it's better to elbow one's way through life. The main thing is to remain human under any circumstances and to know that there is always a choice, an alternative. But to see that, we have to get away from the slave mentality."

I asked Yamburg about financing. "Good education calls for good money," he answered. "And we are earning it. We sell textbooks and visual aids that we have developed here and printed in our own printing shop. Besides, we are the sponsor of a cooperative, which is also a source of funds."

Still, the lyceum has many problems. I am afraid that my story may have created the impression that the school is a blissfully happy place, with its venerable principal lecturing from atop a pedagogical Olympus. Alas! Yamburg's staff says that he has about 100 teachers, more than 1,000 pupils and ... a million question marks.

## A WORKING VACATION IN ESTONIA

By Alexander Veretennikov Photographs by Voldemar Maask



Moscow School No. 109 sends students to work on the Vastseliina State Farm every year. Left: Evening on the farm is a time to relax. Below: Hay making.



## **PRIVATIZATION IN THE USSR**

ust recently, we used the word "privatization" only with respect to the West. Most often the word was used in negative contexts, and it meant the onslaught by private capital and its political backers against "the gains of the working people."

Now that the USSR is preparing to switch over to a market economy, privatization is seen as a key idea and the crucial instrument by means of which the USSR's overcentralized, state-owned, state-controlled economy can be dismantled. Heated debates continue to rage about the scale and methods of privatization: Many ordinary Soviet people and some of their leaders perceive privatization as a return to capitalism.

The idea of privatization has met with little enthusiasm in many quarters because for more than 70 years Soviet citizens were taught to repudiate the notion of private property. This resistance would have been greater if the country had not been afflicted by a profound crisis. The public's discontent, its weariness with daily domestic problems-long lines and drastic shortages of essential goods-has been great, especially over the past few months. The situation has reached such a point that the people would be willing to accept any solution, just as long as it were workable and effective.

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Generated on Public Domair Even so, rigid party and state structures continue to put up considerable resistance to privatization, especially in the countryside. In order to overcome this resistance, power politics, in particular a strong presidency, are necessary. That is why the recent law adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet, which gave President Gorbachev more power in the initial stages of the transition to a market economy, was widely applauded. It was approved even by those deputies who are sus-

### By Vyacheslav Kostikov Novosti Political Commentator

picious of the idea of extended presidential powers in general, fearing they could lead to a dictatorship.

The very transition to a market economy and the privatization of state property will be good for democracy strategically. In this respect, as a market advocate, the President could have expected greater understanding on the part of the democratic radicals. Unfortunately, the long-term aspects of Gorbachev's policy are not always grasped and are rarely appreciated in the heat of political struggle. Quite often they are overshadowed by the confrontations over trivial matters that have become too typical of Soviet parliamentary activities.

### Many ordinary Soviet people perceive privatization as a return to capitalism.

Made euphoric by glasnost and political pluralism, democrats and liberals have rashly overestimated the potential of today's "pluralism." To be frank, the hopes that the reformists place on new political parties and, hence, on the new political forces, have materialized only in part.

Dozens of new political parties have come into being in the USSR. However, they are still in an embryonic state. Nowadays political influence is wielded not so much by the new political parties as by the personalities that represent these parties.

Several reasons lie behind the slow growth of the new political parties' membership. Among them is the public's obvious weariness with empty political talk, the people's doubts that the democrats can pull the country out of the crisis, the despondence of citizens whose thoughts are less about politics than about where today's dinner is going to come from, and a general crisis of trust in politics and politicians. Significantly, students, as numerous as they are in the USSR, remain politically passive and infantile, despite radicals' efforts to activate this potentially dynamic group. Soviet students constitute a striking contrast to their militant Eastern European counterparts, who were a driving force of reform in their countries.

The main reason for the slow growth of the new parties, however, is the absence of material motivation, the absence of a large class that has something to hold onto and something to lose. I mean a class of property owners.

The political product of the President's privatization policy would be a vast group of small and mediumsized property owners that is nonexistent in the USSR now. Eventually this group will form the political basis of the liberalism that is taking shape in the country today. As soon as people acquire property interests, they will demonstrate the desire to uphold these interests and to represent them in the elected bodies of government.

This scenario is very different from the situation as it is now. Our new political parties are the fruit of political strife rather than of economic interests. They aim not at upholding the interests of any given public group, but at destroying the monopoly of the Soviet Communist Party and the bureaucracy. This explains why these parties have not yet attained a wide following.

The future of political pluralism and the creation of a broad base for the fragile Soviet democracy depend on the success or failure of privatization. The sooner the democrats see this interdependence, the better it will be for political stabilization at home.



### politician's portrait



## **GALINA STAROVOITOVA**

By Natalya Kraminova

evere and uncompromising, disrespectful of tradition for its own sake, Galina Starovoitova forces both her supporters and opponents to respect her. This politician has an air of enigma and an appeal that is all her own. Her political role is a strange one: Before she had ever been to the republic of Armenia, the Armenian people elected her to represent them in the Soviet parliament.

When Starovoitova walks along the

street, pedestrian traffic slows down noticeably. As I walked with her one morning from the Moskva Hotel in Moscow, where USSR people's deputies have their offices, to the car waiting for her at the corner, she was approached by at least 10 people. Some stopped to shake hands with her, others to ask questions.

As usual, Starovoitova's manner was both easy and dignified, betraying her Leningrad origins. Well-mannered people seem to have survived mainly in Leningrad, whose cultural traditions were tragically disrupted by the repressions of the 1930s and by the war. She and her husband both lived in Leningrad for 40 years before they moved to Moscow in 1988 to pursue their scholarly interests. In Leningrad Starovoitova had graduated with honors from Leningrad State University, worked as a sociologist at a factory, then did research and defended her candidate's thesis. In Moscow she was planning to defend

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South Life, November 1930



her doctorate on the ethnic composition and migration patterns in Russia's major cities. But after she was nominated as a candidate to the USSR Supreme Soviet, she had to give up her research.

On the day I spoke with Starovoitova, she was to appear before an audience of 4,000 at Izmailovo Stadium. The deputy never refuses to speak in public when she is asked. But she does not like giving interviews to the press. Instead, she prefers direct contact with people, or radio and television broadcasts, where it is more difficult to distort her thoughts and words.

A pile of questions was accumulating on the table. Starovoitova answered them directly and in a nondogmatic way, gradually revealing her talent as a persuasive speaker. Her scholarly language did not distract the listeners, who readily identified her thoughts with their own.

Someone had asked about the possibility of redrawing the borders among the republics, one of our ideological taboos. Starovoitova replied that a refusal to discuss the issue was harmful. Neighboring Soviet republics should sit down at the negotiating table and try to achieve understanding in order to stop the sufferings of people separated by administrative formalities.

Starovoitova collects the notes and questions she receives at public meetings as evidence of the rapid change in the country's political situation. But why does she feel duty-bound to talk to people face to face? She explains: "Just before the elections for the chairman of the Russian parliament, a progressive deputy said to me: 'If they elect Yeltsin's rival, our people will get what they deserve. The new Russian electoral process allows us to elect worthy deputies. If the people elect unworthy ones instead, that means they must not care.' What a ruel thing to say! The intelligentsia in Russia owes it to the people to explain things better."

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Until last spring it had not occurred o Starovoitova to go into politics. Her nain interests were her profession, her family, and her friends. Her job book her on ethnographic expeditions around the USSR. She was quite interested in Armenia, but she had never been there.

Then last year, quite unexpectedly, her life changed. Starovoitova broke her leg and had to stay in bed for weeks. On an impulse, she wrote an open letter to Armenia. To her surprise, the letter was distributed in that republic in a large number of photocopies, so great was the Armenians' desire for a friendly and reassuring word from their northern neighbors.

oon Starovoitova learned that she had been nominated to represent Armenia as a people's deputy. A strenuous election campaign began. After she won the election, her husband told her, "You've broken more than your leg—you've broken our life."

Outwardly, Starovoitova has remained unchanged by her new role neatly done hair, not much makeup, a fresh complexion. But she would tell you that she is a changed person.

She works constantly, to the detriment of her nonparliamentary activities. She used to love to take a vacation at the beach; now she has no time. She regrets the new lack of anonymity in the street.

Her associates have also changed. The year after the election brought remarkable new acquaintances, both in Armenia and in Moscow: Andrei Sakharov, the Inter-Regional Group of deputies, and more recently the exiled Soviet author Vladimir Voinovich, who owes his knowledge of Armenia to her. But that same year robbed her of many old ties. Starovoitova no longer looks for the familiar faces of scholars at the meetings she attends now. Her new colleagues are politicians, a fact she found hard to accept in the beginning.

When she started her work as a deputy, friends helped her with paperwork, sorting her mail for her and doing other routine tasks. But life is life, and people have their own problems to worry about. Now Starovoitova has to do her own office chores. Of course, she has other kinds of support. For instance, she knows she can depend on the expertise of close friends: "Whenever I need advice, I'll call someone, and we'll talk for an hour or two on the phone. And eventually we'll come up with an idea or decision." In economics, for example, she relies on the advice of Victor Sheinis. On ethnic issues, however, she acts as her own adviser.

Starovoitova cannot erase from her memory her husband's words about their broken life. She believes in traditional family values and roles, and she is tolerant of many women's lack of ambition. She is no advocate of careers for women at any cost. The main consideration is how a job affects a woman's family life. Personally, Starovoitova prefers the company of men, among whom "remarkable personalities are more frequent than among women." But a feeling of guilt for neglecting her own family for the sake of politics nags at her constantly.

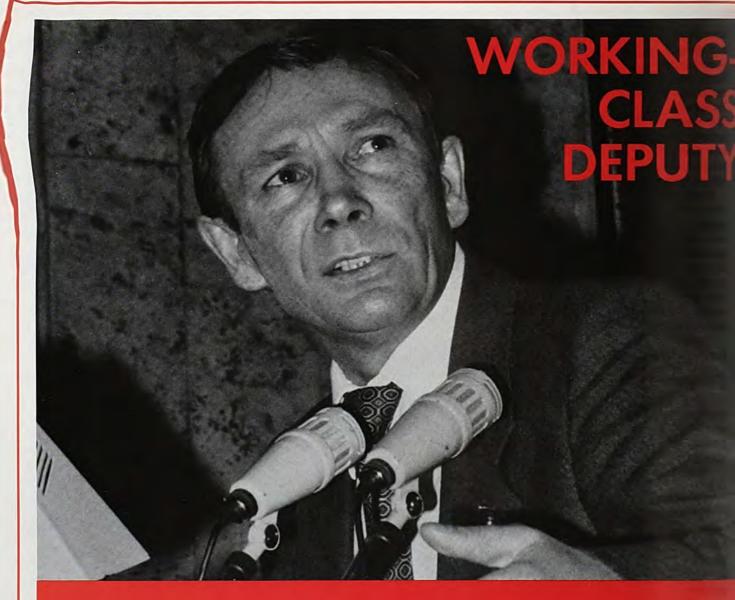
The deputy's domestic life has become almost nonexistent. Her only consolation is that her 20-year-old son has grown to be independent of her. But there are also other serious problems. Once a man came to her home in her absence to try to bribe her. It was her son who opened the door. The incident made Starovoitova fear for their safety: There's no guarantee against similar visits from people who wish her ill. Sometimes at night the deputy has to catch a taxi home, and then she feels especially vulnerable to potential attack from an unknown enemy. The life of a serious politician is always full of risk, and members of the Soviet parliament have to master the rules of the dangerous game. It is especially hard for a woman deputy.

ublic attacks in the press have ceased to faze Starovoitova. The so-called Russian patriots recently went so far as to compare her with Alfred Rosenberg, the ideologist of nazism. Was she offended? "Not really. And they must have read Rosenberg—I haven't."

Genrikh Igityan, a people's deputy from Armenia and director of the children's gallery in Yerevan, was once asked why Armenia, which had lost confidence in almost everyone and everything, still trusted the Russian *Continued on page 24* 

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## NIKOLAI TRAVKIN

By Natalya Kraminova



people's deputy both of the USSR and of the Russian Federation, and leader of the Democratic Russia Party—which is often

referred to as "Travkin's party"— Nikolai Travkin is a controversial figure. Some people embrace his views and actions wholeheartedly. Others categorically reject them. But very few people have lukewarm opinions on the subject of Nikolai Travkin.

A construction worker by trade,

Travkin turns prejudices about "the common working people" on their head. He is an impassioned politician, a radical in a class of his own, but he is also sensitive and human, a person capable of error and self-questioning. If one quality could be said to be fundamental to his nature, that quality would be sincerity.

In his manner and character Travkin seems to have remained a construction worker. But his views and his ways of thinking have evolved a great deal over the past few years. In 1983 he still implicitly believed in the fundamental socialist ideal and was working hard to make it a reality.

At that time the Soviet building industry was experimenting with what we now call market economy methods. Then it was known as cost accounting and self-management. Travkin's team made cost accounting and self-management real. It cut the administrative personnel, increased

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labor efficiency by 20 per cent a year, and saw wages grow accordingly. At a time when the building trade was hardly viewed as prestigious, young people were standing in line to join Travkin's brigade. The construction firm where Travkin worked had no unfinished projects left, and Travkin was steadily promoted. In 1987 he was made deputy director of an association of construction firms.

Travkin says that the years from 1983 to 1985, which were hollow and stagnant for most Soviet citizens, were the happiest of his life. But his successes notwithstanding, he gradually came to understand that this way would ultimately lead to a dead end. And not because of intrigues or covert rivalry but for much more deeply rooted reasons.

The experiment was supposed to bring cost accounting and self-management further along, to the next level up.

"You must be crazy, Travkin-contracts at the ministry level? Next you'll be saying we should scrap the building department at the regional party committee altogether!"

"As a matter of fact, I probably will,"

"Really, now ...."

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That was in 1988. Even then Travkin, a party member for 20 years, believed that the system could be improved by introducing greater economic freedom and new personnel policies.

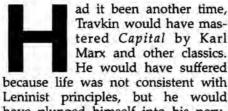
et he knew from personal experience what economic freedom unsupported by democratic social structures could be like. There had been a period in 1986 when inspectors had haunted his building site, making accusations that seemed absurd: The builders were charged with complying with clients' requirements too faithfully. If the clients asked for the garden paths to be paved with flagstones instead of concrete, the builders obliged. But there was nothing he could say to the inspectors' threatening, "No flagstones were mentioned in the design." If it hadn't been for the fact that Gorbachev mentioned him twice as an example of the new attitude to-

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ward work, he might have received a prison term instead of the Order of

"Why?" he wondered. "Why is it impossible to act rationally even now, in these new times? What's the problem? Certainly not the workers-they proved how well they could work during the five years of the experiment. Who, or what, is slowing everything down?"

All these thoughts depressed him to the point that he was ready to drop everything and go back to the building site as a fitter. But the authorities told him that that would be impossible-people would say that he was being persecuted. So he was sent to the Higher Party School to study.



tered Capital by Karl Marx and other classics. He would have suffered

Leninist principles, but he would have plunged himself into his nervous, superstrenuous lifestyle, and things would have been fine.

But in those days a different kind of literature flooded into our life. Travkin had the opportunity to compare one recognized authority with another and to try to fit the new information into his own experience. And this "adjustment" made him morally depressed and ashamed.

In the spring of 1989, Travkin decided to go into politics. As he explained later, he realized that by standing aloof he was robbing his children, then aged 11 and 12, of a decent future. He was nominated as a candidate for people's deputy.

The second-stage electoral meeting [confirmation hearings] came as the greatest shock of Travkin's life. The audience had been carefully selected. Travkin sat and listened as lies and filth about him issued forth from the rostrum.

He stopped going to classes at the party school and spent the most difficult month of his life trying to understand why the regional party committee had declared war on him. "They think it's easier to shut a construction worker's mouth than a politician's," he thought.

That was the moral turning point for him. The old Travkin, the "model worker," the pride of his trade and his party organization, vanished without a trace. A new Travkin emerged, who came to realize that the slander was due not only to the regional party bosses' personal vendetta against him, but to the wrath of a system determined to protect itself against outsiders. He learned his lesson well. It was the new Travkinthe Travkin of the Resistance-who came to the next electoral meeting.

In February 1990, Travkin still cherished some hope of change in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). He recommended that others think twice before leaving the party. But then came two Central Committee plenary meetings and the election of delegates to the Twenty-eighth Congress of the CPSU-and his last hopes vanished.

> ravkin left the party. He has not called on other Communists to follow his example because he believes that this is a decision that everyone

must make for himself or herself. Recently, I talked to Travkin at his home.

Q: Why did you take on the leadership of the Democratic Russia Party? Was it from necessity or a simple craving for power?

A: I didn't care who was the leader, but I knew that after the establishment of the party had been formally announced, it would be shameful if it never materialized. Also, this was another chance for me to try and change something.

Q: What slogan is the most hateful to you?

A: "Let's roll up our sleeves and work together." In other words, let's continue to produce substandard goods and live under the distribution and rationing system.

Q: What do you say to your critics who accuse you of authoritarianism and cruelty?

A: I am a production manager of the democratic school. That means there Continued on page 24

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## DIALOGUE IN COMPUTERING Photograph by Vladimir Akimov SOVIET LIFE correspondent izes in advanced technology in gen- American bu

Soviel LIFE correspondent Ariadna Nikolenko talks to Pyotr Zrelov, general director of Dialogue, a Soviet-American joint venture in Moscow that specializes in computer hardware and software.

> There are more than a thousand joint ventures in the Soviet Union. Dialogue is perhaps more

popular with the Soviet press than any other. Why?

A: I can see several reasons for that. First, Dialogue is the first Soviet-American joint company that specializes in advanced technology in general and computers in particular. Second, the computer industry is the driving force of science and technological progress. And I think the social undertakings of our joint venture also appeal to people.

**Q:** I'm going to ask you more about that later. But first, will you say a few words about how the project was conceived?

A: The idea of establishing a joint venture in the field of computers had been floating around for some time, but our project got started by chance. In 1987, I met Joseph Ritchie, an American businessman from Chicago, at an international book fair in Moscow. We hadn't known or heard about each other before. But when we said Good-by, both of us knew we were partners, even though our deal was sealed only with a handshake. Three months later, on December 29, 1987, we set up the company that is now known as Dialogue.

There are six founding members of the enterprise. The Kama Truck Plant, which is located on the Volga River, is the only one of these organizations that is not based in Moscow. The other members are the Central Economic Mathematical Institute of the



USSR-USA

USSR Academy of Sciences; Moscow State University; the Vneshtekhnika Company; the Main Demonstration and Testing Center at the USSR Exhibition of Economic Achievements; and the Computer Center of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

I am 42, married with two children. I graduated from the computer technology department of the Moscow Communications Institute and the applied mathematics department of the Moscow Physicotechnical Institute. I wrote my doctoral thesis on computer-controlled systems. Before I met Mr. Ritchie, I worked as a computer expert for four years at the Kama Truck Plant.

**Q:** Dialogue owes its prosperity at least in part to huge capital investments, doesn't it?

**A:** It does indeed. Joseph Ritchie originally invested five million dollars in the company.

**Q:** What made him decide to do business in the Soviet Union?

A: He told me that once he sat down and took a look at himself: He was 41, with nine children and a lot of money. But would his children need all that money if relations between the Soviet Union and the United States deteriorated? He decided that tensions could be relaxed if both sides embarked on joint projects. Ritchie also saw the ongoing revolutionary processes in this country as a safe bet for joint entrepreneurship.

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Incidentally, our joint venture adopted the management pattern employed by Ritchie's company in the United States. Business must be based on democratic rather than authoritarian principles, so the president of our enterprise feels that the traditional Soviet collectivism fits perfectly in such a management system.

I was very glad to hear Mr. Ritchie tell a Soviet newspaper that our company was his most successful experiment in business.

Q: What does Dialogue actually do? A: Our chief line of business is to provide computers for domestic consumption, in particular, personal computers assembled from imported components. We buy imported computer parts with the hard currency that we earn by exporting software programs.

**Q:** Don't you think that pursuing dollar revenues by embezzling our intellectual resources could do this country a lot of harm?

A: On the contrary. For one thing, we develop programs that are in high demand on the market. They are released on the Soviet market first and then they are exported, which means that we sell copies. That is our underlying principle.

For another thing, the hard currency we earn from software exports is spent on new technologies and hardware for projects to be launched in this country. Also, Dialogue advises Soviet citizens on computer technology. At our training centers and our numerous branches across the country, we offer courses in programming and the use and maintenance of personal computers.

### "We buy imported computer parts with the hard currency that we earn by exporting software programs."

We are also mindful of longer-term perspectives. We know that if all state organizations, cooperatives, and joint ventures work hard enough, we may one day produce enough PCs to meet the rising demand. And then everybody will be looking for software products. But in the software business it takes at least a couple of years to develop a potential hit. So for the time being, we are trying to create a vast pool of software that we can draw on in the future.

Q: We often talk these days about the human factor. Dialogue is reportedly one of the few joint ventures that have emphasized the human factor from the very beginning. Is this true? A: Yes. When we started Dialogue, we decided that work at our company should be not only materially rewarding but also pleasant. So we place a lot of emphasis on staff selection. What we value in the people we hire are individuality, professionalism, a cordial attitude toward one's colleagues, and an acute social consciousness. We also minimize control and formalities. We try to treat our staff like a big family bound together not just by a common workplace but also by mutual concerns, moral values, interests, and hobbies.

Q: I attended a charity event that you organized in the Hall of Columns of the House of Trade Unions. I was greatly impressed, especially when I saw many people from nursing homes in the audience. Since your office is near the Yelokhov Epiphany Cathedral, one of the largest active churches in Moscow, I was wondering whether your charities were inspired by your proximity to the cathedral.

A: I don't think so. Charity is a universal value, and atheists can be charitable too. And yet we do have close links with the Church, for several reasons. The most important of these is that we see the Church as a crucial source of culture. So we are trying to help. We are restoring the cobblestone area around the Yelokhov Cathedral. We have also donated large amounts of money for the renovation of the Dmitri Solunsky Church.

**Q**: You also extend your benevolence to the younger generation.

A: That's right. Dialogue has fitted out a computerized laboratory at Secondary School No. 345 in Moscow. The lab was a gift to the school, but our donation was motivated at least in part by self-interest. You see, programmers who grew up with computers are 10 times more productive than those who learned their computer skills after finishing school. The first lessons in programming should be taught in nursery school. So we're planning to computerize a nursery school in the area.

As for charity organizations, we donated a million rubles to the International Foundation for the Survival and Development of Humanity. And that action had nothing to do with pragmatism.

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## THINK GLOBALLY, ACT LOCALLY

By Robert Tsfasman Photographs by Alexander Kochevnik

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

OVGOROD

ifteen miles on the Erie Canal," sang the group of Americans, as their bus carried them along the bank of the quiet-flowing Volkhov. Although they were on a sightseeing tour of Novgorod and its environs, to call them tourists would be to underestimate the importance of their mission. This delegation from Rochester, New York, had come to Novgorod, in Russia's northwest, to participate in the sign-

ing ceremony of a sister-city agreement between the two cities.

The Rochester-Novgorod friendship is a classic example of citizen diplomacy. It began with people-to-people contacts rather than on the initiative of the cities' authorities. The American behind the initiative is Dick Fitts, head of a local group of citizen diplomats whose goals are to develop and strengthen understanding, trust, and friendship between the USA and the USSR. In Novgorod the initiative was in the hands of the local branch of the USSR-USA Friendship Society. One man who has contributed a great deal to the effort is Alexander Kochevnik, a photographer (whose work includes the photographs for this article) and peace activist.

In 1984 a delegation from Rochester traveled to Novgorod and immediately decided that it should be their sister city. The Americans explain





their choice by the fact that the two cities have so much in common. Their populations are nearly equal— 247,000 people live in Rochester, and 242,000 in Novgorod. The natural conditions are similar. Also, both Rochester and Novgorod can be called high-tech cities. Many residents of Rochester work at Eastman Kodak, and many people in Novgorod are employed at enterprises that manufacture electrical and electronic appliances—VCRs, television cameras, and other items.

True, there is a big difference in age. The colorful pamphlets about Rochester that its delegates brought to Novgorod say that the first European settlers came there in 1788. Novgorod, on the other hand, was first mentioned in chronicles in 859 A.D. It is one of the oldest Russian cities and was widely known in the Middle Ages as the home of merchants, seafarers, artisans, builders, and icon painters. Every year up to 1.5 million tourists come from all over the USSR and the world to marvel at its ancient beauty.

Each city has its own strong suit. Rochester envies Novgorod the multitude of its architectural masterpieces; Novgorod residents envy the high standard of living and the comfort of Rochester, which knows no shortages. Empty store shelves are depressing even in a museum-city.

But the visitors from Rochester hardly noticed the nagging everyday

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problems of their Novgorod partners: As Russian tradition dictates, the tables were groaning with food. How the hosts did it remained their secret.

Relations between Novgorod and Rochester have been cordial for a long time. The cities share almost 500 pairs of pen pals. People go to visit their friends on the other side of the Atlantic—some for two weeks, others for a month.

This group of Americans was in great demand. They were always being invited to lunches, dinners, and meetings. Many of the Novgorod hosts spoke passable English, which helped, of course. The Americans, many of them advanced in age, could not boast a knowledge of Russian. The only exception was Ron Harrington of the University of Rochester, a Slavic studies researcher and an avid reader of Pushkin. Although Ron was the only member of the group who had studied Russian literature in the original, many others were familiar with it in translation. Nearly all of the delegates had read Dostoyevsky, so a trip to his home in Staraya Russa, 60 kilometers from Novgorod, was very interesting for them.

The Americans knew a lot about the problems facing the Soviet Union today, and they sympathized with Mikhail Gorbachev and other Soviet leaders, who had inherited a country in shambles. They also sympathized with the common Soviet people.

The agreement-signing ceremony

was truly a gala affair. The signing was witnessed by members of the Novgorod City Soviet, activists of the USSR-USA Friendship Society, and other citizens of Novgorod.

There were the traditional speeches that traced the history of both cities and their relationship. There were the wishes for the future. Finally, the document was signed by Tim O. Mains, Rochester council member-at-large, and Oleg Ochin, mayor of Novgorod.

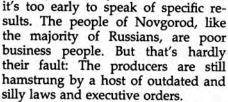
"What will the agreement do for the average Ivan Ivanov in Novgorod?" I asked. "What does he stand to gain? Not everybody can afford to go to see their acquaintances in Rochester. Anyway, a lot of people don't care about building bridges of friendship across the Atlantic. They're more concerned with getting a good apartment, getting their children into a day-care center, and feeding their families without standing in lines for hours on end."

"True," the mayor sighed. "Our problems are many and painful. But I think you're oversimplifying the situation. There are many people who want to contact Americans. And they have the money to pay for the trip, since wages outstrip the consumer market. Why not go to America if you have the money?

"We should become an open society, exchanging ideas and building two-way 'economic bridges." I'm glad to say that we already have extensive plans to do this."







The plans really are extensive, but

I sat in on several meetings of Rochester and Novgorod business people, academics, and economists. One thing struck me immediately: The Americans were always making very specific proposals. Dick Fitts repeated his favorite saying: "Think globally, act locally." The Soviets preferred to limit themselves to the first part of the phrase.

"Small steps are better than big steps," insisted Dick.

"We're tired of small steps—we've wasted too much time already," countered the Soviets.

But when it came to specific projects, silence hung thick in the air. For instance, installing a facsimile machine here proved to be a nearly insurmountable problem.

But the cities did manage to initiate cooperation in some areas. I can't go into detail, though, because both sides insist on keeping their commercial secrets. When the ventures get firmly under way, we will return to the Rochester-Novgorod duet.

> Top to bottom: A picnic near Lake Ilmen. The Rochester delegates get a traditional welcome. Visitor Rosalie Cameron presents a badge to Vladimir Polushin, director of the Iskra Collective Farm, outside Novgorod. Facing page: The sister-city agreement has been signed; signatories Tim O. Mains (left), Rochester council member-at-large, and Oleg Ochin, mayor of Novgorod, shake hands.

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### **STAROVOITOVA**

Continued from page 15

deputy Galina Starovoitova. Igityan said it was because of her courage, sincerity, and compassion. The Armenians also appreciated Sakharov's attitude toward Starovoitova.

One day when I came to Starovoitova's office in the Moskva Hotel, the room was full of people. All the guests were looking toward a handsome middle-aged man, who paced up and down the room. The man was Arkadi Manucharov, a leader of the disbanded Karabakh movement Krunk, who had been released from Butyrskaya Prison the night before. Krunk advocated the joining of Nagorny Karabakh to Armenia. People's deputy Starovoitova began helping him long ago, alongside Andrei Sakharov. But she finally saw this victory without her great friend.

Manucharov was the director of a prefab construction plant in Stepanakert, Nagorny Karabakh's administrative center. He was officially

### TRAVKIN

Continued from page 17

is a job to do and it must be done. I have my opinion on how it should be done, but I'll listen to your opinion. If you prove to me that I'm wrong, I'll take your advice. Talking for talking's sake, those endless round-table discussions, is insufferable to me.

Q: How do you react to the charge that you've forgotten your roots? A: It's ridiculous. Today a traditional working class no longer exists. A normal skilled worker not only works to advance professionally but also reads a lot. Workers can hold their own with intellectuals in any dispute. It is political hypocrisy to present the Lumpenproletariat as the entire working class.

Q: Why did you join the CPSU? A: I've never been a passive element

in the communist system. Even when I was a Young Pioneer and was assigned to visit some elderly ladies, I drove them crazy with attention.

Also, I was attracted by the secrecy

charged with financial malfeasance, but in fact he was condemned for his role in the fighting with Azerbaijanis over Nagorny Karabakh.

It took Starovoitova almost 18 months to get him out of jail: "We had to fight tooth and nail for him. Sakharov and I visited Manucharov in prison for the first time last autumn, in order to give him his mandate as people's deputy. He did not know he had been elected to Armenia's Supreme Soviet. Nor did he know that anyone was concerned about his fate. We weren't allowed to talk to him then. All we could do was peek in. But as we were walking toward his cell, escorted by the prison bosses, I stopped by the food trolley and said: "This is Academician Sakharov, here to see Manucharov." Of course, the rumor went flying through the prison immediately. When we stopped at the door to Manucharov's cell, Sakharov coughed a few times in his characteristic way and said, 'Excuse my coughing...."

When Starovoitova speaks about Sakharov, her face lights up and her

of the ruling elite, by their meetings behind closed doors. It was like an initiation to me.

#### Q: You are an atheist, aren't you?

A: Yes, but that's irrelevant. Not only have the roots of centuries-old values in this country been severed; there's been a complete lack of respect on the part of the government toward the Church. Did you know that the church where Prince Minin gathered together his people's militia in 1612 was recently turned into a public lavatory? And this was done by the communist apparat in perestroika times! What can you say about something like that?

Q: Do you believe the party functionaries will ever repent?

A: I know there is a need for repentance, but I am absolutely sure it will never happen. The party bureaucrats will eventually go, still snarling that they commanded the people's respect and worked for the people's good.

#### Q: So what is to be done?

A: As long as we reject violence, we

voice softens. They didn't see much of each other, but she saw enough of him to use him as a yardstick for every decision and action. She intends to write a book about Sakharov while the living magic of his personality is still fresh in her memory. The book is one of the top priorities on her list.

Starovoitova possesses a rare quality that holds back any attempt to break the invisible spell of dignity around her. She is a person in whose company one can hear one's own innermost thoughts. Whatever she does is done for the sake of the people. She is far from being either sly or timeserving. It is Starovoitova's knowledge and beliefs that account for her actions. And, unaware of the tough, time-tested rules of her political opponents' game, she makes mistakes. She suffers, corrects the mistakes, and goes on.

When I look at Galina Starovoitova's calm, intelligent face, I believe that we will be able to straighten out this country after all.

Courtesy of the newspaper Moscow News

have only the parliamentary path left open. And in order to follow it, we need political strength. So let's support and strengthen the Democratic Russia Party.

Q: Are you an optimist?

A: We have nowhere to retreat, and we have everything except common sense and Russia's sovereignty. Sovereignty is not a political fetish with us-it's the price of our republic's survival.

Q: How has your new position affected your family life?

A: I'm sorry to say that I have much less time for my family than I'd like. My wife is used to my hectic schedule, but my children suffer.

Q: You are 44. Do you regard your generation as unfulfilled because of stunted growth?

A: No, I think our generation is the bedrock. We're not content to be the fertilizer for tomorrow's changes-we want to work for real change today.

Courtesy of the newspaper Moscow News

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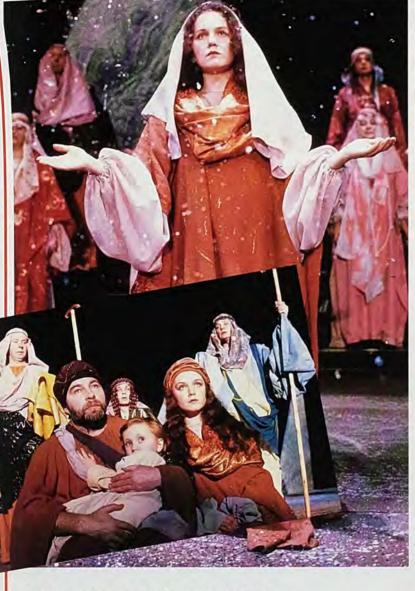
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### Jesus Christ on the Soviet Stage

Theatrical depiction of Christian culture is an old Russian tradition. The first Biblical plays in this country were staged in the seventeenth century. Now, after an interruption of many years, the tradition has been revived. An independent theater company in Moscow, sponsored by Protestant, the publishing house of the Evangelical Christians-Baptists, has decided to stage a play about the birth of Jesus Christ.

The play Under the Star of Bethlehem was written by young Soviet author Yuri Volkov. Opening night was held at one of Moscow's most prestigious theaters, the Moscow Art Theater. The hall was packed to capacity. People were attracted not only by the theme, which is so unusual for the Soviet stage, but also by the fact that the play was directed by the talented Tatyana Arkhiptseva and Alexander Gorban.

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### Jewelry Marvels of Kostroma

Jewelry making began in and around Kostroma, northern Russia, in the sixteenth century. Ancient chronicles mention Rudak Borisov, a merchant from Kostroma, who owned shops where silver articles were sold in the cities along the Volga River.

Silver filigree and gems were valued particularly highly in Russia. Splendid examples of Kostroma jewelry are kept in the Armory Chamber of the Moscow Kremlin.

The jewelers of the Krasnoselsky Factory cherish and continue this old tradition. They make elaborate pieces of jewelry out of thin strands of copper and small metal balls. Unfortunately, traditional Kostroma filigree can seldom be found for sale nowadays. Filigree items are made by the piece, and the process requires great mastery and painstaking effort. So the prices for this jewelry are higher than most people can pay.







### A Future Laureate?

A 10-year-old boy walks onto the stage and bravely sits down at the piano. The music he plays is quite difficult. The audience is thrilled with the young virtuoso. The boy's name is Vitali Yuryev.

It's said that musical talent is often inherited. This is definitely so in Vitali's case. His grandfather plays the piano, and his mother is a teacher at the Gnesin School of Music, in Moscow.

Last summer at the Ninth Tchaikovsky International Music Competition, it was decided to hold special contests for young musicians aged 12 to 17. Young contestants are expected to display not only masterful technique but also originality and a unique rendition of the music. The first contest is to be held in two years. Vitali, who will be 12 years old then, has a very good chance of being among the prize winners.

### **Old Fortress to Be Restored**

**N** arikala, a formerly unassailable fortress that protected the Georgian capital of Tbilisi, is now being restored. Volunteers help with the restoration work, building roads and cleaning the yard of the fortress.

The work began five years ago, at the initiative of Bagater Arabuli, a poet and the editor of the magazine *Nabati*. Arabuli started by inviting a group of graduates from the construction department of the Georgian Polytechnic Institute to work on the fortress. The group was later joined by students from other schools and institutes and by retired people, artists, and scientists. Last year they founded a charitable society named after David the Builder, a Georgian czar who ruled between 1089 and 1125.

The amateur restorers have recently made their first archeological discovery: The fortress had a 50-meter tunnel, which was used as an underground road to a well.





### **Hebrew Class in Vilnius**

Lithuania's first Jewish school has opened in Vilnius. The school is financed by the local government. Its teachers are paid the same salary as other teachers in Lithuania. The instruction is in Yiddish and Hebrew. Not only graduates of teachers institutes work at the school, but also engineers, doctors, and economists.

Classes are held twice a week in the evening and on Sunday mornings. The age of the students ranges from six to sixty years. The school has 800 students, 300 of whom are children. Although it is a public school, adults pay a tuition fee of 50 rubles a year (a little less than a quarter of the average monthly wage).

The school was created on the initiative of the Lithuanian Society of Jewish Culture. Public organizations in Israel send help in the form of visual aids, textbooks, dictionaries, and even teachers.

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# IN CELEBRATION OF SLAVIC LETTERS

By Grigori Kolobov Photographs by Yevgeni Koktysh and Vitali Barzdyka



The Festival of Slavic Letters was a colorful event. Far right: Old habits are nard to break; the colk festival opened with an official speech, read out from a piece of paper. Right: Honoring the 500th pirthday of printing pioneer Frantsisk Skorina.



or many centuries, Slavs have revered the names of Cyril and Methodius, two ninth century monks who are commonly credited with the invention

of the Cyrillic alphabet. Even Slavic peoples who use the Latin alphabet are deeply indebted for their culture to these two enlighteners.

In recent years, special festivals have honored Cyril and Methodius along with many others who have enriched Slavic culture.

The first such celebration in this country took place in 1985. Since then, the Festival of Slavic Letters has been held in a different place every year: Novgorod, Vologda, Kiev, Murmansk, and this year, Minsk, the capital of Byelorussia. Envoys from Russia, the Ukraine, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria came to take part in the event.

Thousands of Minsk residents and guests rallied on the square in front of the Holy Spirit Church to listen to Filaret, Metropolitan of Minsk and Grodno, and Patriarchal Exarch of All-Byelorussia; and Nafanail, Bishop Vicar of the Sofia Patriarchate.

The Minsk festival paid tribute to 🗘

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Above: The Vyazynka Company of the Minsk Motor Plant performs a traditional dance. Right: Handicrafts made of straw were sold at the fair. Below right: Students of the Minsk Art School perform at the festival (Svetlana Zubovich in the foreground).



many Byelorussians who have contributed to Slavic written culture: enlighteners Cyril of Turov and Eurosinia of Polotsk; printing pioneer Frantsisk Skorina; and Soviet Byelorussian poet Yanka Kupala.

The festival included concerts, exhibitions, film screenings, handicrafts displays, and folk performances. It also included an international conference, "Slavs: Unity and Variety," in which linguists and ethnographers, historians and literary critics took part.

The candles in the hands of girls attired in costumes of long ago, the ringing voices of the boys who sang "Rejoice, Eurosinia," and the solemn bells—all spoke of the need to revive the historical memory of Slavic peoples, to go back to the grassroots of their spirituality.

The famous Russian writer Valentin Rasputin said: "Such a festival is indispensable in Byelorussia. The history of the Byelorussian people is dramatic. But even in grim circumstances, the long-suffering nation gave the world torches of reason and enlightenment. We must rekindle that small spark of popular memory."

Minsk is likely to hand the baton on to the ancient Russian city of Smolensk, a neighbor of the Byelorussian capital.



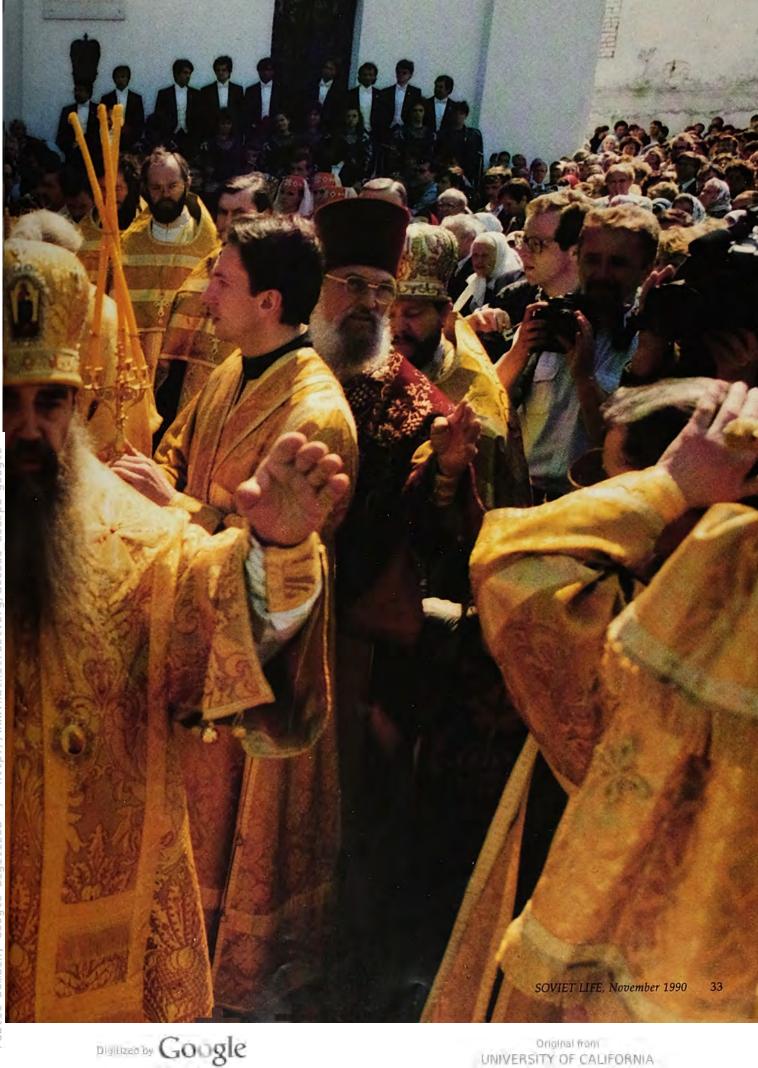




Clockwise from top left: Folk-tale characters strut in a parade. A children's competition of asphalt art attracted many contestants and spectators. Young aeronauts. Traditional wind instruments sounded at the festival. A mass in honor of Saints Cyril and Methodius.









Original from

# THE INVENTOR'S LONELY FIGHT FOR AN IDEA

By Vera Kondratenko Photographs by Oleg Lastochkin

> ngineer Vitali Gusev, 51, is a retired colonel from Moscow. He is also one of an army of Soviet inventors. Gusev spends his leisure time tinkering with his compact car and his motorcycle. He likes to have his friends test out his inventions.

> "Innovation is in the Russian character," he says. "There are lots of inventors in our country. For many years I was a consultant for *Izobretatel i ratsionalizator (Inventor and Efficiency Expert)* magazine. I saw many valuable, even brilliant, proposals that had been sent in by specialists and motorists across the country. The proposals stayed shelved for years."

> "Could you give me an example?" I asked.

"Some racing cars in the West are now getting a fundamentally ⇒

Vitali Gusev developed this device (inset), called a recycling evaporator, over a period of 12 years. But getting the invention produced was the real problem.

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new engine with a variable combustion chamber. It will probably be mass-produced. I read about an engine like it in our magazine three years ago. The Soviet inventor had patented his device and had tried to get it produced for 10 or 15 years. But he couldn't get anywhere without the equipment, laboratory tests, and so forth."

Excellent innovations appear regularly in our magazines. Behind each invention is the story of an inventor confronted by the implacable bureaucratic juggernaut.

In recent years Gusev has been perfecting what he calls a "recycling evaporator." The device, which he spent 12 years developing and which fits in the palm of his hand, is a compromise between a carburetor and a fuel-injector. In the former, 15 per cent of fuel is converted into vapor, as compared with 70 per cent in Gusev's contraption. In addition to the evaporation process, exhaust heat is utilized through recycling.

If all automobiles were equipped

G usev spends his free time tinkering with his vehicles. He often gets his friends to test his inventions. with this mechanism, they would cost much less to run, Gusev argues. The mixture could also be treated for complete burning.

"Is it economical?" I asked him.

"I've tested it on several cars, including my own. It boosts the power of the engine by five to seven per cent and makes it more durable, because unlike trickle, vapor mixture does not wash out lubrication. And 12 to 15 per cent less gasoline of any grade is consumed. Because the vapor mixture burns better, improved combustion cuts the fume toxicity in both carbon monoxide and nitrogen oxides. The former is cut by two or three times."

Gusev needs a sponsor and a lab to test his ideas. He has made no secret of his invention. Twice he offered his services to a Moscow factory. He was told that first he would have to patent his device and the factory would need to get permission from above. This would have meant years of fighting against red tape.

Gusev knew it was a lost cause and didn't press the issue. But the managers didn't brush him off completely: They quickly installed his device in their own cars.

Air pollution is a big problem in the cities, and Gusev's innovation could



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help combat it. The inventor approached several environmental protection agencies. He was ignored. Only a few years ago Gusev would have given up. But now things are different.

Gusev decided to implement his work independently, and he applied to the Frunze District Soviet for a license to service automobiles and to equip them with his devices.

"Was it difficult to get the license?" I asked.

"No problem at all. The commission only asked if I had the skills to do the work. When it learned that I did, it issued me the license in a matter of hours. Now I only have to pay 900 rubles a year."

Besides their apartment in the center of Moscow, the Gusevs have a summer house on the city's outskirts. The house has a garden, a garage, and a workshop, where Gusev sees his clients.

The inventor got his license in 1987; there is now a waiting list for his clients. Installing a device in a car takes an hour and a half to two hours.

"I've done what I could as an inventor. Two thousand cars with my devices are on the road now," he said with pride.

With backing from the central youth daily Komsomolskaya pravda, Gusev's innovation will undergo a series of state tests, which is the first step toward large-scale implementation. In the meantime, Gusev receives more than 100 letters a month from grateful clients, from people asking to be put on his waiting list, and from others requesting his advice on how to install the evaporator.

"Would it be very beneficial to mass-produce the devices and build them directly into new automobiles?" I wondered.

"In a few years, twice as many cars will be produced in our country. Imagine how damaging that will be to the environment. But if all the cars have built-in evaporators, the exhaust fumes in our cities in the future will not be higher than they are now. Installing my device in the cars that are currently on the road will cut the exhaust fumes in city air and save millions of gallons of gasoline."



# -SOSHOCKING NIKITINS

By Eduard Dolot Tographs by Anatoli Zybin





he Nikitin family is used to being the center of controversy. For more than 25 years Lena and Boris Nikitin,

their children, and now their grandchildren have borne the heavy burden of public scrutiny. One day I heard one of them complaining: "We live like fish in an aquarium. Every moment people are studying us."

And it's true; I certainly wouldn't like to be in their shoes! Some days nearly 100 people visit their home in the town of Bolshevo, near Moscow. People come to see them from all over the USSR and even from other countries.

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The family has been the subject of four films and many television and radio programs as well as newspaper feature stories. Lena and Boris Nikitin have published 11 books, which have been printed in a total of more than two million copies in the USSR. Their books have also come out in Japan, West Germany, the Netherlands, the J United States, Finland, Bulgaria, and Mongolia.

Boris Nikitin, the patriarch, is now 73. An engineer by profession, he be-2 gan his career in the air force, then became a secondary school teacher. J He met Lena, a philologist who worked in a children's library, and they were married.

Boris and Lena have three sons and ig four daughters. In bringing them up, if the Nikitins used an unconventional and innovative system that shocked the public at the time. Many elements of that system ran counter to generi ally accepted principles of child rearing: the toughening of babies from i the first weeks of life, acrobatics and gymnastics almost from the first months, a great deal of freedom, a minimum number of prohibitions, and the introduction of letters, numbers, and maps at a very tender age. The most important thing about the Nikitin system is that Lena and Boris have utterly rejected the "curbing" and "slowing down" of children's activity that can result from parental apprehension.

The Nikitins are absolutely sure that every child has tremendous biological and psychological resources. The parents' task is to do everything possible fully to reveal this potential and to help the child learn to use it.

The Nikitin youngsters grew up hardy, agile, and careful. They rarely got sick or hurt themselves. They began toddling at the age of seven or eight months. At about a year they began speaking. At the age of two or three they began reading, counting on their fingers, and handling simple implements. By the time they got to school, they were well coordinated physically and had a good stock of general knowledge and practical skills. They had no difficulty at school. Sometimes they got far ahead of their classmates and, by agreement with their teachers, skipped a grade.

The Nikitin children have grown up now. What kind of people are they?

The first child, Alexei, is 30 years old. By the age of 14 he had finished junior high school and had entered a technical secondary school. After graduating, he worked for a year. Then he got a degree from a teachers institute. Now he is a physicist specializing in electronics and works at a research institute.

The second child, Anton, finished a technical secondary school with high honors. He then went on to Moscow State University, where he also grad-

uated with high honors. He is now a chemist by profession.

Olga graduated from the school of law at Moscow State University at the age of 20. Today she is a legal adviser at a large industrial enterprise.

Anna went to a specialized secondary medical school after junior high school. She is a nurse, and her husband teaches high school in Perm Region. They have three children.

Yulia graduated from a specialized secondary school and the department of library science at an institute of culture. She works as a bibliographer.

Ivan is the only one of the Nikitin children who did not skip a grade in school. He is now an aircraft mechanic in the Soviet Army.

Lyubov, the youngest, is 18 years old. Two years ago she graduated from a librarians specialized secondary school. She works in a library.

So all seven of the children have received a specialized secondary degree or higher. Each works in his or her chosen field. Some people may think that there is nothing special about this. The same results can be seen in the millions of families where children are brought up in the conventional way.

We are accustomed to hearing stories about prodigies. For instance, if a three-year-old toddler begins to play the piano, he is sure to become a modern Mozart at the age of 20.

But none of the Nikitin children thinks that there is anything special about him or her.

Five of the second-generation Nikitins have their own families. Today Lena and Boris have nine grandchildren who are being brought up in keeping with the same traditions. They practice acrobatics. They are not afraid of the cold. At a very young age they learn to read, to count, to use a globe, and so forth. True, each of the young families uses the system with some alterations.

The second-generation Nikitins were brought up on the principles of honesty and one's personal sovereignty. Every one of them lives the way he or she considers correct. But although they are all different, every member of this growing clan has certain traits in common: kindness, decency, physical and moral health.

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# DS in the ussr: not an epidemic yet, but

By Anna Nikolayeva

n the Soviet Union, the deplorable fact is that the disease is spread mainly in hospitals and clinics. Almost half of the carriers of the virus are children who contracted it in hospitals.

DISQUIETING REPORTS ABOUT AIDS are reaching us from different parts of the Soviet Union.

"The Soviet Union has felt the impact of AIDS much less severely than the rest of the world has. But the problem in our country is growing fast. We can't afford to ignore the experience of countries where AIDS has reached the dimensions of an epidemic," says Mikhail Narkevich, head of the Central Epidemiological Board of the Ministry of Public Health of the USSR.

As of last May, 482 people in this country had been diagnosed as having been infected with HIV (human immunodeficiency virus). More than 200 of the victims are children. Although this figure is not high relative to the numbers in other countries, we are far from optimistic. Experts estimate that the number of people in the USSR who have been infected with the virus is likely to exceed 1,600 by the end of this year. In another 12 months the figure will approach 5,000. In two and three years' time it will reach 24,000 and 90,000, respectively.

Three years ago, a chain reaction was touched off in this country by a Russian who contracted AIDS while working in Africa. On his return to the Soviet Union he had sexual relations with 22 men, five of whom contracted the disease and communicated it to three of 24 male and female sexual partners.

One of the women transmitted the disease to her newborn daughter. Later, in a hospital in Elista, in the Kalmyk Autonomous Republic, the child became the source of the infection when a large number of infants were given injections with the same, unsterilized, needle that had been used on the infected child.

Another of the original infected persons was a blood donor who communicated the disease to five more people through transfusions.

Soviet epidemiologists, unlike their American counterparts, can still keep track of the number of those infected with the dreadful disease. But some aspects of the Soviet situation are not exactly reassuring.

In Western countries drug addicts, homosexuals, and prostitutes comprise the major sources of infection. But in the Soviet Union, the deplorable fact is that the disease is spread mainly in hospitals and clinics. Almost half of the carriers of the virus are children who contracted it in hospitals. Why, one may ask, have Soviet hospitals become breeders of AIDS? The answer is an appalling shortage of disposable syringes and blood transfusion systems, unskilled medical personnel, and a shortage of the equipment and materials needed to test for the disease.

Outside the hospitals, AIDS is spread primarily through sexual contact between heterosexuals. This is hardly surprising-it is now practically impossible to buy condoms. Homosexuals rank only third among the various risk groups. And, as distinct from Western countries, no cases of AIDS have yet been detected among drug addicts.

"But it's only a matter of time," says Vadim Pokrovsky, director of the USSR Center for AIDS Control. "As soon as the virus breaks into that population, the infection will spread with lightning speed."

Homosexuals are the group that is most disadvantaged from the point of view of disease prevention. This is because they usually try to conceal their sexual orientation-there is still a Soviet law on the books, although it is seldom enforced, which makes homosexuals liable to criminal prosecution. Recently, however, a growing number of medical centers have opened in many cities, where one can be tested anonymously. This, of course, allows homosexuals to undergo a medical examination without running the risk of criminal prosecution. But testing can only diagnose, not cure, the infection.

At present there are 812 diagnostic laboratories in the USSR for the detection of AIDS. They test blood donors, pregnant women, and some categories of patients, as well as homosexuals, drug addicts, prostitutes, and people returning from business trips abroad. Over the past

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two and a half years, more than 50 million people have been tested. According to Mikhail Narkevich, this gives us a clear view of the progress of the disease in every population group.

In May 1990 the Supreme Soviet of the USSR passed the AIDS Prevention and Treatment Law. One purpose of the law is to protect the rights of infected people. It guarantees medical confidentiality, states that a patient must receive free tickets to and from a hospital if it is situated in another city, and provides for free medicines and guaranteed pensions to doctors and nurses who have contracted the disease in the discharge of their duty. Besides this, the new law prohibits the dismissal or refusal to hire or admit HIV carriers or AIDS patients to medical or educational institutions, kindergartens, or nursery schools.

This provision of the law has not been greeted everywhere with enthusiasm. In fact, it has come under sharp attack. But one of the Soviet Union's leading physicians says, "We have no right to persecute people suffering from this disease, because none of us can be certain today that AIDS will pass us by."

Incidentally, the draft law provoked a flare-up of debate in the Soviet press, which continues even now that the bill has been signed into law.

The most heated debates have to do with the provision that testing be made mandatory in cases where there are "reasonable grounds" to believe that a person is infected with the virus. In the opinion of Vadim Pokrovsky, this wording of the document is rather ambiguous and may lead to abuses.

The next two or three years will show whether the new law is satisfactory. For the present, most people see it as a step forward, especially in comparison with a parliamentary decree that was issued three years ago, which limited preventive measures to the criminal prosecution and imprisonment of persons guilty of deliberate communication of the disease. The tendency that many people in this country have shown until recently to look at the AIDS problem through rose-colored glasses can be explained largely by the fact that there is a comparatively small number of carriers of the virus in the USSR. The fact that scores of millions have tested negative for AIDS has also filled us with optimism. But, Pokrovsky argues, there is no room for complacency.

"It would be wrong to assume," he went on to say, "that if we're given enough disposable syringes we'll automatically be able to control the disease. Unskilled or careless health-care personnel may still use the syringes improperly, just as they did in Elista, and more children may become infected in the hospital. Neither will condoms alone save the situation."

Soviet-American cooperation is developing in nine fields of research, in particular, in the fields of pathology, epidemiology, mathematical modeling, and the creation of new diagnostic test systems.

American scholars have acquired a great deal of data both on the disease and on methods of preventing it. These data may be of great help to Soviet specialists, who ran up against the problem much later.

"For our part, we could also make a valuable contribution to a cure, by means of the fundamental research that we are carrying out in biochemistry, immunology, and virology," says Professor Alexander Kulberg, a corresponding member of the Academy of Medical Sciences of the USSR and head of the laboratory of immunochemistry at the Moscow Gamaleya Institute of Epidemiology and Microbiology, which has a reliable method for diagnosing AIDS.

The USSR was among the initiators of the Global Program for AIDS Prevention and Control, which was approved by the World Health Organization. Says Mikhail Narkevich: "We support the program because we have an abiding belief that nothing short of joint action will combat the virus."

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The Grand Hall of the Moscow Conservat The most 😐 🕿 solemn moment: the presentation of the awards.

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### AMERICANS SHINE AT THE TCHAIKOVSKY COMPETITION By Marina Istyushina

By Marina Istyushina Photographs by Vladimir Vyatkin and Dmitri Donskoy



ast summer more than 500 young pianists, violinists, cellists, and singers from 51 countries came to Moscow to take part in the Ninth Tchai-

kovsky International Music Competition. This event is held every four years in the Soviet capital. The ninth competition took place the same summer that the 150th anniversary of the great Russian composer's birth was observed throughout the world.

When the first Tchaikovsky competition was held in 1958, it drew 61 musicians from 21 countries. Last summer more than 100 musicians came to the event from the United States alone. Moscow music lovers had been waiting to hear the U.S. musicians with particular interest: American competitors have had a special place in the hearts of Muscovites ever since Van Cliburn won the first prize for piano at the first Tchaikovsky competition. That bright star, discovered in 1958, is still a great favorite of Soviet audiences.

Over the past 32 years more than 1,500 musicians have taken part in the Moscow competition. Many of them are now known all over the world.

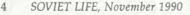
Many of the Tchaikovsky prize winners were subsequently elected members of the jury at the most prestigious world competitions, including the Tchaikovsky. For instance, last summer Victor Tretyakov was head of the jury at the Tchaikovsky competition of violinists. Leslie Parnas was a member of the jury for the cello contest, and Daniel Pollack was on the jury at the piano competition.

Pollack remarked that he was happy to be in Moscow, where he had won a prize 32 years ago. He said he was sure that the young people who competed this year would contribute to the development of music throughout the world and would find friends for life in Moscow. The American pianist told me that this was his seventh visit to the Soviet capital and

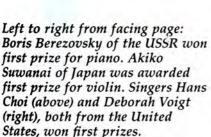
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that he felt at home in the Moscow Conservatory. Pollack has special feelings for the Conservatory-it is the alma mater of Rosina Levina, who had taught both him and Cliburn.

Participants in the Tchaikovsky competition can say that their Moscow visit was a happy one-especially those who won first prize. Last summer those talented people were pianist Boris Berezovsky (USSR), violinist Akiko Suwanai (Japan), cellist Gustav Rivinius (West Germany), and singers Deborah Voigt and Hans Choi (both from the United States).

One of the most prestigious contests in the world of music is the piano competition. Of no mean impor-

tance here are the remarkable achievements of the Russian school of pianism, which has exerted a major influence on the American school of pianism.

At this year's competition 119 pianists-of whom 21 were from the United States-competed for the prize. It was not easy to listen to such a great number of musicians, and the jury, headed by Tatyana Nikolayeva, had to work 12 hours a day. Only 40 pianists, including five Americans, made the first cut. The right to appear in the final round was granted to the 12 most brilliant performers from the USSR, the United States, Belgium, West Germany, Italy, and France. The

only female pianist was Edith Chen from Taiwan.

The prize winners included two Americans: Kevin Kenner (third prize) and Stephen Prutsman (fourth prize). Prutsman told me that he had been preparing for Moscow for a year. He had wanted to visit the USSR and Moscow, but he did not think that Moscow was such a bustling, lively, and beautiful city. His first excursion was to Arbat Street. He saw many artists, and poets who attracted large audiences and recited their poetry, gesticulating with their hands.

Before he came to Moscow, Prutsman had not known much about Russian people, in spite of the fact  $\Box$ 

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that more and more programs about the Soviet Union have been appearing on American television.

West Germany, won first prize for cello.

Half of the violinists (32 of 65) stood the test of the first round and won the right to appear in the second. The second round witnessed a competition between three leading schools of violin playing: the Japanese, the Soviet, and that of the United States. The jury singled out four violinists from the United States: Alyssa Park (third prize), David Chang (fifth prize), Lucia Lin (sixth prize), and Maria Bachman (seventh prize). Sixteen-year-old Alyssa Park became the favorite of the Moscow public. Deep sincerity and a complete mastery of technique, combined with

a distinctive "national" color, permeated her performance.

The cello competition featured 89 contestants from 27 countries; 30 of the competitors were from the United States. But of the Americans, only Biong Tsang made it to the final round, where he won the honorary third prize.

There were 64 contestants in the vocalists competition. Singers from the United States do not frequent Moscow competitions, as a rule. But Moscow Conservatory audiences remember well previous winners Jane Marsh and Barbara Kilduff. Last summer Deborah Voigt and Hans Choi won the hearts of Muscovites with their subtle interpretations of Tchaikovsky's music and with their near-perfect style. The audience and the jury agreed that both singers had succeeded in comprehending the depths of Tchaikovsky's music better than anyone else. It is probably significant that their teacher and accompanist, Igor Chichagov, is a Russian who emigrated from the Soviet Union half a century ago.

The jury gave Hans Choi a special prize for his rendition of Tchaikovsky's works. The singer was immensely surprised and happy to receive that prestigious award. As a foreigner, he said, he had had a lot to learn to be able to sing Russian music. His delight at the honor was so great that even the competition's main





prize seemed less important to him. Deborah Voigt was also extremely pleased. She said she was glad to be able to sing Tchaikovsky in Moscow, and the warm reception of the audience made her very happy. She added that she would always include Tchaikovsky in her repertoire, because no other composer had succeeded in expressing the eternal beauty of human feelings so unaffectedly. Voigt said that she got a better understanding of Tchaikovsky's music not only from studying with Igor Chichagov, but also from seeing Russian nature in Klin, where the great composer had lived and created his music. The American singer said she would always love Tchaikovsky.

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### LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Your color photographs, including both the front and back covers, are an exceptional plus for your magazine! It's a well-proven axiom that the combination of audio-reading (our brains tend to transcribe reading into audiohearing) and visual-photographed information offers just about the best combination for the transfer of information. Your back cover is already on its way to my five-year-old grandson in New Orleans, Louisiana, with a note asking him to ponder the whereabouts and direction-of-pointing of the camel pictured there.

As for Turkmenia, frankly, I'd not heard of it before.

Your inside-the-front-cover photograph of Gorbachev and Yeltsin is a photographer's dream. What super models! What topnotch colors and hues! And the composition is a knockout! Your cover photo is fine, of course, but obviously contrived. If it's not, and just happens to be the result of very fast sequential shots, you should have said so!

#### Brew Hanson Riverside, California

I am old, now well over 80, and for many, many years, I have often said that if the Russian people could ever once get free of all the terrible tyrannies they have suffered under for several thousand years, great things would come out of Russia.

I think that Gogol was one of the first to know it, and now Yeltsin and Gorbachev are proving it! Also, SO-VIET LIFE is a great magazine.

> W. A. Gilfry Quinter, Kansas

You do indeed underestimate your readers. By the end of 12th grade, most Americans would have read at least one major work by a famous Russian—usually Crime and Punishment or War and Peace. In addition, over 66 per cent of U.S. high school graduates go on to some form of higher education. Virtually all students pursuing a bachelor's degree in any field will be required to complete an "English" literature course. I put the "English" in quotation marks because it just means that what is read is translated into English. Thus, the few students who may have missed Russian literature in high school will be hard pressed to avoid it in college.

So please publish the Chekhov essay. This mathematician/musician wants to read it. (I've read many of Chekhov's works.) I'm very sure quite a few other readers do, too.

#### Lucy Dechene Fitchburg, Massachusetts

SOVIET LIFE is wonderful. I read it from cover to cover. In this recent issue—The Ponomarenkos—I would live with them a month or two and help if I were able to travel. I wish them well.

But the feature I think is "The Solovetsky Islands." What a story! The Solovetsky Monastery must be restored. Tourism is probably the most practical approach.

I want you to know here is one American genuinely interested in Russia—saw it from the beginning of the Revolution. I have always been afraid it would not work without a dose of democracy.

One question I would like to study or hear about is, "What has been the effect—and what effects are likely to continue—of the political policy of atheism?" I am personally an agnostic. The subject interests me. Will Christianity return fully blown or gradually stand aside as all myths should?

#### Harold Graham Boulder City, Nevada







### **ALEXIS II** NEW PATRIARCH OF THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH

By Elya Vasilyeva Photograph by Yuri Kaver

ast June, the millennium-old Russian Orthodox Church saw a landmark event. The Church's Local Council, the fourth in Soviet years, elected a new Patriarch—Alexis, Metropolitan of Leningrad and Novgorod.

The enthronization ceremony was held at Moscow's Patriarchal Cathedral of the Epiphany. The clergy met the Patriarch-elect at the entrance and proffered him bread and salt, as is the old Slavic custom.

Metropolitan Alexis entered the cathedral through the back entrance, to the festive pealing of bells. Until that moment, he had not been officially considered Patriarch of Moscow and All-Russia. After a two-hour liturgy, the Patriarch received his Patriarchal staff and put on the pontifical green mantle and miter. Then the actual enthronization took place.

President Gorbachev's message of congratulation expressed the hope that the Russian Orthodox Church would join hands with the clergy and laity of other religions and of other Christian denominations to consolidate the Soviet community and all people of good will, irrespective of their world views and political convictions, for a new world of justice and humanity.

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His Holiness Patriarch Alexis II was born into a pious Russian family in Tallinn, Estonia. He wanted to be a priest from the age of six, when he became an altar boy.

He got his degree in theology at the Leningrad Theological Academy in 1949 and was ordained a year later. In 1961 he took his monastic vows and served in Estonia for several years, until he was summoned to Moscow for a managerial job at the Patriarch's office. In 1986, he became the head of the Leningrad Eparchy.

A man of circumspection and common sense, and a topnotch theologian with a doctorate, Alexis has all the makings of a leader well able to face the current situation.

"The Church is the keeper of moral and spiritual values," said the Patriarch. "It has brought them to us intact through the centuries. The laity thirsts for its heritage. Soviet people read no other book as avidly as they do the Bible—so religious education is one of the most important duties of the Church. Spiritual teaching was suppressed in this country for 70 years, and it will be a formidable task to revive it. But we are ready to do what we must. The clergy and the laity must join hands in this cause. The basics of religion, especially Biblical studies, must be taught in school. This optional discipline will do the younger generation inestimable good."

In 1929 a notorious law was passed, which was spearheaded against the Church with the intention of subjugating it. The questions of ecclesiastical property and of religious education in the schools were hushed up. The law prohibited Church charity.

But now the situation is changing, and the Church has responded promptly. According to its latest Local Council, "To appeal to our flock to make sacrifices and engage in charity, to help the elderly, the poor, the sick, refugees, orphans, widows, and prisoners" are other vital duties.

"The Church must regain the right to its traditional activities," said the Patriarch. "Throughout the Christian centuries, it maintained parish shelters, workhouses, temperance societies, and orphanages. Now all this must be started from scratch."

Apart from relations with the secular authorities, the Patriarch has many problems inside the Church, among them the expected unification with the Russian Orthodox Church in Exile. "Like the whole Western world, that Church used to denounce us as traitors. We didn't deserve it. My conscience as a hierarch tells me that the Church was doing its best even in the harshest years. It had to adapt to the Soviet ways. Believers were scorned here as second-rate people, but they did not flee the country. I can't name a single priest who betrayed the Church. We were patriots and bore our cross as Christians should. Persecuted and hunted down, our Church preached the Gospel to the flock, while the Church in Exile was denouncing us from safety overseas.

"Now that the Soviet community is turning back to spirituality, with its eternal values, a vast field opens up for the Church to till. We must use this propitious time to revive faith and morals. We are responsible to history."

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# TIGERS IN THE STREETS OF MOSCOW

Text and Photographs by Alexei Shadrin

he Marching Tigers, a high school marching band from New Richmond, Wisconsin, has added another country to its visiting list. After West Germany, Switzerland, and Austria this year, the 140-member band came to the Soviet Union on a good-will mission at the invitation of Lada, a youth group from the old Russian city of Voronezh. Last year Lada toured the United States and was quite popular there.

The Wisconsin band has a very distinguished record. These Tigers' predecessors even played at President

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That's what I call real citizen diplomacy.







Carter's inauguration. But it was a special experience to march in Moscow, together with the orchestra of the Moscow Military District.

The visitors quickly made themselves at home. In spite of their busy schedule, they made time to see the sights, to go to a Young Pioneer summer camp outside of Moscow, and to contribute to the Planet Earth for All Peoples festival, held at the USSR Exhibition of Economic Achievements.

"Contacts like this should be held on a regular basis," said the organizer of the tour, Alexander Kharitonov. "The audiences were very friendly during Lada's tour of the U.S. last year. This year the Tigers got a very good reception here. That's what I call real citizen diplomacy." n our August 1989 issue, SOVIET LIFE carried an article on Metellitsa (Blizzard), the Soviet women's ski team that traveled almost 1,500 kilometers between the Soviet Mirny and Vostok research stations in Antarctica. The Vostok Station is located at both the cold pole and the geomagnetic pole of the Southern Hemisphere.

But the courageous women of Metelitsa, who have nearly a score of complicated expeditions to their credit, have no intention of resting on their laurels. Early in 1991, they are planning a joint Soviet-American assault on the South Pole itself. The skiers will trek the 1,300 kilometers from the Vostok Station to the American Amundsen-Scott Station, near the South Pole. In 1992 the intrepid group is to travel from Amundsen-Scott to the American McMurdo Station, on the Antarctic coast. This is to be the first trans-Antarctic expedition of its kind, and Metelitsa expects to earn a place in the Guinness Book of World Records.

After reading the article in our magazine, a group of young women in San Francisco organized a club called Friends of Metelitsa. Irina Kuznetsova, one of the Soviet explorers, traveled to California and spoke to the club about the Antarctic expedition. The American women, feeling that they were no worse than their new Soviet friends, asked if they could be represented in the upcoming expedition. It was decided that Helen Thayer, Julie Hanson Hyde, and Gretchen Umlauf would take part.

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I had the pleasure of meeting Helen Thayer in Moscow. She has traveled dozens of the most complicated arctic routes and has been to the north geomagnetic pole. Thayer is a fearless mountaineer. She climbed Mt. Communism (24,500 feet) in the Pamirs and Mt. McKinley (20,320 feet) in Alaska. Thayer is no stranger to icy cold, snowstorms, and polar bears. In

### METELITSA AND FRIENDS in training for the south pole

By Alexander Tropkin Photographs by Irina Kuznetsova



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1991 she will travel to the North Pole with her husband, Bill.

In order to create a tightly knit Soviet-American outfit and test it in action, Metelitsa suggested a difficult 400-kilometer route in Franz Josef Land in the Arctic Ocean.

The Arctic can surprise an unwary traveler in any number of ways. The unusually early spring threatened to upset Metelitsa's plans altogether. So before the expedition, the group made a detailed study of the area of Rudolf Island where the trek was to start.

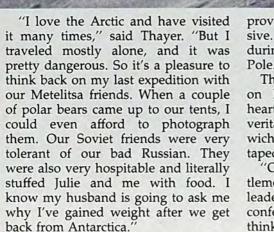
The skiers had hoped for sunny days and a good track, but instead they found an icy desert scarred with water openings and full of hummocks. The sky was dark and cloudy. There had been another disappointment as well—Gretchen Umlauf was unexpectedly unable to take part in A newly formed Soviet-American team of women skiers plans to make a trans-Antarctic expedition next year. To prepare, they made a 12-day trek to Franz Josef Land in the Arctic.

the expedition. But the 15 travelers dressed in red started off in the direction of Hooker Island.

The 12-day journey proved to be a true ordeal. The skiers traveled in severe frost, bypassed water openings covered with thin ice, ran into hummocks. But every time they made a halt or stopped for the night, the mood turned festive. Laughter rang out from their red tents.

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"The main outcome of our trek was that we found a common language with our American friends," said Svetlana Guryeva, deputy head of the expedition. "We learned we could help or cheer each other up with just a look or a gesture. Helen and Julie

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proved to be very kind and responsive. These qualities will be a plus during our expedition to the South Pole."

The men from the research station on Heiss Island gave Metelitsa a hearty welcome. They organized a veritable picnic, with lemonade, sandwiches, hot coffee, and dancing to taped music.

"Our team exists because true gentlemen are standing by it," Metelitsa's leader, Valentina Kuznetsova, once confessed. What do these gentlemen think of Metelitsa?

"I took part in the first Soviet Antarctic expeditions," said Vladimir Badin, vice chairman of the Antarctic Research Commission. "For more than 30 years Antarctica has been considered a 'man's continent.' On the one hand, male explorers want to protect women from the severe Antarctic climate. But on the other hand, they are also afraid they'd lose their advantage. Metelitsa has proved that women are in no way inferior to men. But American women have been working at Antarctic research stations for a long time."

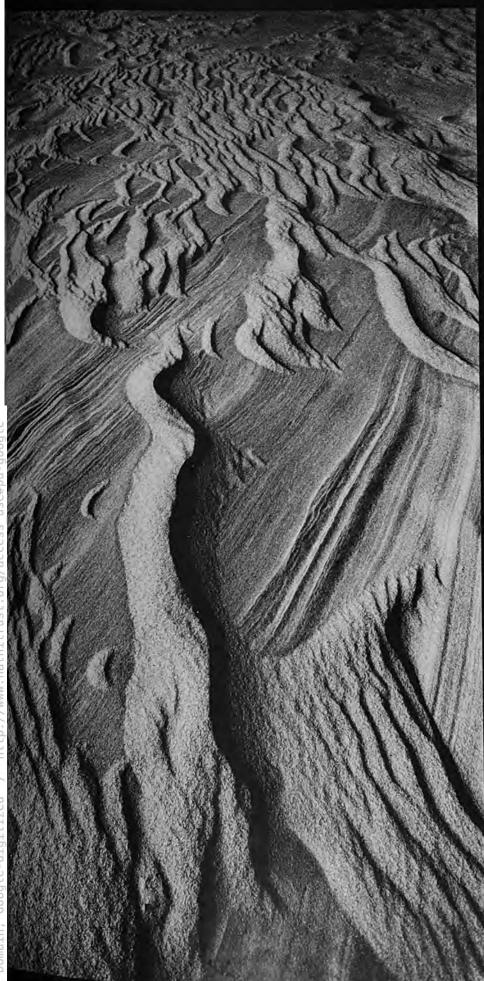
"Women have flown to outer space, so their striving to conquer the South Pole is not surprising," remarked Vitali Volovich, a professor at the Institute of Biomedical Problems of the USSR Academy of Sciences. "Women are participating more and more in the exploration of the Arctic and Antarctica. And this isn't just a matter of setting records. We still know very little about the severe climate's influence on women's health. So Metelitsa's mission is of invaluable significance."







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## Images of the Baltic By Sofia Susanina

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udrius Ulozevičius is considered one of Lithuania's leading photographers. He was born

into a military family in Klaipeda, a major seaport. Like most of the local boys, he wanted to go into the navy when he grew up, but later he turned to the humanities.

His passion for photography was born at the university. Ulozevičius roamed the winding Gothic streets of Vilnius for hours with his camera. In the 20 years since then, he has traveled all over Lithuania, taking pictures of things large and small.



Above: Audrius Ulozevičius. Left and far left: Pictures from the *Dunes* cycle.

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His townscapes do not focus on the outward aspect of things, however picturesque they may be. Ulozevičius is after the inner tension.

Religious subjects are his favorite—a Sunday school, a liturgy, or a procession. The pageantry attracts him less than the faces of the believers, lit with faith and hope.

Ulozevičius excels in psychological portraiture, one of the most sophisticated genres in photography. Look at the intensely probing gaze of the artist Dalia Saupauskaite, for example.

The photographer's landscapes are real jewels. Look at these sand dunes. Many people find dunes tedious, but Ulozevicius brings out the austere perfection of their lines, the fantastic contrasts of light and shadow, and the primeval magnificence of the wilderness.



Clockwise from left: Religious Feast in Silute. Welcoming the Archbishop. Artist Dalia Saupauskaile. Zigmas Vaišvila.





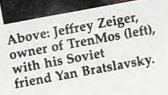


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LEBI

By Vladimir Kalinichey hotographs by Vladimir Vyatkin A typical evening at TrenMos, the first Soviet-American restaurant in Moscow. Below: Zeiger begins his day selecting produce at the Central Market.



<image>



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USSR-USA

i, my name is Andrei," said the waiter, smiling, and he covered our knees with snow-white napkins. We were not used to being pampered by Soviet servers, and we were pleasantly surprised at such a beginning. What followed made us feel as if we'd been transported for a few hours from Moscow to some Western country. Andrei politely handed us the menu and stepped back to let us decide what to order. His whole bearing told us that we were very welcome.

We were somewhat at a loss in trying to choose from among the 47 dishes, which were all unfamiliar but sounded delicious. Seeing our predicament, Andrei came up and described the food in such detail that it seemed almost as though he'd cooked it himself. After we finally ordered, Andrei filled our glasses with Pepsi and went off to bring the appetizers.

We were inspecting the interior of the restaurant when a young man walked up to our table.

"I'm Jeffrey Zeiger, executive vice president of Zeiger International, Incorporated, and co-owner of this restaurant," he said. "Is everything all right here?"

We had heard much about the restaurant TrenMos, the only jointly owned Soviet-American restaurant in Moscow so far. Since this type of joint venture is so new, it attracted a lot of attention in Moscow. And when the restaurant opened a year ago, Muscovites took a fancy to it right away.

"Jeffrey, how did the idea of opening a restaurant in Moscow occur to you?" I asked.

"Back in 1973, my father, Shelley Zeiger, came to Moscow to arrange the export of Soviet perfumes, vodka, matryoshka nesting dolls, Khokhloma crafts, wooden Bogorodskoye toys, and amber jewelry. Naturally, he couldn't help noticing that there was a lot of room for improvement in the restaurant business."

In 1985, a delegation from New Jersey proposed a plan to inject new life into trade between Moscow and Trenton, New Jersey. In May 1989, representatives from Trenton and the Lenin District of Moscow signed an agreement to open a joint venture restaurant. They were offered the opportunity to renovate and use the former Café Lada, on Komsomolsky Prospekt. The Americans hoped to open the restaurant on July 4. But ironically, they were able to get the restaurant ready only in time for Soviet Constitution Day (October 7).

From the very start, the younger Zeiger ran up against difficulties he never even suspected existed. He simply could not understand what "provision funds"-the distribution of provisions by the government in keeping with established limitsmeant. But because of these limits, Zeiger must augment the food deliveries he gets from the state. The American businessman's workday begins at one of Moscow's markets, where he carefully selects and purchases meat, fish, vegetables, fruit, spices, and pickles. The menu at

Zeiger goes out of his way to attract as many Soviet customers to his "little America" as possible.

TrenMos changes every day because the owner does not know what produce will be available on the market the next day.

The large number of poorly trained Soviet waiters, who have only a very vague idea of what real service is, was another problem. The once-famous Russian art of serving guests suffered a serious decline in the 70 years' domination by the public catering system Obschepit, with its chain of cheap canteens and cafés. Zeiger is quite satisfied with the performance of the waiters at the restaurant now. Still, every day before the shift begins, he finds time to mention the mistakes he observed the day before. He has also arranged a course in English for his staff.

Above all, the success of the restaurant depends on the culinary art of the chef, Bernard Derison. Derison, a

Frenchman, had worked in fashionable New York restaurants like Tavern on the Green, Maxwell's Plum, and Windows on the World. He is an expert in African, Asian, and European cuisines. Zeiger told me, "Bernard is indispensable-his talent and energy work miracles." Derison is assisted by 12 experienced Soviet cooks.

Zeiger began to work in a restaurant as a dishwasher at the age of 13. At 14 he was already helping in the kitchen. At 15 he was a waiter's assistant, and at 17, headwaiter. At the age of 18 he already owned his own restaurant. Zeiger wanted to become a judge, but at the university he realized that the profession he had chosen did not really appeal to him. So he dropped out of the university to work at the Sheraton Hotel.

"That's why I know how to talk to a waiter, a cook, and a dishwasher; I know how they think and what I can demand of them," he says with conviction. "I've gone through all that myself. And it makes no difference that I wear a suit and they're in uniform-we're working for a common cause."

TrenMos is frequented by visitors not only from the United States but from many other countries as well. Everyone who comes here appreciates the opportunity to relax in a quiet atmosphere, to make a business appointment, or to dine out with the family.

"We try to create a bit of America here, so the specials of the house are steak and apple pie, which Americans are so fond of," says Zeiger.

As for the prices, they correspond to those in American restaurants. That means that they're quite high for most Soviet people. But unlike similar joint ventures, TrenMos accepts both hard currency and rubles. Zeiger goes out of his way to attract as many Soviet customers to his "little America" as possible. He often comes up to the tables to ask his guests whether they're satisfied with the food and the service.

Although the restaurant opened relatively recently, it has already earned an excellent reputation. Proof of this is the fact that all the tables have been reserved two and a half weeks in advance.

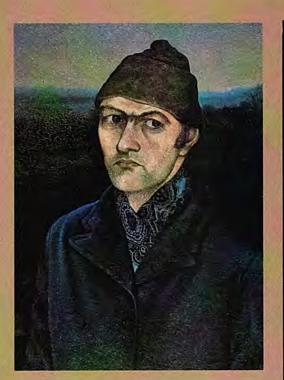
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#### the arts

## YULI VEDERNIKOV through a glass darkly

By Irina Baldano Photographs by Oleg Kaplin







"I want to paint our life in all its beauty, but somehow it never turns out that way: Life's charm, refracted in me, flows from my brush or pen as some sort of strange, even absurd, thing. I can't do anything about it."

Yuli Vedernikov

uli Vedernikov (born 1943) made a modest name for himself in the art world of Moscow in the 1960s. He is one of the many Soviet artists who were known to only a narrow circle of admirers and collectors for many years but who are now gaining wide public recognition. During the period of "individual

protests against official art," which lasted from the 1960s to the 1980s, some of these artists turned to drink, and others ended up in psychiatric hospitals. Still others managed to survive, emigrate, and become famous in the West. Vedernikov was more fortunate than many of those who stayed. He associated with only a few other artists. He was isolated and withdrawn, remaining in close contact with his home village of Klyazma, outside Moscow.

Vedernikov was born and grew up

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in Klyazma, in a family of musicians. He was always surrounded by attentive relatives who provided him not only with spiritual, but also with practical and material stability.

Almost 30 years have passed since the ambitious 18-year-old became a student of Vasili Sitnikov (1915-1987), one of the most original characters of the Moscow art world of the 1960s. Sitnikov taught Vedernikov to recognize the inner essence of things.

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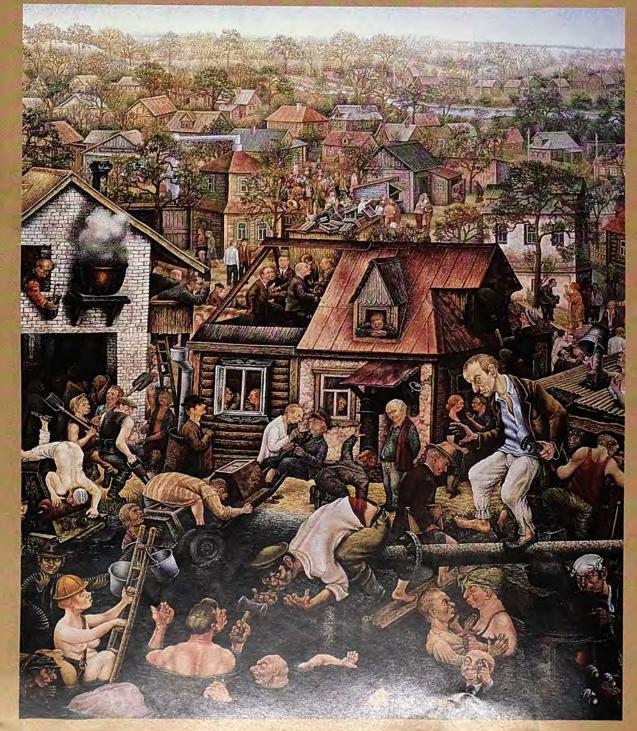
Clockwise from facing page, bottom: At the Shop in Klyazma. 1987. Pen and ink on paper. Self-Portrait. 1973. Oil on canvas. The Ascension. Triptych. 1984. Pencil, pen, and India ink on paper. Dancing at the Market. 1969. Oil on canvas. During the 1970s the essential peculiarities of Vedernikov's style began to define themselves: narrative inventiveness; scenes bursting with people, animals, objects, and nature; unrestrained fantasy; a severe, highly detailed style; and the grotesque.

The artist's single favorite theme remains the village of Klyazma. It is a world unto itself, with a market, lines, dachas, and natives—intellectuals, workers, and people with no particular occupation.

The grotesque is one of the most

striking elements in Vedernikov's work. To a certain extent, the artist's detached outlook on life has been influenced by his deafness: Much that surrounds him seems to him to be senseless bustle. His pessimism was aggravated by the stifling atmosphere of hypocrisy and false appearances that existed during the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s. He is fascinated by the immorality, avariciousness, and deceit in everyday life, which reduce human relations to the level of animal instincts. The deprav-





Clockwise from left The Swimmers. 1989. Oil on canvas. Construction Site. 1983. Oil on canvas. Roosters. 1987. Oil on canvas.

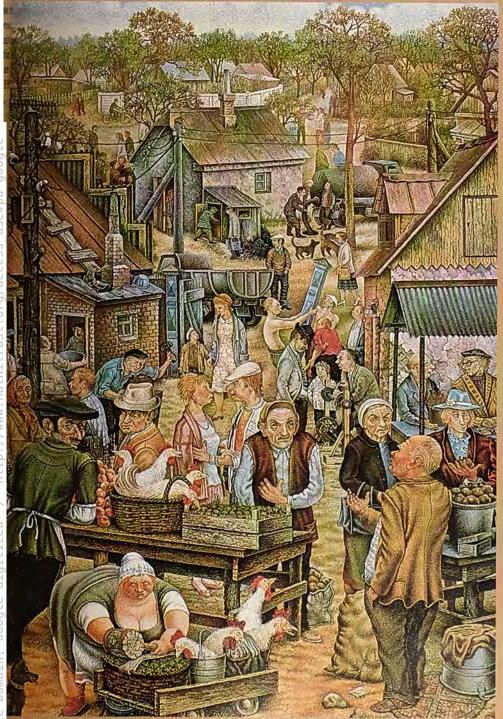


ity of life as he sees it lies exposed in his pictures, notably in The Swimmers.

The Gospels have a special place in Vedemikov's work. It must be said that this theme is very popular today and that many artists play with it; but one must also give Vedernikov his due for managing to escape banality in his treatment of Good and Evil. The artist has been finding his subjects in the Gospels for many years, interpreting them in a contemporary fashion.

Vedernikov plays on the traditions

of Russian genre painting of the late nineteenth century and on German culture, from which spring the accuracy of his grasp of reality, his expressiveness, and his inner discord. And of course, he was not untouched by the Russian avant-garde school, which lasted from the 1910s to the 1920s. All of these influences, when fertilized by the powerful temperament of the artist, produced the unique fusion of the emotional, otherworldly, intuitive, and irrational world of Yuli Vedernikov's art.



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#### NORTHERN PEOPLES AND PLACES

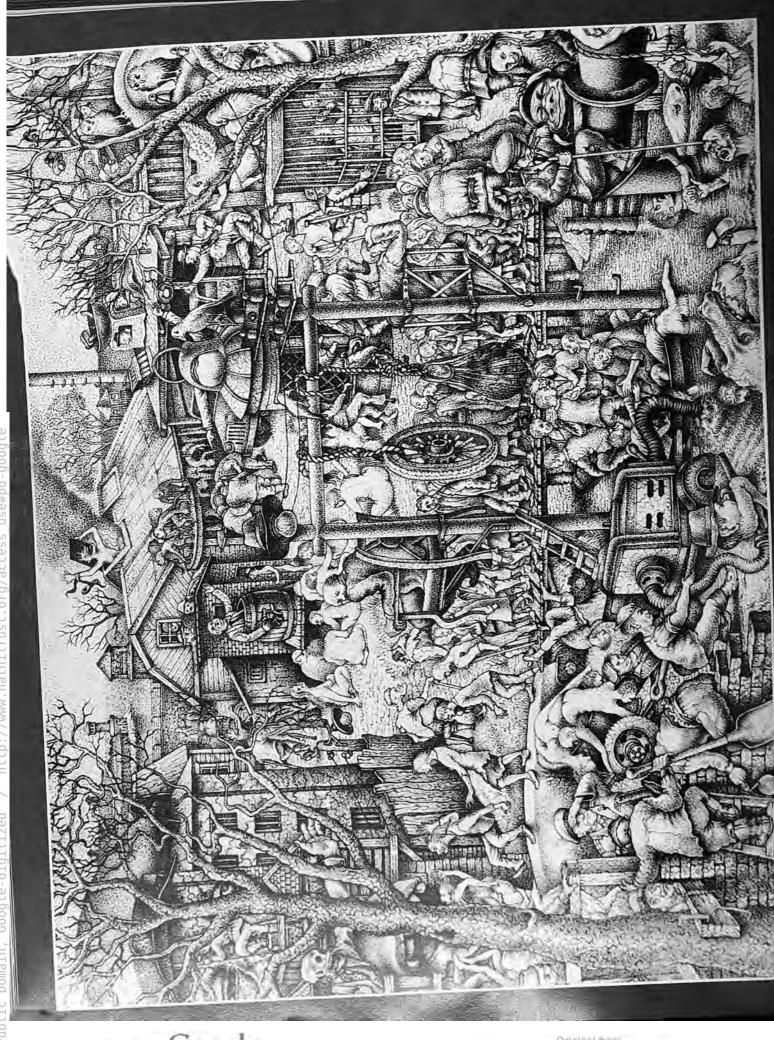
Most would agree that the October 1917 Revolution brought the indigenous peoples of the Russian Far North many changes for the better, such as universal health care and education, advancing small ethnic groups from a primitive existence to a modern way of life. But some believe that the fruits of civilization are not always sweet. The peoples and places of the Russian Far North are the focus in December.



Highlights include an illustrated visit to the Yamal Peninsula and a stimulating interview with prominent Chukchi poet and writer Yuri Rythkheu. The photograph shows Rythkheu with Nanai ethnographer Yevdokiya Gayer, a popular deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet.



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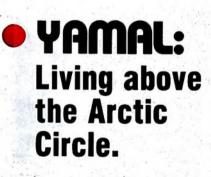
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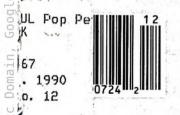
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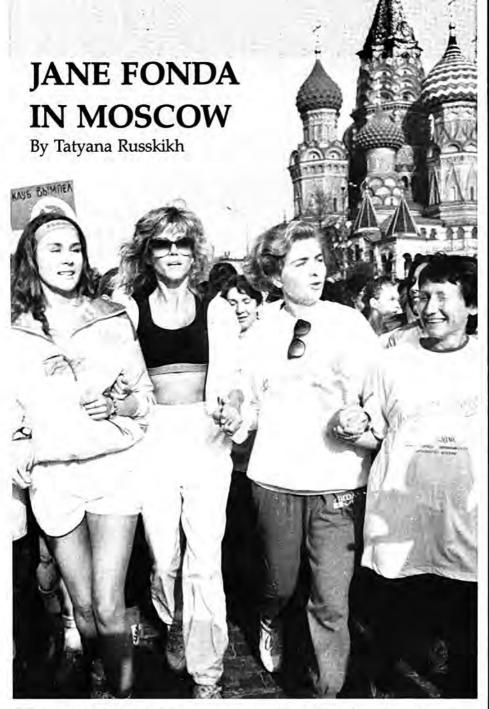
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T his past October Red Square was filled with over 1,000 women and, incidentally, quite a few men. All had gathered to take part in the race for health and friendship around the Kremlin. The initiator of the event and the leader of the pack was none other than well-known American movie star Jane Fonda.

Later, when Fonda appeared on stage in the concert hall of the Ostankino Television Center, she was greeted by a warm burst of applause from the audience. People crowded the microphones for a chance to ask questions: "What do you eat to keep so trim?"; "What about a race around the White House?"; "How often does the American dream come true?"; and so on.

The American actress answered, smiled, and answered again. She made no secret of her life, career, and everlasting youth. Asked what made her happy, she answered: "I'm in love. Everything is going fine with my children. I'm healthy, and I'm in Moscow."

The newspaper Moskovsky Komsomolets wrote: "Her energy..., her ability to squeeze 200 per cent out of every minute of life, her rigorous schedule of work—all that has won her the hearts of the world."

### **EDITOR'S NOTES**

The celebrations marking the seventy-third anniversary of the October 1917 Revolution took place against a backdrop of bitter thoughts and a shortage of practically everything, including food. In some cities, there were no traditional festivities at all. In those cities where the national holiday was formally observed, there was none of the fanfare that has characterized the event in previous years. Indeed, most of us had little reason to rejoice.

Lately, the press has been carrying on an active discussion about what we have achieved in the 70-plus years of our existence. Some people even conclude that the October Revolution was a big mistake. Others just as resolutely argue against any revision of Bolshevism. But the issue at hand is not who is right and who wrong. Simply, we cannot turn back the hands of time. Regardless of what some might say now, the October Revolution is, undoubtedly, one of the most significant events of this century. It's up to us to learn from that history.

What's the most important lesson of the October Revolution in the context of the current situation in the country? I think Patriarch Alexis II, head of the Russian Orthodox Church, answers this question best in an article that appeared in the newspaper *Izvestia*. "The October 1917 Revolution should always remind us that no political, national, or cultural idea is more precious than the value of a human life."

Unfortunately, intolerance and aggressiveness have taken on a threatening scope of late. The hatred of the poor for the rich, which ignited the 1917 revolution, can be explained. But how can we explain today's intolerance of one people for another, especially if both are facing the same economic problems? This country has never known such ethnic discord.

The myth about external enemies is being overcome surprisingly fast. But the myth about internal foes persists. When we get rid of that, we'll be able to say we've learned the lessons of the past.

**Robert Tsfasman** 





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Front Cover: The mountain resort in Gudauri, Soviet Georgia, is earning the reputation as a skiers' paradise. See story on p. 58. Photograph by Roman Denisov.



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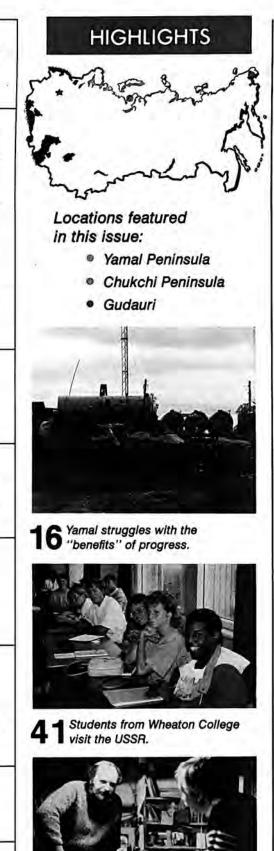
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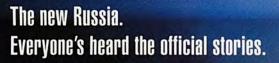
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**63** Artist Ilya Vyuyev (left) works on the Commander Islands.

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Now, one Soviet reporter risks his life and family to test the limits of Perestroika.



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## GET ALONG OR KILL EACH OTHER-THERE'S NO OTHER CHOICE

By Stanislav Kondrashov

ne guy asks another guy, "What would you say is more important today, economics or culture?" "Culture, of course," the other answers. "Why?" the first presses.

"Because culture keeps us from killing each other," the second says.

This serious joke told by someone on television later turned up again at a reception at a foreign embassy in Moscow. As we, the Soviet guests, talked about ourselves and our daily needs and concerns, we discovered surprising unanimity among us: Alas, we don't have enough culture to prevent us from killing each other--especially in a situation plagued by shortages of practically everything and by economic dislocation. We all used the same words to describe the feeling of hopelessness and impotence that has gripped us.

The truth is probably more clear to unbiased observers from afar. Small wonder that the disintegration of the USSR has become one of the hottest topics abroad lately. One leading Western Sovietologist says that a policy toward the USSR should be based on a very important factor, namely, that the Soviet Union is ceasing to exist. Others are more diplomatic. They see the main danger in the possibility that the old Stalinist system may collapse before a new system is created based on democratic values, law, and order. They express the hope that the transfer of political power and decentralization of economic power will prevail over the deteriorating situation and decay.

This is also our hope. In the meantime, arms are used in Moldavia; Georgia is going to secede from the USSR; Armenia and Azerbaijan are in a state of irreconcilable discord; the Baltic republics are almost out; and, what's even worse, the Kremlin and the parliament of the Russian Federation on Krasnopresnenskaya Embankment cannot come to terms with each other.

Later I heard from a countryman of mine, a man in charge of making sure our laws are observed, that the laws weren't working. "The confused central authorities cannot make them work," he said. But the masses, who are disappointed with the impotence of democracy, are getting ready, if they aren't already ready, for a "strong hand" of any political hue that would promise them order—interpreted today as the hope for selfpreservation and survival.

And yet, I'm still hopeful. Every Soviet citizen sees the fate of this country as his or her own fate. That's why the Soviet people pinned great hopes on the results of the Gorbachev-Yeltsin meeting that took place on Sunday, November 11. The two leaders talked one on one for more than two hours before their advisers joined them in an even longer discussion. Immediately afterward, special commissions were set up to consider a new union treaty and issues relating to the division of powers between the central government and the government of the Russian Federation.

I strongly hope that the resumed dialogue will prove to be stable and productive. Perhaps the sides are sufficiently cultured for this.

It's one of the greatest paradoxes of our altered times that it's easier for Gorbachev to reach agreement with Helmut Kohl of Germany or François Mitterrand of France than with Boris Yeltsin. We have signed treaties on accord, cooperation, and partnership with Germany and France, but there's no similar treaty between the USSR and the Russian Federation; there's no union treaty. Will the deplorable tradition of the "troubled times" of the early seventeenth century---the tradition of anarchy and uncontrollable decentralization—triumph again and for all times now?

The citizens of this huge, troubled, and desperate country don't want to be hostages of their masters' strife. They have the right to demand that their leaders come to agreement and consistently work to save this country standing on the edge of an abyss. If the leaders can't, they should yield their places to those who are able to come to agreement in the name of our salvation and our prosperous future.

During the November 7 celebrations in Red Square Gorbachev and Yeltsin stood side by side at the Lenin Mausoleum. They decided to do that in order to encourage the people. The people at the mausoleum represented the top state leadership of the USSR and the Russian Federation plus Gavriil Popov, the new mayor of Moscow, but for the first time ever they didn't belong to the same party. Also for the first time, demonstrators came to Red Square by their own free will, and those who came represented the entire gamut of political views and opinions. It was a lavish feast of pluralism and slogans at a time when ordinary pickled cucumbers are sold in Moscow's market at exorbitant prices.

Suddenly, shots rang out in Red Square. That also was a first.

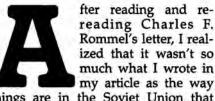
While the authorities try to determine the mental stability of the man who fired his sawed-off shotgun in the square, the general diagnosis is clear: The two shots that rang out are beyond any doubt symptomatic of the very dangerous ailment of extremism and intolerance with which the country has become afflicted. It's quite probable that history itself sent this man with a sawed-off shotgun to Red Square as a warning that we'll kill each other if we don't come to terms about an orderly movement toward the future.

Courtesy of the newspaper Izvestia

## Hand in Hand With the United States?

By Genrikh Bazhenov Consultant to Gosplan

Genrikh Bazhenov's article "A Gold Key to the Big-time Market" that appeared in our July issue generated a lot of mail from our readers. One letter sent by Charles F. Rommel prompted us to ask Bazhenov to return to the theme of the "gold key." Printed here is Bazhenov's reply to our reader in California.



things are in the Soviet Union that our letter writer didn't like. First of all, Mr. Rommel was very upset that the headline of the article was printed against a "Red background-Communist color."

Furthermore, according to Mr. Rommel, the USSR has no big-time market, let alone a gold key to it. There are only poor barter deals, a backward commercial infrastructure, a ruble that cannot be exchanged for hard currency, conservative and incompetent bureaucrats, and, of course, KGB agents who race around the world in search of badly protected industrial secrets. "Nothing of concrete economic consequence is happening. Maybe some free speech, but who can eat words?" he writes.

Well, if I were to follow past tradition, I'd counter what the author of the letter wrote with: "It's anticommunist." But today I argue that Mr. Rommel is too late with his criticisms and that the facts he cites and the conclusions he draws are nothing compared to what is appearing in the Soviet mass media nowadays. Indeed, a painful but uncompromising process of reevaluating our values is currently going on in our country. Emerging from decades of slumber, the Soviet people are talking at the top of their voices about the serious social and economic crisis our system finds itself in. True, there have been more words than practical deeds thus far. And while we discuss the eternal question "What should be done?" we once again stand in long lines for bread, among other things. And for the first time in our history, we witness "tobacco riots."

What is it? A total collapse of our domestic market. But this time not only the miscalculations of die-hards from the USSR State Planning Committee (Gosplan) are to blame. Many shortages have been created deliberately. The most sinister methods are used in the current fierce confrontation of political forces. Notably, all this is again happening against a "Red background." However, while there's not even a sign of communist propaganda, there are still telltale signs of the country's division into warring regions.

Hearing all this from the mouth of a consultant to Gosplan, the citadel of centralized planning and the object of some of the harshest criticism today, American readers might wonder: "Right. First try creating a civilized market and then maybe you can tell us about the key to it. Doesn't the lukewarm attitude of the majority of Western countries toward giving financial support for Soviet reforms tell you something about the truth of our American pragmatism?"

If the issue at hand is the U.S. Administration's approach to the Houston initiative of the Big Seven, such an argument looks very convincing. But it's worth recalling other arguments as well. While admitting that Soviet reforms create "tons of opportunities" for Western investors, the White House, nevertheless, warns that no money is forthcoming yet.

It's only natural that prospects of financial help are linked to the unprecedented economic problems confronting the Soviet Union. These problems are so serious that they won't be solved by Western billions. We must simply roll up our sleeves and get down to work. And if military spending is not drastically reduced and the obvious economic absurdities are not overcome, then all our reformist efforts, and any billion-dollar injections, will be for naught.

"Fraternal assistance" to other countries is one of the main absurdities bordering on the ridiculous. For many years we tried to foster abroad the image of a prosperous, fantastically rich, and generous country, sparing nothing for the regimes that we liked. As a result, many former socialist and Third World countries owe us a lump sum of money—upward of 136 billion rubles. It's no longer a secret that the lion's share of that debt will never be repaid.

Our enlightenment came the hard way. Now everybody sees what only a few knew before: Most of the "donor" agreements that were signed during the Brezhnev era were actually immoral, for they gave the green light to the flow of our national wealth abroad.

The list of painful problems can be continued. The harshest of crises does not overrule objective economic realities. You can be skeptical about the potential of the forthcoming emergence of a more skilled labor force and first-class Soviet scientific resources on the world market. But even in the heat of polemics no one would deny what is obvious to anyone in business—the Soviet market is vast. It goes without saying that until the USSR completes its transition to a market economy, Western business people will most probably control their natural desires and nonchalantly watch us struggle with our traditional problems-the absence of a convertible national currency, an underdeveloped commercial infrastructure, a thus-far unfavorable investment climate, and, alas, the mounting separatist tendencies in a number of Soviet republics.

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Many of these same problems were addressed during a recent visit to the USSR by a group of American business people led by U.S. Secretary of Commerce Robert Mosbacher. Contrary to the prediction of Mr. Rommel from California, the members of this

first-ever presidential trade and economic mission to the USSR agreed that ensuring a broad access to the Soviet market without credits and high-tech deliveries would be as difficult as opening a lock without a key. The issue at hand was that direct Western investments, concessions, and deliveries of equipment should considerably expand the USSR's oil and gas export possibilities so that the Soviet economy could then be integrated into the world economy with the fewest possible losses. The proposed cooperation would undoubtedly help Western countries to ease their dependence on oil deliveries from the Gulf countries and to enable the Soviet Union to use its vast energy resources more efficiently.

The very idea of arming Siberian oil- and gas-producing enterprises with American know-how has a long and very instructive history. Suffice it to recall the experience of the Northern Star Project of the 1970s. The project concerned a Soviet-American buy-back agreement for developing the Urengoi gas field in Siberia and for constructing a pipeline to Murmansk from where liquefied gas would subsequently be transported to the East Coast of the United States. The cold war "killed" that project.

At the time the U.S. Congress would surely have banned any meaningful credits for the Soviet Union. In a bid to avoid this obstacle, the American firms revised the project with a view to finding European sources to finance it; however, as the talks progressed, certain insurmountable differences emerged. Besides, the American side suggested that the USSR should first build the pipeline to earn hard currency from gas exports and then solve its energy problems.

Obviously, the Soviet side could not agree to that. In the early 1980s, when oil cost 40 dollars a barrel and the Soviet Union literally was bathing in petrodollars, the accumulation of currency receipts was not an end in itself. Even then our goal was to develop a comprehensive and efficient energy base.

Today we can no longer be complacent toward the energy situation. Although the USSR remains one of the world's largest oil producers, our unwise investment policies, excessively intensive development, and inadequate extraction equipment have brought negative results, which no one would have imagined only a short while ago. One such result is a drastic fall in our oil production and, consequently, a reduction in our oil exports. The experts figure that our oil deliveries to the West this year will be less than half of what they were in 1988.

Even with the expected oil price hikes, we will hardly be able to make up for the losses that we sustain. Is there any possibility that the situation will change for the better? Undoubtedly yes, all things considered. American experts agree. At least they assume that the present situation in Soviet energy production can be radically and rather quickly changed with the help of Western money and technology. They point to the slow rates of developing the oil-rich Caspian region, which is probably the world's largest deposit. One of the region's most spectacular fieldsthe Tenghizsky—was discovered more than 10 years ago, but it hasn't produced a drop of oil thus far. And we can't blame the cold war winds for blowing out our "Southern Star" all these years. The Soviet Union has neither the know-how nor the technology nor the money for high-pressure oil extraction.

The Caspian oil-bearing region is only one of our untapped large reservoirs. We have at least six or seven more deposits of the same magnitude. But it will be very difficult to develop them without outside help. We pin certain hopes in this respect on joint ventures with such giants as Chevron and Texaco.

In a more distant perspective, many American business people have an eye on the huge oil potential of Eastern Siberia and the possibility of piping its oil to Alaska and the West Coast of the United States. Such a drastic reevaluation of the prospects for Soviet-American cooperation can be connected not only with the funeral of the cold war but also with the radically changed geopolitical situation. Isn't that why many of us are saying today that oil can turn old rivals into new friends?

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I В СССР МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫЕ ГОНКИ НА ЕЗДОВЫХ СОБАКАХ THE FIRST SLEDGE DOG RACES IN THE USSR

Enthusiastic fans support the finish line. Below: The rugged terrain of the course kept the participants on guard against any sudden danger.

SOVIET LIFE Decomber 1948

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Last spring the yelping of dogs and the commands of their masters broke the crisp stillness of snow-covered Chukotka. The 40 participants from the Soviet Union, the United States, and the Scandinavian countries had gathered to compete in the first international dog sled race to be held in the region. Filled with the promise of victory, the mushers skillfully urged on their ⇒ dogs:



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Mushers know that success in any competition depends on their placement of the dogs in the harness and their choice of the leader.





he course for the dog sled race, which the organizers say is to become an annual event, covers the 150 kilometers from the settlement of Laurentis to the

village of Lorino and back—a total of 300 kilometers over snow-covered knolls, on steep, icy slopes, and around slick, sharp turns. A battle of nerves and skill! The drivers, called "mushers," have to constantly keep their dog teams on pace and on track so they won't slide into a hidden ravine.

Mushers know that success in any competition depends on their placement of the dogs in the harness and their choice of the leader. The dog sled is slightly smaller and lower than the reindeer sled, and the harnesses are very simple, consisting of straps that are attached under each animal's chest. The Nentsy, one of the indigenous people of the region, place their dogs in a fan-shaped harness with five, six, or more dogs in each harness. The Chukchi, Eskimo, Koryak, and other northern Siberian people prefer a tandem harness-one dog behind the other-on short reins attached to one belt. They never use a whip or a khorei (long wooden pole) but shout out commands to their trusty lead.

Dogs are highly valued in the settlements and villages of the North. They are not only smart toilers, but also faithful and reliable "friends."

They are a great help in hunting, in fishing, and in carrying the mail. When unharnessed, Northern dogs are very peaceful and complaisant. In the harness, they become aggressive and extremely businesslike.

But let's get back to the race. After all was said and done, Grigori Otto, 34, a reindeer breeder from Chukotka, walked away with the prize. A repeat winner of similar races in his own district, Otto easily surpassed all opponents. Now he's thinking about entering the famous dog sled race in Alaska next year. We wish him luck.





While their fathers and brothers competed over the snow, the younger kids spent their time playing computer games. Top: Grigori Otto, a reindeer breeder from Chukotka, won the race. Left: This puppy seems to be asking: "Where's my place?"

Cellectures.

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Though the gathering of representatives of the Northern minorities and others in Moscow last spring couldn't address all of the issues that faced them, the meeting in general was considered a—

he Congress of Minorities of the North, Siberia, and the Soviet Far East, held in Moscow last spring, was of considerable social and political significance. For the first time in 50 years, representatives of all the ethnic groups, small and large, that live in regions near the Arctic Circle and also in remote areas where life is comparable to that of the Far North arrived in the Soviet capital to air their views and to find common ground.

Among the 26 Northern ethnic groups were envoys of the Nentsy and the Evenks, which number over 30,000 people, and envoys of small groups, which range from several thousand to only several hundred people.

Northerners have never been excluded from participating in various national forums, but this time they had their own voice and were not shy about using it. And the picture that they painted of their plight was, frankly, not a pretty one—their slow but steady decline toward an ecological and social crisis over the past several decades.

Numerous decisions and resolutions have been adopted in the past on the ecological conservation of the region and on the social and cultural revival of the people living there, their national traditions, crafts, and languages. However, for the most part, all that has remained on paper only. Meanwhile, the Northerners

# CONGRESS OF HOPE

By Alexander Tropkin Photographs by Alexander Kurbatov



S everal guests, including a representative of the Saami people from neighboring Finland, spoke at the Congress. have been put at the mercy of aggressive oil, gas, and timber developers who, in the name of progress, have insensitively encroached on the indigenous people's ancestral lands.

For too long, the North and the Northerners were wrapped in an exotic cloak, while the public was lulled into believing that everything was fine, that the state was generously caring for the well-being of the Northern minorities. Meanwhile, their situation has grown from bad to worse every year. The facts speak for themselves: The infant and general mortality rates for the indigenous people of the North are increasing, tundra pastures are being reduced, and fishing and hunting grounds are being depleted. The cruel consequences are unemployment and widespread alcoholism.

Though, in general, the official report of the organizing committee presented an optimistic view, it did point out some alarming trends: Over the past 10 years reindeer pastures have been reduced by 22 million hectares. The content of harmful substances in rivers and coastal waters of the Arctic Ocean exceeds the maximum permissible levels by five to six times. One out of every two to three indigenous Northern families is living in substandard housing. The incidence of tuberculosis among the Northern minorities is five times greater than that of Russians, and their life expectancy is 10 to 16 years shorter.

These bleak figures were supported Q

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President Mikhail Gorbachev, who did not play a formal role in the work of the Congress, stopped by while it was in session to speak with the delegates. Below: The delegates take a vote.









by the emotional speeches of the Congress delegates.

"There are only 425 Orochi in the country now," said Lyudmila Grishina, president of the Association of the Orochi, Khabarovsk Territory. "Over the past 20 years my people's numbers have steadily declined. The reason—being forced to resettle in other regions. We've already been moved five times from our ancestral lands. That's why we don't have any fishermen or hunters in our villages, and we are losing our native language and culture. Poor health services and unfit housing conditions have taken their toll too."

Terentii Kharamzin, director of the Rossiya State Farm, Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Area, spoke about another problem. "The development of the Western Siberian oil and gas complex has been proceeding right before my eyes. Though it brings in billions in profits for the state, it hasn't brought any benefits to my land or my people! Judge for yourself: Over the last 20 years about 6.5 million hectares of reindeer pastures have been lost to development. The experts put the economic damage inflicted on the area's economy at about 60 billion rubles.'

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These figures explain why today people and organizations are gearing up to remedy the situation. The purpose of the Congress of Minorities of the North, Siberia, and the Soviet Far East was to unite all efforts and to direct them into one channel, which would produce well-considered, legal safeguards for the full development of all Northern people and members of other minorities.

The government of the Russian Federation offered its Comprehensive Program for the Further Development of the Economy and Culture of the Small Peoples of the North for 1991-1995 and for the Period Until 2005. What provisions does the document contain?

The program promises each family a separate, modern apartment or house, radically improved curriculums in the schools, and newspapers and magazines published in all native languages without exception. It also calls for the transfer of the rights to reindeer pastures and hunting and fishing grounds to individual families and citizens for life and allows for their heirs to inherit them. Also, it allows for the native people to retain a considerable portion of the furs, reindeer skins, meat, and fish for their own use.

N enets journalist Anastasia Lapsui (left) interviews a delegate for national radio. Facing page, clockwise from top: Nivkh writer Vladimir Sanghi was elected to head the newly founded Association of Minorities of the Extreme North, Siberia, and the Far East. Many delegates wore their colorful national costumes for the sessions. Nentsy and Ents, Yukagirs and Selkups, Chukchi and Ulchi, Eskimo and Nanais, Khanty and Orochi-all representatives had a say. Khanty writer Yevgeni Aipin from Western Siberia is a leader of the radical movement for the rights of the ethnic minorities.



In addition, the document provides for a crash ecological program and a halt to some of the industrial construction going on above the Arctic Circle. In short, there will be changes for the better. Though the comprehensive program received a positive response among the delegates, the major concern was for guarantees.

So where are the guarantees? The government officials, alas, were noncommital at the Congress, but the new breed of Northern leaders has a good grasp of the legal and political implications. They see the guarantees in having the autonomous structures reinstituted for all the minorities without exception. They insist on a return to such forms of self-government as tribal councils and councils of elders. Any large-scale project for the industrial development of the North that involves the use of natural resources, the delegates believe, must pass the independent scrutiny of the true representatives of the local indigenous population.

The Congress took an important step toward self-determination by founding the Association of Minorities of the Extreme North, Siberia, and the Far East. Its chief objective is to unite the indigenous inhabitants in their struggle for survival.

"The time for illusions is gone," said Vladimir Sanghi, a Nivkh writer and the newly elected president of the association. "Now is the time for serious thought and concrete actions!"

When the Congress adjourned, I had a chance to talk to Sanghi and ask him his views on the Congress.

"Frankly, I'm not completely satisfied with the outcome," Sanghi told me. "The Congress ought to have been sponsored by the public-representatives of the numerous ethnic associations and unions of the Northern peoples, not by officials of the state. Yet today they are forced to make concessions and compromises. Two years ago, when I suggested organizing an association of Northerners, the idea received a mixed reaction, especially by the authorities. Now, as you see, the situation is changing: We have our association, and that gives me grounds for hope that someday we may achieve true equality."

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# CHILDREN OF NATURE

With its unique flora and fauna, the Yamal Peninsula in the Soviet Far North is a treasure-trove of natural beauty and vital resources. The indigenous people, such as the Nentsy, Selkups, and Khanty, represent another kind of wealth.



t present there are 18,819 Nentsy living in the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Area, in the Far North of the Russian Federation. Their language is

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Nenets, which belongs to the Samoyedic group of the Uralic family of languages. The experts believe that the Nentsy once lived in southern Siberia and migrated north centuries ago. Other theories propose that the modern Nentsy and other peoples of the Far North were descended not only from the Samoyedic tribes of the Sayan Uplands but also from certain native peoples who have inhabited, since antiquity, regions of the Far North.

Soviet ethnographer Vladimir Chernetsov made a discovery on Yamal in 1926 that caused a real sensation. Chernetsov and his colleagues came across remnants of settlements whose inhabitants had lived very differently from the ways followed by the Nentsy. Among the findings were dugouts, indicating that the people had conducted a settled way of life, and fragments of pottery and of seal bone. But until this century the Nentsy were a nomadic group. Also, they never made pottery, and sealing has never been one of their main occupations.

Consequently, the experts conclude that long before the Samoyedic tribes arrived in the North from southern Siberia, the polar peninsula was populated by people who conducted a semisedentary way of life. The Nentsy call these people "Sirtya" or "Sirt." Incidentally, that is the same word that they use to describe the "snowman" that allegedly inhabits the foothills of the polar Urals. The history and way of life of other peoples who now live on Yamal have many features in common with those of the Nentsy. That's probably why the Nentsy consider the Selkups and the Khanty relatives.

Actually, only now are we beginning to study the unique civilizations of the Northern people with their clearly defined attitudes toward nature and man, the mystery of the universe, and their philosophy about the harmony of all living things.

The hunters and fishermen of Yamal called themselves "children of nature" and treated their natural environment—the trees, grasses, birds, and animals—with great reverence and respect. The Khanty considered the bear to be the forefather of the large tribal groups, and they referred to bears as "grandfathers," believing that they understood human speech.



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**B** ronze and brass decorations adorn the typical Nenets headdress. These particular adornments are about 300 years old and have been handed down from generation to generation.

Ather Irenarch, a Russian Orthodox priest who did much to better te lot of the people on Yamal. acing page: The priest with upils of the first Nenets school in Obdorsk.

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The Nentsy fishermen of the tundra ill follow the age-old custom of kissig the first fish caught after the ice haws and of asking it to treat them enerously. Then they release it back to the river or lake so that it can tell he other fish about the goodness of eople.

Incidentally, the "chum," the Rusian word for the portable dwelling in which the Nentsy live, is a structural wonder. Light and portable, the conial structure, built of 30 to 50 poles, rovides good insulation and withtands almost any force of wind. In winter the poles are covered with eindeer hides and animal skins and n summer with tree bark or canvas.

The Nentsy, Selkups, and Khanty ive in harmony with nature. The unters, fishermen, and reindeer herders divide the territory they share nto provisional areas, which provide the reindeer with enough space to graze and which abound in game, fish, cloudberries, and curative roots.

The area children, too, have their own harmonious world. All the boys and girls have their own spot on the lake, piece of land, and larch tree, which they decorate with strips of brightly colored fabric. Later, as adults, they come back to visit their tree, lake, and land.

Over the years, the life of the Nentsy, Selkups, and Khanty has been intertwined with that of the Russian settlers. According to written sources, Russian travelers had established steady contacts with the people of Yamal by the end of the fifteenth century. There was a thriving trade relationship, and the new settlers gave the Northern people access to European civilization. Not everything was idyllic, of course—suffice it to mention the local people's desperate resistance to the Christian missionaries in the early eighteenth century.

There were others, including educators and explorers, however, who are remembered fondly for their positive contribution. Father Irenarch, Archimandrite of the Russian Orthodox Church in Obdorsk (now Salekhard), is just one example. He founded a boarding school for native children, a missionary school, an orphanage, a library, and a local history museum. He also wrote dozens of profound works on the history, geography, and ethnology of Yamal.

Today the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Area is home to 93,750 Russians and 33,865 people of other nationalities living side by side with the Nentsy, Selkups, and Khanty. And all of the people consider this subarctic area their native land.

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# Uddata</t

By Alexander Tropkin Photographs by Alexander Kurbatov

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n Nenets, the language of the Nentsy, one of the indigenous people of Siberia's polar regions, "yamal" means "the end of the world." That's the name the tundra natives gave a peninsula lying beyond the Arctic Circle. The Yamal Peninsula is attracting a lot of public com-

ment these days—not for its unique plants or animals nor for its native cultural traditions.

The government ministries have formulated a master plan for developing the Yamal gas reserves over the next few decades, but the plan has been rejected almost unanimously by ecologists on the national committee in charge of nature conservation.

Let's look at Yamal's physical features. The huge peninsula (122,000 square kilometers) in the extreme north of Western Siberia extends for 750 kilometers from the Arctic Circle to the Arctic Ocean. Washing Yamal on the west is the Kara Sea, with its saber-shaped Baydaratskaya Bay cutting into the peninsula near its base. On the east, extending northward from the southwest is the Ob Bay, which took its name from the Ob River, the third largest river in Siberia after the Yenisei and the Lena. In length, the Ob ranks among the top 10 longest water arteries in the world.

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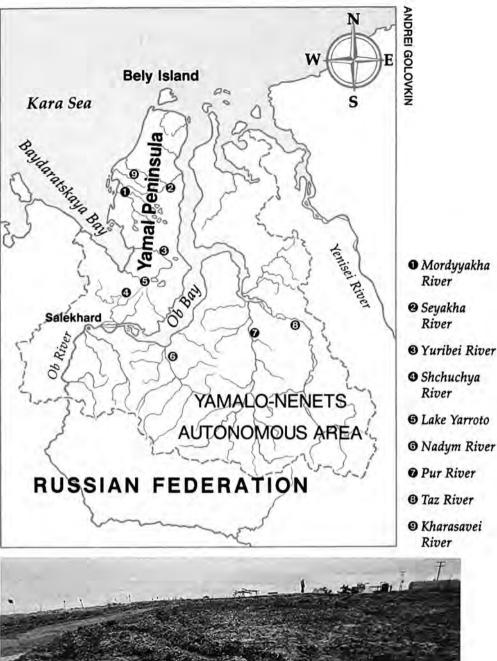
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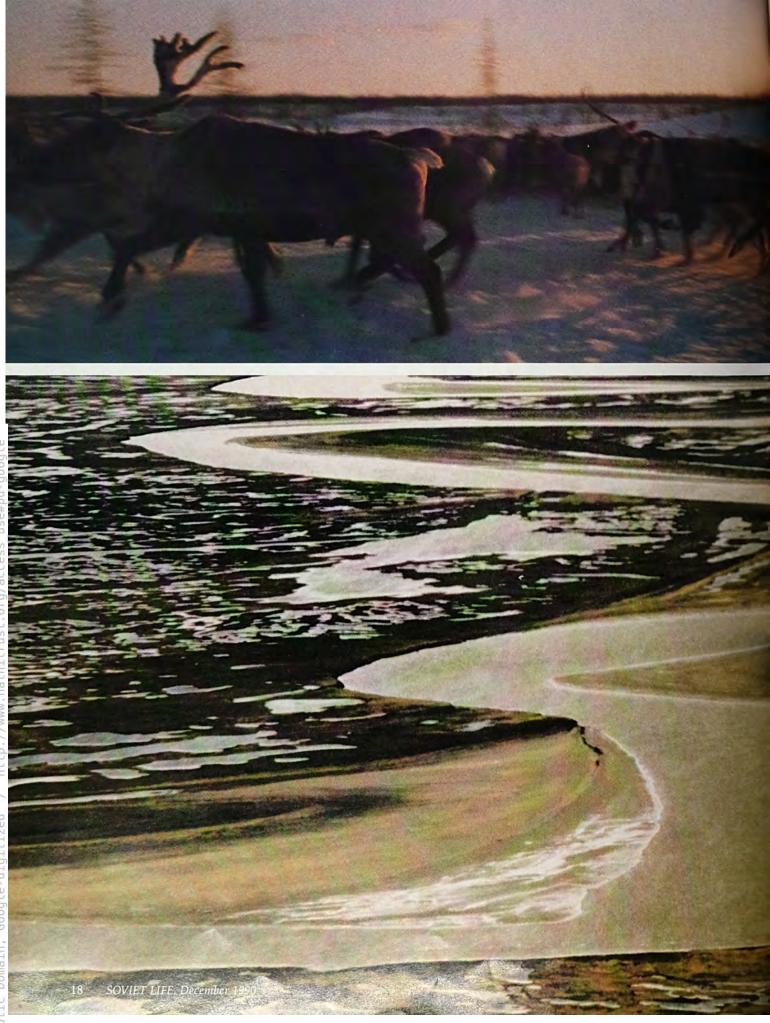
Much has been written about the Ob River but hardly anything about Yamal's other beautiful rivers, such as the Seyakha, the Yuribei, the Kharasavei, and the Mordyyakha. Their ancient names sounding like incantations of a Nenets shaman, these rivers play an important role in the life of the Nentsy, Khanty, and Selkup, all Yamal natives. More than a source of food, the rivers are the subject of folk legends and fairy tales. The Nentsy, for instance, believe that the rivers are alive and have their own tongues and ways.

The severe arctic environment has always taken care of itself. The thin

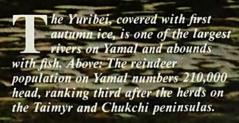
**Y** amal's soil contains from 20 to 50 per cent ice. If the upper layer is destroyed by heavy machinery or vehicles, the earth underneath crumbles. Facing page: The northern lights nature's miracle light show.











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layer of vegetation that carpets the tundra effectively controls the whims of the permafrost, keeping an eye on its behavior. The permafrost holds together the loose local soil, which is from 20 to 50 per cent ice to a depth of 50 to 100 meters. In the south, at the peninsula's base, the permafrost layer is eggshell thin.

Animals that inhabit the tundra feed on moss, lichen, and grass. Yamal's reindeer adore the silvery-white yagel, or reindeer moss, whose short shoots resemble their own antlers. The reindeer also like the fluffy grass that is capped by snow-white plumeshaped flowers.

As you get closer to the Arctic Ocean, the tundra becomes increasingly monotonous and dull, or so it seems at first glance. During the height of summer Yamal's grassland abounds in sky-blue forget-me-nots and orange buttercups. Among the

eologists and ecologists confer. Below: A heap of rusty scrap metal left by previous prospectors scars the tundra landscape.

sea of buttercups are lapland poppies, unusual yellow flowers with delicate satiny petals, and in the north the arctic castilleja, a rare grass found neither on the Kola nor Chukchi peninsulas. The castilleja is listed among the endangered rare plants in the Red Book of the USSR.

The tundra is home to many unique species of birds and animals. Yamal's ornithologists still come across the red-breasted goose, which nests in the lower reaches of the Mordyyakha. The gyrfalcon and the peregrine falcon frequent the Yuribei

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Valley. The goose and the falcons are among the 10 Yamal birds listed in the Red Book of Endangered Bird Species.

Extremely fragile and vulnerable, Yamal's tundra and forest-tundra areas have only one major enemy modern man and his methods. The native people of Yamal have always lived in harmony with nature, combining the needs of the reindeer herder, hunter, and fisherman with the incontrovertible laws of the arctic environment.

Nentsy never pastured their reindeer in the same spot year after year, and they kept their herds at a reasonable number. Ignoring these principles would have meant starvation for both people and reindeer. Also, the light, wooden reindeer sleighs didn't damage the local vegetation.

When the mammoth disappeared about 9,000 years ago, the reindeer became perhaps the only animal found in abundance on Yamal. For centuries deer hunting has been the basic source of subsistence for people living in the tundra.

Today the number of reindeer on Yamal comes to 210,000 head, ranking third behind Chukotka and Taimyr in population of these animals. Just over half of the Yamal reindeer belong to the state. The remainder belong to the local people. A Nenets or Khanty family needs a minimum herd of 150 to 200 reindeer to satisfy its requirements for food, clothing, and transportation.

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Yamal is rich in natural resources. The peninsula and its offshore areas contain tremendous quantities of natural gas, a boon for the country's fuel stocks and chemical industry. It would seem that this wealth would make all of us happy. But let's not forget the environmental sins that were committed in developing the oil and gas deposits in Western Siberia. What benefits did that region and its people receive from the "invasion" of rumbling Caterpillar technology and the legions of reckless drilling rig operators? Desecrated land, desolation, and dashed hopes. Maimed by bulldozers and pipelayers, the forest-tundra zone must bear the scars of its attackers for years to come. Rare species of animals and birds, frightened 🗘



gas worker who lives in the village of Kharasavei. Below: Wind and freezing temperatures reign during the severe 9-month-long arctic winter. **Below left:** Geologists prospect for gas and oil deposits, while ecologists warn that uncontrolled development of Yamal may do great harm to the local nature.





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away from their usual, now ruined, habitats, are heading northward toward undisturbed areas, which are becoming few and far between. As the depleted grazing land yields less and less food for the reindeer herds, the nomadic people are following the animals north.

It's awful to think what will happen when the hordes of people and machinery start moving to Yamal. The arctic environment will be the first victim, followed by the tundra people, their customs, languages, and nomadic way of life. Reindeer herding will most surely disappear.

"In tapping the region's natural wealth, the losses will most certainly outweigh the benefits," claim Yuri Chernov, a corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Vladimir Kalyakin, a senior research associate of the conservation committee. "First, there are the financial costs. The Yamal Project will consume from 47 to 53 billion rubles at the most conservative estimate. Second, there are other costs. The project will have extremely adverse ecological, social, and economic consequences. Losses due to the eventual elimination of reindeer pastures from the development of two gas fields will amount to 760.2 million rubles. It's conceivable that around two million hectares of prime Yamal pastureland might be put out of action in the immediate future because of construction and transport operations."

Lyudmila Bogoslovskaya, Doctor of Science (Biology), is also pessimistic. "Yamal is a unique area of the Arctic, its geologically youngest element. We have to assume a responsible approach to any development there. We don't know what the consequences will be for the region and the rest of the world, especially with regard to global warming.

"Also, the Ob tributaries in the southern part of the peninsula are the last remaining rivers with enough oxygen to support the fish stocks of the Ob basin."

Everyone agrees that the Yamal Project will lead to dramatic changes in the northern regions. Is this necessarily bad? Perhaps not. But the key lies in getting the indigenous people involved in all decisions. Much can be learned from their time-honored wisdom and experience in living in these regions.

However, the voice of the native people of the North, Yamal's masters by birthright, is still weak on critical issues, but things are beginning to



mong the local flora are many plants and bushes, including these of the cloudberry family. Below: Permafrost-maimed rails—ugly reminders of the Stalinist camps.



pick up. Not long ago the native people of Tyumen Region, which incorporates the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Area, held a constituent conference and set up a social and political association to protect their interests. Taking the name Yamal for Our Descendants, the association drew up a list of demands as follows: that autonomous regional formations be given ample judicial, economic, and financial freedom; that autonomous regional formations be given the constitutional right to the local land, timber, and water resources; and that the Yamal Project accept an integrated native-friendly program.

To demonstrate their concern, a group of Nenets fishermen recently formed a boat chain across the Sop River in protest against sand and gravel production there. The Sop is the breeding ground for many rare species of fish. The fishermen decided to stage their protest after their pleas and complaints to the local government and nature protection organizations had failed to bring any results.

The experts say that two issues must be solved before the Yamal Project gets under way: the impact of development on the livelihood of the local population and on the environment. Effective native-oriented social and cultural programs will require from 150 to 200 million rubles a year. The cost of preserving the environment will also be as much. Astronomical at first glance, this money is a mere fraction of the profits that will be realized by developing the natural resources in the northern parts of Tyumen Region every year.

The experts also suggest that an international research and development center be organized to help Yamal with ecological matters. The center could coordinate research in various fields, conceptualize arctic development, and produce computer-aided ecosystem models and integrated programs covering economic, ecological, legal, and social questions.

The Yamal Project will depend greatly on the development of ecologically harmless technology for the Arctic and on in-depth studies of the customs and ways of the native people of the Far North. All that will determine the success of the project.

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**W** amal's native population— Nentsy, Selkups, Khanty, and others—pins its hopes on the children.

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Yuri Rytkheu with Yevdokia Gayer, deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet, at the Congress of Minorities of the North, Siberia, and the Soviet Far East.

## A CHUKCHI WRITER'S VIEW OF THEN AND NOW

ravda correspondent Alexander Klimenko talks with Yuri Rytkheu, a well-known Chukchi poet and the author of many books describing the life of the people that call the regions near the Arctic Circle "home."

**Q:** Has life for people living in the North improved over the past few decades?

A: Let me start with a childhood reminiscence. When I'd awaken in the middle of the night, me all snug in my fur-canopied bed and frightened by the howling sound of a storm outside, my grandmother would comfort me by saying: "Don't be afraid, little darling. It's only Spring waking up from her winter sleep." Grandma never mentioned summer or any other season-only spring because in the Arctic, spring is the longest and the most important season. Spring starts with the first ray of sun that sparkles above the icy horizon during the latter half of February and lasts until the coastal thaw at the end of June. Sometimes, the thaw never comes because of a cold spell.

This midspring "cold spell" started in the late 1930s for the people of the Soviet North, and it finished only with the first ray of perestroika.

The first Soviet years saw clever and well-arranged reforms, to which Stalinism put an end with its ugly egalitarian cultural policy. The result—our unique ways and customs, which had taken shape over the centuries, were leveled out.

Though the ethnic communities of the subarctic regions are small, we are noticeable and can't be ignored. And our voice is getting louder and stronger. Nobody would deny that the Soviet system has helped us a great deal—but there were horrible crimes too. Our culture and mentality were mercilessly destroyed.

I never felt this destruction more acutely than in my childhood. My family lived in an animal-skin tent, as our ancestors had done, and we followed our age-old ways. Grandma kept her old idols and amulets hidden from strangers' eyes. At school I faced a different, alien world with its own idols, Stalin being the supreme deity. It was painful to go from one world to another and back, swinging like a pendulum.

Q: What was the most dominant feature of old Northern life?

A: Honesty. The turn-of-the-century arctic explorers wrote that they had never seen such integrity as in the Far North. Wayfarers left food supplies near nomad camps and found them untouched months later. With us Chukchi, stealing was considered the most serious crime. Things aren't the same now.

Q: What about the influence of Russian educators? Did they do any good?

A: Sure. Especially people like Lev and Praskovia Belikov, who taught in my native Uelen for almost 10 years. Lev Belikov translated Pushkin into Chukchi. We their pupils owe to them our thorough knowledge of Russian and world culture, and they made us appreciate our native culture too. But then came the bureaucrats.

**Q:** Really, our interethnic relations left a lot to be desired, and we're feeling the repercussions of that now. But in the accounts of past wrongs, many think that the Northerners were comparatively lucky.

A: Well, they're wrong. All ethnic peoples, large and small, suffered under Stalin's yoke, and it's stupid to compare our wrongs with anyone else's. Sorrow has many faces.

The reforms had a promising start: Nearly 20 small ethnic minorities quickly received alphabets, and a sweeping literacy effort began. But what about the coercion that was used in switching the nomadic reindeer breeders to a settled way of life? It was a hare-brained idea!

In the 1950s the Nentsy in Arkhangelsk Region rose up against that policy several times, and there were my native people on the Chukchi Peninsula too. The facts were hidden from the public until quite recently. Or what about the Eskimos who were moved from their ancient settlements *Continued on page 35* 

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By Alina Chadayeva

he Nanai are a small but proud ethnic group living in the Amur River Basin, in the southern part of the Soviet Far East. The land there is special because it was never covered by glaciers, and nature has survived intact. The warm and moist climate of the region provides a perfect environment for southern plants and taiga and

tundra vegetation. The Russian traveler Nikolai Przhevalsky (1839-1888) described the region as follows: "The tundra vegetation coexists with deciduous forests, nut trees with cedars and silver firs, birch trees with bamboo. Vines embrace fir trees."

Much of what Przhevalsky saw regarding the local traditions survives only in old men's legends and tales. The older generation of Nanai is dying, severing the golden threads that bind the present with the past. The ancient Nanai culture, its solemn rites and customs, its secrets of making beautiful handicrafts, is slowly disappearing. Photographs by Alexander Lyskin

Nanai boys play in a tree near their village. Below: This Nanai charm is crafted of Amur fish fins.







"You can't imagine how friendly and goodhearted my ancestors were," lamented Nanai poet Pongsa Kile. "Nature taught us to be that way. Then came Stalin and his efforts to assimilate all small nations under his nationalities policy. That policy proved equally tragic for all ethnic minorities in this country. Our natural wealth-our land, mineral resources, and wildlife-was violated too."

Unfortunately, the facts support what Kile said. In the 1960s and 1970s (the current decade is no exception either) local oil refineries and a pulpand-paper mill polluted the water in the mighty Amur, severely damaging the fish population. As a result, most of the fisheries shut down, and the fishermen were left without jobs. The fishing industry, which had sustained the area for ages, was made subject to strict regulations.

In the Nanai village of Achan, for example, 20 young fishermen were officially registered as unemployed last year. Another 37 Achan residents work at a local forestry. The Nanai feel that both choices are immoral: One destroys their self-respect; the other destroys their respect for nature, a basic tenet of their culture.

The Nanai see more trouble with the USSR Ministry of Nuclear Power Industry's decision to build a nuclear power plant near Lake Evoron. The chosen site is on what they consider to be "sacred land." That's not just a phrase but a basic Nanai belief. According to legend, the ancient village of Kondon is located in the vicinity of Lake Evoron, near a mountain where Mudur, the heaven

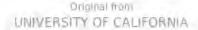
Nyura Kile, 80, in her native dress, goes about her daily chores. Right: Rimma Odzyal works in an Achan shop. Facing page, top: A Nanai family keeps chickens, geese, several pigs, and a cow. Bottom: Achan children take a lesson from Kolodi Kamanko.



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dragon, lives. The village elders attribute much of the problems that they now face to the younger generations who insulted the mountain spirit by taking rocks to use as a foundation for their homes.

In the past few years, however, native advocates have emerged. One of the most dedicated is Nanai Yevdokia Gayer, an ethnographer, historian, and a member of the USSR parliament. Gayer pins high hopes on growing national awareness to stop the encroachments on her people's right to survive. She has worked hard to freeze construction on an ecologically hazardous nitrogen fertilizer plant in the village of Nizhnaya Tambovka and to bring the issue of the nuclear power plant to the public eye. Gayer is also active in the campaign to restore the status of her native tongue. She has written a language textbook and travels a great deal, giving lectures about her people. Her efforts are beginning to pay off.

A new wind is blowing through Amur Region. The image of the storyteller of yore may be rare, but the tradition is still alive. The old Nanai men smoking their pipe by a campfire at night and singing their Nanai legends have been replaced by  $\Box$ 





A class of second graders in an Achan school. Below: The beautiful Amur. a new breed. Today's storytellers are much younger. They often have a university degree, type their stories on a typewriter or personal computer, and think about getting them published, in two languages if possible.

Storyteller Yekaterina Samar, who was born in the village of Stoibishche Bichi, is a therapist at an

outpatient clinic in the city of Komsomolsk-on-Amur. "When I was a child, I heard the story of ..."—that's how she begins telling the history of her family, whose roots reach deeply into the early Middle Ages, when the Manchurian tribes were being united in the Far East. It's not only that Samar can trace her family name to antiquity, her stories are a fragment of an epic mirror reflecting the genesis of humanity.

Macrocosm and microcosm are united in the Nanai philosophy. The Amur was embraced by a glance broad enough to be seen from the heavens above. The river was known then as the Mangbo, the embodiment of Mudur; and the village of Nizhnaya Tambovka, which the Nanai call Kholsan, was a holy site. Legend has it that it was there that Sangi, the god of the skies, turned the old man Vanda and his wives into stone so they'd never know that their sons had been tragically killed in war. To this day, Yekaterina Samar told me, whenever the Nanai approach the area, they ask for Vanda's blessing.

"I love and respect the legends and tales that have survived from the old days," Kile told me. "And I love my 'singing language' too. Selfawareness is a shoot sowed from selected seeds that our ancestors planted not 'along the road' or 'among rocks' but 'in good, fertile soil.' Our healthy shoots are showing growth again, and that makes all of us hopeful."





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t's no exaggeration to say that everyone who lives on Yamal knows the voice of Anastasia Lapsui. Lapsui, a talented Nenets journalist, works at Salekhard Radio, preparing and broadcasting news programs in the Nenets language. Whenever Northerners want to learn what's happening in their autonomous area, they turn on the radio and listen to Lapsui's charming voice.

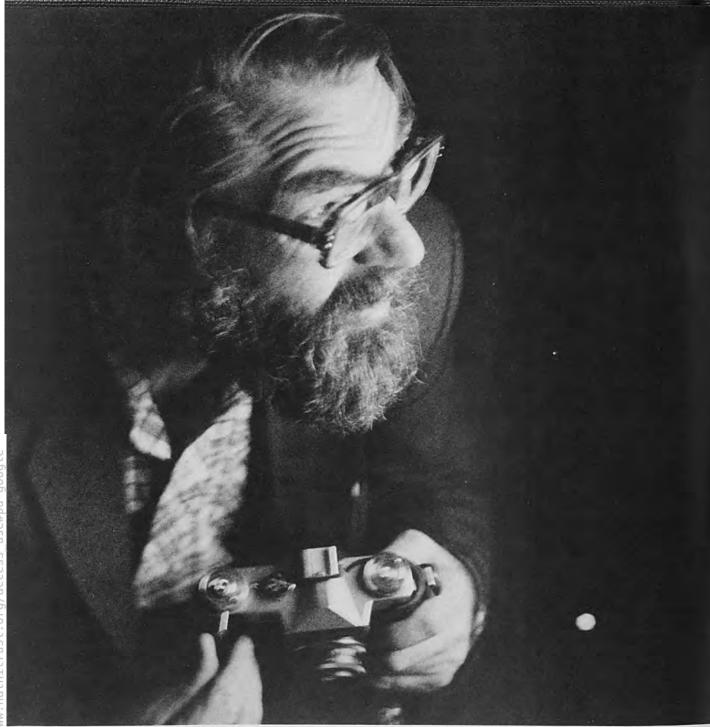
Also fluent in Russian, Lapsui has translated dozens of Russian poetry and children's books into her native Nenets. But news is her first love, and for a story, she's ready to travel to the ends of the earth.

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#### The Protector Of the Environment

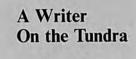
his bearded man, who resembles a Russian Orthodox priest, has devoted most of his life to protecting Yamal's environment. A Candidate of Science (Geology and Mineralogy), Vyacheslav Lukichev currently heads the ecological inspection team in the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Area. He is an ardent advocate of saving the rivers, lakes, and vast expanses of the tundra. "Nature is unique on our peninsula," says Lukichev, "and we aren't worth our salt if we don't protect it."

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nna Nerkagi, a member of the **USSR** Writers Union, is called "the conscience of the people," so highly is her writing on Yamal thought of. Though she has published only two or three books, Nerkagi captures the essence of the local folk wisdom, the feelings of her people. The wife of a reindeer breeder, Nerkagi is accustomed to moving from place to place, living in a tent. And she has no intention of changing her lifestyle for a settled and comfortable one. "This is my destiny," says the writer with a smile. "Without the beautiful tundra to inspire me, I could never have written anything." Her latest book, titled The Fifth Angel, has recently been published by Sovetsky Pisatel.

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# The Fabled TAIMEN

#### Text and Photographs by Tom Ursia

enturing into the unknown always creates a flutter of excitement, particularly if it's one's first expedition to Siberia in search of the fa-

bled taimen salmon. I still remember the night before my departure. Seth Wadas, one of my neighbor's boys and a budding Maine fly-fisherman, and I sat on the front porch examining newly created fishing flies to be tested in Siberian waters. We concluded that a black shrimplike fly with large taxidermal eyes tied over the bend of a large salmon double hook would work best. Little did we know that this strange creation would provide one of my most unforgettable fishing memories.

After several years of planning and the pleasantly persistent efforts of Peter Cutten and Tom Knight of Klineburgers in Seattle, Washington, the exploratory trip was finally set for July 1990. The journey would prove to be substantial, in terms of new thresholds to cross.

The distance by air from Portland, Maine, to Moscow is about 6,000 miles. The Pan Am flight across the Atlantic was comfortable, with a midmorning arrival at Sheremetyevo II Airport, which lies 18 miles northwest of the Soviet capital. I spent a delightful afternoon touring the city, visiting Red Square, the Kremlin, St. Basil's Cathedral, and Arbat Street, a pedestrian mall where talented street artists and political debaters congregate. That evening, I joined my traveling companions, David and Zella Green of Yakima, Washington, for a reception dinner at the Moscow home of Elena and Vladimir Treschov. After a scrumptious meal, delightful conversation, and many toasts for a successful expedition, we set off for our last night's sleep in Moscow.

The next leg of the trip was a lengthy flight of 3,284 miles to the Soviet Far East. As Americans, many of us think of Siberia as an astonishingly cold and empty land once traveled by Dr. Zhivago. Instead, an eye-





ful of diversified natural wonders appeared through our Aeroflot's portholes. Translating the vastness of Siberia is a nearly impossible task. In terms of land mass, Siberia occupies about the same space as the United States. Our flight revealed geographic conditions ranging from swampy plains, prodigious forests, great rivers, sealike deltas, and weather-beaten mountainous territory. We arrived in Khabarovsk at 12:45

We arrived in Khabarovsk at 12:45 A.M. and spent a relaxing overnight in a peaceful villa fronting on the popular Amur River. Khabarovsk, originally founded as a military outpost in 1858, is the largest city east of Lake Baikal. Today, with a population of 600,000, the city is a major industrial center of the Soviet Far East.

From Khabarovsk we traveled another 730 miles north to the Nelkan Airport, where we boarded the helicopter which took us to our final destination—our base camp on the Maymakan River. In this river valley, which is only accessible by helicopter,



I found the surroundings pristine, yet painfully beautiful. Throughout the week, I couldn't help but flashback to how similar resources in America have been spoiled by improper use and greed.

One fish resource that we had set out to acquire more scientific knowledge of was the taimen. This freshwater salmonid is strictly Eurasian in its natural habitat. In the Soviet Union, taimen primarily are found in the Siberian-Amur drainage systems, most Left: The Soviet support staff—Sergei Lugovoi, translator; Victor Zaritsky of EKSPA; and Alexei, our master guide. Above: The Maymakan River on a sunny, pastoral day. Facing page: Tom Ursia with taimen specimen used for scientific research by Washington fish biologists. All other fish were caught and released.

of which eventually flow into the Arctic Ocean.

Taimen prefer cold, oxygenated waters and generally occupy the lower stretches of primary rivers. For four days, the waters of the Maymakan were crystal clear. We had visual sitings of 19 large taimen at the head end of pools, scoured edges of gravel bars, and along the banks of calmer tributaries. Physically, taimen bear a resemblance to a streamlined salmon, similar to a spawned-out Atlantic

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salmon. Their body is cylindrical, like that of a northern pike or muskellunge, with incisoriform teeth and incredibly powerful jaws. No doubt that this formidable dental structure contributes to the enormous biomass of the fish we spotted. The taimen we encountered on this expedition ranged from 35 to 85 pounds.

The question that constantly raced through my mind was whether the beautiful specimens of the world's largest salmon will be threatened in the near future. Through the noble efforts of the Atlantic Salmon Federation and Trout Unlimited, North American fishermen are now appreciating the huge benefits of conservation and proper river management in Canada and the United States. Much has been learned from damaged or abused resources, particularly about how costly restoration efforts can be. Conservation awareness is growing in the Soviet Union too, but more can be done to promote conservation of vital natural resources through better environmental planning, comprehensive scientific research, in addition to nationwide public awareness programs.

Teaching environmental responsibility is a global task. Indicators of past Siberian concern were evident visually and verbally. I spotted a most impressive, yet weathered sign in the village of Nelkan depicting a young Russian boy holding a small seedling in his palms. The translated Russian inscription above his head reads:

"CHILDREN! PRESERVE FORESTS-TAKE CARE OF THEM,"

It's that type of impregnated responsibility that will build a strong environmental future for all of us.

One of the many privileges of this

A conservation poster in the village of Nelkan. Bottom: A campfire chat at the base campsite.



Dullzeo by Gougle

Siberian expedition was the opportunity to meet Victor Zaritsky, of the cooperative concern EKSPA. Zaritsky is a knowledgeable and noble human being with an ambitious agenda for the massive land area under his management. EKSPA is an economic alliance of approximately 38 enterprises looking to promote a better future and to establish five-year priorities for their countryside. It was interesting to learn of EKSPA's priorities in agriculture, fishing, hunting, beekeeping and honey making, tourism, and deer raising. Reindeer herding, for example, is already a highly productive enterprise in Siberia, with over 246 tons of meat produced each year. It provides residents with a low-fat, high-protein staple.

Yet with all these opportunities in the resource-laden frontier of Siberia, spartan living conditions still exist. With the obvious exploitation of minerals, such as gold, tin, coal, titanium, platinum, and diamonds, Siberia needs to plan ahead, as this decade will determine its fate for the next century. Through intelligent land planning, wilderness amenities and fragile ecosystems need to be identified. Also important is finding ways to harmoniously blend the use of resources, such as forests, soils, energy, and metals. Without proper planning, environmental and economic collisions will surely occur. Like others, I believe that the future of the Soviet Union lies in Siberia.

I sum it all up in one memorable moment of the trip that will never escape me. As I slowly retrieved my black shrimp-fly lying parallel to a half-sunken log in a deep slough, up periscoped a giant taimen (easily over five feet long). Just before it took the fly, the taimen and I gained eye-toeye contact. Two creatures with homes 10,000 miles apart stared each other down for what seemed to be an eternity. At that moment I silently prayed that this same specimen will be here for Seth Wadas and members of future generations to enjoy with awe and wonderment. With that, the taimen ultimately retreated to the safe depths of the Maymakan River, and I returned home to Maine. Another American fisherman outwitted by a savvy fish!

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Continued from page 24

in Naukan and on Big Diomede Island because the powers that be thought they were living too close to the Soviet-American border?

Q: Some people think that prejudice is intrinsic to human nature, and, hence, clashes between ethnic groups are inevitable. What do you think? A: That's a primitive view! The current clashes are symptoms of social ills. Grassroots wisdom teaches us to live side by side with our neighbors in peace. That idea took shape over the centuries and so it is time-tested. Interethnic tensions are not to blame for the economic morass we are now in, as some politicians would want us to believe. They only say that to divert the public's attention from their own mismanagement that has brought the whole country to the edge of an abyss.

Q: Are the subarctic regions in a plight too?

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A: Worse than many others! The mining industry was developing apace decade in, decade out. I remember the hearty welcome we Chukchi offered the pioneer prospectors. We gave them sleigh dogs and reindeer for nothing and forgave them their poaching and even domesticated deer hunting. We never thought that the romantic bearded geologists were an omen of what was to come. Soon, the real menace appeared-the developers. They didn't care a straw about us, we who had lived in the North for millenniums. They bulldozed our tundra, killing our scanty vegetation and leaving our reindeer herds with nothing to feed on.

Nothing did more to destroy the interethnic harmony in the new industrial districts than this predatory attitude toward nature-it defied Northern understanding.

Times have changed now. The "land of the white silence" is not so quiet as it once was. We the people of the tundra, taiga, and the ice-crusted arctic coast are speaking up, and we will be heard!

Courtesy of the newspaper Pravda

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### **BUSINESS BRIEFS**

#### Send in Your Ads—

The U.S. advertising giant D'Arcy Masius Benton & Bowles, Inc. (DMBB) is planning a full-scale promotional campaign in the Soviet media. The company's plans to advertise Western goods in the USSR precipitated the emergence of a subsidiary in the form of a Soviet-American joint venture. The joint venture was officially registered in Moscow in late August.

According to Mikhail Lipilin, the general manager of DMBB-Moscow, his company has already been approached by customers, such as Procter and Gamble Company and Mars, Inc., who are prepared to do business on a long-term basis.

Analysts are quite optimistic about DMBB-Moscow's future since the agency's clients are mostly big Western firms supplying consumer goods and services. DMBB-Moscow will also be helping Soviet concerns to advertise their goods in the West and to look for potential partners.

#### Following in Moscow's Footsteps

ike Moscow, Leningrad will, in the not too distant future, have its own international trade center. The agreement that will get the project off the ground was signed in early October with the International Development Corporation (IDC), the Connecticut-based company established for business cooperation mostly with France and the Soviet Union.

According to Valentin Yakovlev, who signed the accord on behalf of the Soviet side, the value of the contract is estimated at 225 million dollars. The accord stipulates that IDC will find investors and oversee the financing of the project, while the Soviet side will provide the building materials, labor, and transportation.

The trade center will include a topclass hotel with 500 suites, three restaurants, several banquet rooms, gym

facilities, a swimming pool, and a conference hall. There will also be separate living quarters for business people and a 25-story office building. The design of the center will conform to U.S. standards.

#### Supercomputers **Again on Soviet** Market

 ontrol Data Corporation, a major U.S. computer manufacturer, is again trading on the Soviet market after a 10-year hiatus. Victor Mayev, 44, the newly appointed head of the company's Moscow division, attributes his posting to the recently lifted COCOM restrictions on exports of supercomputers manufactured by Control Data. Mayev also hopes that the Soviet Union, with its enormous research potential, may ultimately become the most voracious market for fourth generation supercomputers.

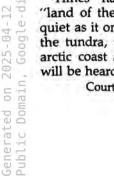
#### Yarico Ready to Sell For Rubles

Y arico Commodities Corporation of the United States is prepared to sell goods manufactured by other American companies for rubles on the Soviet market," said Natalio A. Yaria, the company's chief executive officer, during a recent business trip to the USSR.

The company's chief executive believes that the success of commercial contracts is inherent not in the chase after short-term profits, but rather in a regular capital turnover, meaning continuous investment in new production facilities and in the development of new technologies in the Soviet Union.

For the present Yarico plans to sell goods supplied by American manufacturers for rubles, investing its profits in a variety of joint ventures that run the gamut from footwear manufacture and hotel construction to major projects like satellite telephone communications.

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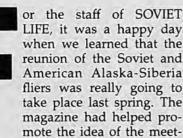
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1945, Soviet and American pilots worked together to ferry American warplanes from Alaska through Siberia to the German front. For almost 50 years, the veterans who had made the Alaska-Siberia (ALSIB) flights possible lost track of their former comrades from across the sea. **But last May** and June, the veteran Soviet and American fliers met again in hospitable Alaska.

From 1942 to



A Soviet veteran pins a souvenir badge on his former American comrade in arms. Facing page, top: The ALSIB veterans pose at the site of their former airstrip in Nome. Insets, top to bottom: Yelena Makarova, who had been an interpreter in Fairbanks during the war, lays flowers at the grave of Boris Kiselnikov, who is buried in Anchorage. A friendly encounter in a Nome street: A grateful American greets former **ALSIB** pilots Dmitri Ostrovenko, Moisei Piyetsky, and Guri Sorokin.



ing five years ago. I won't go into all the details about what it took to turn the idea into reality. Suffice it to say that it was a tough job, which succeeded largely thanks to the active support of American organizations in Alaska, including the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the American Legion, among others, and the Soviet sponsors, especially the Soviet War Veterans Committee, which had shouldered the lion's share of the work.

Naturally, the Soviet delegation included representatives of not only the innumerable fliers who had ferried American Bostons, Douglases, and Air Cobras from Alaska to the front across Siberia but also the tens of thousands of radio operators, flight engineers, dispatchers, and ground workers who had made the whole operation a success during the war. I got the chance to get acquainted with most of the veterans in the delegation aboard the AN-24 that was transporting us from Moscow to Nome. I'll just mention a few of them.

Merited Pilot of the USSR Georgi Benkunsky was already an experienced military flier by the time he came to work at ALSIB. He had risked his life taking his plane behind enemy lines and to besieged Leningrad. At ALSIB he flew C-47 and Douglas transports to Fairbanks, mostly at night, and carried Soviet diplomats to Washington and Montreal. Benkunsky's valor was rewarded with four Orders of Lenin, the USSR's highest award.

At 19, Victor Yelsukov was probably the youngest radio operator at ALSIB. He ferried Bostons and Air Cobras, and after the war he flew passenger planes. Aviator and Hero of the Soviet Union Alexander Lipilin went to the front during the very first days of the war. He was shot down twice. At ALSIB Lipilin was a regiment commander, transporting hundreds of warplanes to the front.

Pyotr Gamov was considered somewhat of a record breaker. He commanded a squadron, ferrying 340 groups of fighters and bombers from Fairbanks and Nome.

On the flight to Nome, I was surrounded by many other people whose pasts were filled with heroic acts. Our first stop was in the Siberian township of Seimchan on the Kolyma River. That's where the Air Cobra squadrons had made short stopovers 50 years ago. The veterans visited the museum that was set up by the local young people to commemorate the ALSIB flights. On display are rare photographs, documents, and the personal belongings of ALSIB heroes. Similar museums have been opened in almost all Siberian cities and vil-

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lages along the Krasnoyarsk-Egvekinot section of the ALSIB route.

At several other stopovers groups of adults and children were there to greet the plane. They had with them messages of peace and friendship, which they asked the Soviet veterans to hand deliver to their unknown American friends. The veterans were happy to oblige, and they did when they arrived in the United States.

In Nome, the Soviet veterans were touched by the friendly welcome that awaited them. At the bottom of the ramp stood their gray-haired counterparts from the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the American Legion, while a band played patriotic marches and a crowd waved flags and banners.

At the official ceremony were more warm words of greeting, flowers, and smiles. U.S. Secretary of Veterans Affairs Edward Derwinski and Alaska's Senators Ted Stevens and Frank Murkowski had also flown in for the occasion.

"It is fitting that this meeting be-

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tween Soviet and American war veterans was planned to coincide with the meeting in Washington of the top leaders of our two countries," said Secretary Derwinski. "Your striving for peace, for which you fought during the war, and your personal experience of wartime cooperation exert a tangible influence on the decisions the two presidents are taking. You encourage them to mutual understanding and peaceableness."

J

chairman of the Council of Foreign War Veterans in Nome, among others, was instrumental in organizing the Soviet war veterans' visit to Alaska. "I've been waiting for

ames McLaughlin, deputy

this meeting for more than 40 years," said McLaughlin. "I'm happy that I've lived to see it. ALSIB opened the way for cooperation. It's the right road in times of war and times of peace. We shouldn't be sidetracked from it."

Besides the official greeting, other more spontaneous ones took place. Wherever the Soviet veterans went, they were approached by American citizens wanting to shake their hands and to exchange badges and greetings. In Nome, an elderly American woman asked a group of Soviet veterans whether any of them knew a man named Akkuratov. Then she showed them a little scrapbook that she had been keeping since the war. Inside the scrapbook was the following inscription: "I have great respect for an American girl named Nami." The inscription was dated 1942 and was signed by V. Akkuratov. The woman was overjoyed when one of the Soviet veterans told her that he knew Valentin Akkuratov personally. "Please send him love from little Nami," the woman implored.

Of course, Alaska has changed beyond recognition since the war. Its towns are modern and very dynamic. But much that was there during lendlease times has been carefully preserved. In Nome the Soviet veterans recognized an old airplane hangar in which Air Cobras and Bostons had been readied for flight and the airstrip from which the planes had taken off for the Soviet Union.

Fairbanks held even more memories for the Soviet veterans. There the Soviet veterans had the chance to rewalk the heated underground passageways leading from the airplane hangars to the canteen, and to get another look at the cottages in which they had lived during the war.

In Anchorage, the Soviet veterans paid their respects and laid flowers at the graves of their fallen comrades who lost their life in the skies over Alaska and are buried in the city.

"Lieutenant Glass, an American flier, died in a B-25 test flight, along with Boris Kiselnikov, a Soviet flight engineer," Pyotr Gamov, Kiselnikov's wartime friend, recalled. "Their engine failed as they were trying to take off from Fairbanks. The plane hadn't picked up enough speed, and it exploded not far from the runway. That tragedy touched all of us. It was the first, and that's probably why it is the most memorable. The conditions we were under at ALSIB-the Siberian cold that covered our planes with ice and caused the rubber parts and hoses to crack; the arctic winds that changed without warning; and so on-put us fliers to the real test. Dozens of gravestones scattered along the route from the Yukon to the Yenisei bear the names in Russian and English of the brave young men who gave up their lives."

Near the Soviet fliers' graves stood the neat line of headstones bearing the names of the American fliers who had also died while engaged in ALSIB work. The Soviet and American dead were buried like brothers who had shared the same fate.

Too soon the time came for the Soviet veterans to say good-by to their American friends. But they promised to come back again in two years to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the Alaska-Siberia flights. At the airport at Providence Bay, the former comrades in arms waved farewell, many trying hard to conceal the tears rolling down their cheeks.

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## FEARS THAT WEREN'T JUSTIFIED

By Victor Maximov Photographs by Vladimir Akimov

For three weeks this past summer students from Wheaton College in Illinois learned about the Soviet Union firsthand s guests of students of Moscow State University.

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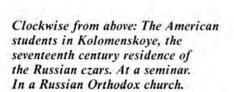
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ou know, I'm going to spend three weeks at Wheaton College, in Illinois, not far from Chicago," my wife, an English teacher at Moscow State University, told me. "But first, Americans will come to Moscow, and one of them will stay with us."

I'd be lying if I told you that the news made me happy. And it wasn't because I'm inhospitable. The thing is that we live in an efficiency apartment, which isn't bad by Soviet standards: Most young couples share an apartment with their parents. Of course, as the saying goes—the more the merrier—but I just couldn't imagine how well the three of us, not to mention our dog, Filya, would get along in one room.

Fortunately, my fears weren't justified. The three weeks this past August that Margery Harwell spent with us passed like it was one day. There are several explanations for that. To begin with, Margery, a 21-year-old psychology student at Wheaton College, is friendly and sociable and has a good sense of humor. Americans, as we soon realized, could hardly be described as morose, but Margery was the merriest of all and has the most infectious laughter. Another reason was the interesting program that was prepared by Moscow State University (MSU) for the 15 students from Wheaton College, two professors, and three members of their families.

The Americans were hosted by students from the history department, who this past September paid a return visit to Wheaton College. The Soviet students tried to show their guests things that make them proud of their 843-year-old city, Moscowarchitectural monuments, such as the Kremlin, churches, and monasteries. The guests also attended numerous talks on history, religion, and art.

For the Wheaton students, their trip to the USSR was not so much a holiday as a time for study. Before leaving the United States, they had attended a series of lectures on the Soviet economy and Soviet politics.

Wheaton is a Christian college, which explained the students' interest in everything to do with freedom of religion in the USSR. Though the new law on religion had not yet been adopted, the Americans couldn't help noticing that a great change has occurred in the country.

"The former idea that Christians should confine their activities to within the four walls of the church has now gone by the board," noted Mark Elliot, a Wheaton professor and



During their stay in Moscow the students had a chance to exchange views on various subjects. Here the group visits a studio of a local Moscow painter.

the director of the Institute for the Study of Marxism and Christianity. "We see priests on television and church processions in the streets. There has been a very dramatic change in the country; it's all very encouraging."

However, not all of the Americans' impressions were favorable. The seminar by Russian Orthodox priest Father Artyom, for instance, caused mixed emotions. In the early 1980s he was a student at the philology department of MSU, like my wife and me. Then he decided to devote himself entirely to God, enrolled in a theological seminary, and entered the priesthood. On the one hand, the young American Christians were interested in his religious experience, the situation of believers in the USSR, and the celebrations of the millennium of Christianity in Russia. On the other hand, Father Artyom's characterization of the West as a mercantile system contrasting sharply with the highly spiritual East caused an unfavorable reaction.

"I'm disappointed," Elliot recalled, "that the priest characterizes the West and Russia in generalities that, personally, I feel are stereotypical rather than sophisticated. It's useless to make generalizations about the West because it's pluralistic. Generalizations don't fit the East either."

Did the Americans see in Moscow what they had expected to see? Yes and no. Our economic difficulties surpassed their expectations, while the lack of any restrictions on our personal and public freedom was a great surprise.

Professor Elliot was the only member of the group who had visited the Soviet Union before. "The contrast is greatest between 1981 and this trip," he recalled. "In 1981 we were at a low point in our relations. This summer there was a warm, friendly feeling among the people toward Americans in general and certainly toward my exchange group."

Professor Wayne Martindale, who came to Moscow with his wife, Vaneta, and daughter, Heather, shared his colleague's opinion. "Our main impression is of the tremendous hospitality of the Soviet people," he said.

Pleased with the success of the exchange program, Professor Elliot and Professor Svetlana Ter-Minasova, the coordinator on the Soviet side, are determined to set up regular exchanges of students between Wheaton College and. Moscow State University. The two educators agree that the experience is invaluable.

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# **ECONOMICS AND MORALITY**

Progress has two dimensions—economic or technological and spiritual or moral. Essentially, a sound and effective economy cannot exist without a strong moral pivot. The ultimate success of perestroika will depend on how earnestly the Soviet people follow that time-honored truth.

By Victor Bashkin

he crisis of the Soviet command economy was predetermined by its own immoral nature, which rejected scientific and technological progress, as well as high standards of production and

work. An economy not oriented toward people eventually became absurd: investment for investment's sake, work for work's sake, and building for building's sake.

The economic mechanism was geared entirely toward plan and volume at all costs, never toward people and their everyday, worldly needs. The individual as a person and a creator was lost in the flow of "great projects," becoming a cog in a wheel of a huge machine. Workers became alienated from property and from the distribution of the products they created. This hampered creative initiative and gave rise to indifference and parasitism. Work lost its moral content.

Perestroika has brought the return of moral principle to every sphere of Soviet life, the reaffirmation of the individual and his or her role in the social processes. But the path is thorny because of the interdependence of the world in which we live.

Today our economy faces a vast array of challenges, foremost among them ecological. We used to read in our press that socialism was inherently more sparing of nature than capitalism, where the profit-crazy monopolies neglected the environment. In reality those assertions hid the monopolism and bureaucratism of our ministries and departments that were inflicting irreparable damage on our environment to further their own ambitions. One could list dozens of our cities where the ecological situation has come close to the critical mark. A sick nature—sick people.



Drawing by Igor Smirnov

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Doctors now blame as much as 20 per cent of all diseases on an impaired environment.

The economy needs moral commitment in addition to financial investment. As things stand, the captains of state-owned industries would rather pay fines, even if they run into the tens of millions, than bother to build, say, a purification plant. Moreover, this practice isn't the exception but the rule. What makes the situation particularly absurd is that the money that is collected in the form of fines is deposited in the general State Budget instead of being set aside to cure ecological ills. Take the Cherepovets Metallurgical Works on the Rybinsk Reservoir, for instance. The plant was levied the enormous fine of 20 million rubles for polluting the reservoir. Those millions, however, weren't used to clean up the damage that was done to nature. They simply became part of the State Budget.

In 1988 the state allocated 2.8 billion rubles

Perestroika has brought the return of moral principle to every sphere of Soviet life.

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Generated on 2025-04-12 00:28 GMT Public Domain, Google-digitized llocated 2.8 billion rubles for capital investment in nature-protection facilities. But only 85 per cent of the money was put to use. Not one of the ministries in charge of the fuel, power, chemical, timber, or metallurgical industries fulfilled the plan for putting natureprotection facilities into operation. As a result, the air pollution levels in almost 70 Soviet cities con-

stantly exceed acceptable levels.

Early this year, the government drew up a serious, comprehensive ecological program. But the program may remain on paper if the people in charge of seeing that it is put into action do not develop a high ecological awareness, do not grasp the program's coherent moral point.

One major goal of economic reform has been to gear the economy toward people, to give them the opportunity for self-realization. A number of laws have already been passed that allow working people to own a farm or an enterprise or to start their own business. But there are still problems to be solved.

The West has long been developing what falls under the heading of "business ethics." This includes serving the interests of society, establishing a solid reputation, keeping one's word, making a gentleman's agreement, and so on. "All the West's achievements were essentially moral achievements," wrote Russian philosopher Pyotr Chaadayev more than 150 years ago. "They sought the truth and have found prosperity." Without idealizing the situation, Soviet producers do have something to learn from abroad in the area of business ethics.

But so far our economy, which is only starting to get away from bureaucratic arbitrariness, has found itself in serious danger of falling into the egoism trap. The first signs are already here. In an unbalanced economy where the administrative methods of management are being abandoned but a market economy has yet to appear, a number of problems arise associated with monopolism, greed, and the chase for immediate profits. As a result, national interest is being harmed. Thousands of small enterprises in need of comparatively simple and low-cost equipment simply cannot order it because it's more profitable for the large engineering plants to manufacture costly program-controlled machine tools, complex lines, and so forth. In the end, the consumer suffers.

Even worse, taking advantage of their monopoly status, many enterprises under various pretexts are charging higher and higher prices for

the consumer goods they make. The practice of squandering the social welfare fund on all kinds of cash payments and incentives has also become widespread. These payments, which do not increase the amount of goods on the market, only further add to the imbalance between supply and demand and further worsen the already

ne major goal of economic reform has been to gear the economy toward people.

catastrophic shortage of industrial and agricultural commodities.

Perestroika has given the cooperative movement the green light. Cooperatives must provide competition for state industrial plants and sharply increase the availability of goods and services. A great deal has already been done in this area. Today cooperatives are involved in building homes and roads, draining swamps, procuring timber, and manufacturing industrial and agricultural goods. But, here too, problems have surfaced. Some of those involved in the cooperative movement can hardly be called "civilized business people." Enrichment at all costs is their driving force. The result is that low-quality products are being made, prices are being artificially driven up, taxes are being evaded, and the loopholes in legislation are being exploited. All this undermines the prestige of the movement and provokes public anger, which only makes it harder for honest people to get involved.

Since April 1, 1989, state enterprises and cooperatives have been allowed access to the external market and to conduct independent foreign exchange transactions. Ideally, this step was taken to help expand our economic ties interna-



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#### But so far our economy, which is only starting to get away from bureaucratic arbitrariness, has found itself in serious danger of falling into the egoism trap.

tionally and to stimulate Soviet economic growth. But low economic standards and our business people's lack of a strong moral pivot have started to bear bitter fruit in this sphere too. Everybody is now anxious to sell everything for hard currency, ignoring both the interests of the Soviet consumer and the country. In the heat of "entrepreneurship," some people are even prepared to trade in public property, wholesale and retail. This past January the managers of the Stupino Metallurgical Works made truly titanic efforts to sell abroad 176 tons of titanium (a strategic material). The plan was to first convert the titanium into shavings-waste that nobody ostensibly required. Had this illegal action succeeded, the USSR would have lost 1.5 million rubles. Somewhat earlier, an attempt to sell Japan titanium under the guise of ordinary shovels was uncovered.

With their foreign partnerships expanding, cooperatives are increasingly acquiring a dangerous feature: group selfishness. The lax morality of at least some of them is well illustrated by their unscrupulous offers to Western pharmaceutical companies to sell any quantity of valuable medicinal plants without regard for the fact that the Soviet medical industry is experiencing a shortage of these items: chamomile, sea buckthorn, and ginseng.

Of course, the moral poison for Soviet society is the shadow economy that, due to the prevalence of scarcities, grew into a multibillion-ruble black market of goods and services. Enormous sums of money in the form of payment and surplus payment for goods and services constantly change hands, altogether bypassing the state treasury. The criminal world's revenues and the damage it inflicts by far exceed the social wage that has been available to the low-income sections of the population: pensioners, the disabled, large families, students, and so on. The "sharks" engaged in the illegal economy are not only crafty exploiters of the situation of chronic shortages but also able manipulators capable of artificially creating them, expanding the black market.

The speculative boom, mismanagement, and ineffective legislation create a favorable atmosphere for all kinds of cunning dealers. Dexterously removing enormous sums from the state pocket, they simply laugh at the hard-working

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people who earn an honest living. Thanks to one investigation, which uncovered a group of illegal dealers and bank employees who had been adroitly turning noncash funds into cash, more than five million rubles' worth of money and valuables were confiscated. All in all, over a three-month period alone, more than 20 million rubles has been returned to the state.

Is there a way out? Yes, the creation of a stable market and the elimination of universal shortages will in themselves help to invigorate the moral climate in the economy. In this regard, it's good that the government has decisively taken the path of radical economic reforms. This, however, is solving only part of the problem. Every coin has two sides, and we will have to face the negative "benefits" of establishing a market economy—individualism, egoism, and other "costs."

This makes it all the more essential to heed the voices of those who exhort us to go back to our centuries-old popular traditions. In his study *The Justification of Good*, Russian philosopher Vladimir Solovyov wrote that defining material wealth as the goal of economic activity could be called "the original sin" of political economy. "The aim of work," he continued, "shouldn't be to acquire things and money but to seek improvement, to awaken the spiritual."

Essentially, this idea formed the basis of our traditional folk culture regarding economic activity. The enterprise and industriousness of the Russian peasant never eclipsed the communal spirit that rejected money grubbing and evinced a loving regard for the land and nature. In cooperatives and in seasonal work, the workers strove for harmony between themselves and nature. Moreover, a job well done was both a virtue and a norm of behavior. Everyone cherished their reputation as a good worker and dreaded the shame of public disgrace.

Russian merchants took pride in their business, kept their word, and traded fairly abroad. Having been handed down from generation to generation, these traditions had long and sturdy roots.

Immanuel Kant once remarked that we can admire and marvel at only two things—the starry sky above us and the moral law within us. It is on affirming this law that our society must now concentrate.

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By Paul Wiseman

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## THEATER IS DEAD-LONG LIVE THEATER?

Theater has always been a barometer of the times. How is that reflected in Soviet stage art today? That's what Valeri Golubtsov asked the top names in Soviet theater.

A scene from Jean Genet's Les Bonnes, staged by Roman Viktyuk at the Satirikon in Moscow.



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et me start with a few statistics: The USSR has almost 700 professional theaters, of which 149 are housed in buildings dating to prerevolutionary times. While slightly more than 300 of the country's theaters have suitable facilities and permanent homes, another 144 do not have permanent sites. Out of our nearly 200 children's and puppet theaters, ap-



Victor Rozov: "Perestroika has simply brought us a change in censors. The result is much that is positive and much that is negative."

proximately 80 are operating under less than optimal conditions. There are 1.4 theater seats for every 1,000 residents (three in Georgia, Latvia, and Estonia, and less than one in Byelorussia, Kazakhstan, Moldavia, and Uzbekistan).

Our professional theaters have reached a crucial point in their development: Our old structure of theater organization, which remained unchanged for half a century, has altogether outlived itself, while a new structure has not yet fully taken shape. Today we often hear about the crisis in the theater. Passions seethe, overflowing minds and hearts. Unfortunately, however, this does not fill the houses.

I make no pretense of being a drama critic. I'm merely a true lover of the art, and I try my best to be objective. To get a true picture of what is happening, I turn to the masters who are living legends of the Soviet stage.

Victor Rozov, 77, playwright: Remember, I view what is going on today in the Soviet theater through the piercing gaze of a senior, somewhat conservative person. Perestroika has simply brought us a change in censors. The result is much that is positive and much that is negative.



Mikhail Shvidkoy: "Today spectators dictate to theater just as officials used to. Ideology has given way to commerce."

The level of our theatrical art remains high, despite the premature staging of plays about perestroika. Some excellent productions are being staged. Our theaters, thank goodness, don't lack for talent. Take the amazing Oleg Borisov in Dmitri Merezhkovsky's play Paul I; Yevgeni Leonov in The Kiddush, based on motifs from Shalom Aleichem; and Armen Dzhigarkhanian in Isaac Babel's Sunset.

Another recent smash was Oleg Yefremov's staging of *The Cherry Orchard* at the Chekhov Art Theater.

Mikhail Shvidkoy, 48, drama critic: Perestroika brought many changes both for the theater and to the theater. Everything that was perceived as truth from the time when the stage served as an outlet for societal steam has been destroyed. Theater has ceased to function as a rostrum and a pulpit. Economic and political freedom and the ability to stage any play have placed theater at the mercy of the audiences. Today spectators dictate to theater just as government officials used to. Ideology has given way to commerce.

The avant-garde is actively attacking official art, even though there are no more than 10 genuinely interesting drama studios out of the 3,000 or so that have been established in the past



Galina Volchek: "The theater arts are presently in a state of confusion, as is the entire country. There are good reasons for this."

five years. Unfortunately, the leaders of Soviet theater, who emerged in the 1960s and who in many respects paved the way for the spiritual renewal of society, weren't prepared for the new situation: They lost their orientation and suffer because of this loss. The stage has preserved its traditional good qualities—psychology and social vigilance—but the inadequacy of the artistic language is only too clear.

Galina Volchek, principal director at the Sovremennik Theater: It seems to me that the theater arts are presently in a state of confusion, as is the entire country. There are good reasons for this. We've been inundated with a flood of information and social criticism. The media is agog with the torrent of previously unpublished literature. It's almost too much for any human to absorb.

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Valeri Fokin: "A new society is being built here. Is it worth even arguing about the role that art is playing in this process?"

The critics scold us for our lack of topical productions. That's nonsense! A topical production, indeed! It's simply a snap judgment. We need time to form intelligent theories, analyses. Many stood bewildered before the



Mikhail Roshchin: "We have so many unused possibilities, so much wealth! Now is the time...to return to artistic excellence."

wide open doors, afraid to enter. They did little; they tried little. Opportunities to stage plays in the West opened up, and everyone rushed to get on the bandwagon. The mass media got more interesting, but





Valentin Gaft: "The level of our stage art was and is high. We still have one-day runs, flops.... All the same, the quality remains."

the theater, which had always been the national conscience in Russia, lost some of its influence.

Valeri Fokin, 42, principal director of the Moscow Yermolova Theater: Perestroika is the tortuous quest for a way out of a blind alley, both for the country and for the theater. We keep looking but continue to wear two hats. We can't separate ourselves from our past.

Yes, it's true that censorship is gone now, that there are no high commissions to ban plays, but innovation must have a legal foundation. Creative freedom must be guaranteed by law. The powers that be shouldn't be allowed to dictate the repertoire. We've already burned our fingers trying to accomplish this. Sure, our national culture needs financial support from the government, but without any strings attached.

A new society is being built here. Is it worth even arguing about the role that art is playing in this process? The role of theater is different today. But how? Where are we headed? Ah, these questions . . .

It used to be a real treat going to the theater. Now, people come, watch the play, and leave. Some treat! Another ordinary play has gone on.

The picture isn't all black, though. Continued on page 57

#### Now appearing on stage ...

Oleg Borisov as Emperor Paul I in Dmitri Merezhkovsky's play Paul I staged by Leonid Kheifets at the Soviet Army Theater.



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Original from UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA A moment backstage with director Anatoli Vasilyev (right). In his dramatic company are acrobats, gymnasts, aerial artists, among others.

# THE STRANGE CHARM OF

7ASILYEV

By Galina Guseva Photographs by Valeri Plotnikov

Among the most successful drama companies to hit the Moscow theater scene in the past few years is Anatoli Vasilyev's School of Dramatic Art. The company has been in the European limelight since 1987, when it went on its first foreign tour, wowing audiences with its staging of Victor Slavkin's Cerceau. Recently Vasilyev took his production of Luigi Pirandello's Six Characters in Search of an Author to Italy, again electrifying audiences and critics alike.

'd call Soviet stage director Anatoli Vasilyev one of God's wonderful creatures. For him, the theater is neither a craft, nor a profession, nor a calling. It's his very existence. And he is currently one of the brightest stars in the Moscow theatrical sky. Receiving one rave review after another, Vasilyev is often dubbed "magician," "sorcerer," and "miracle worker" by many seasoned critics, who say the director's work appeals more to the heart than to the mind.

Oversaturated with all the flowery praise, I, the quintessential skeptic, decide to visit the small cellar in the center of Moscow, the temporary home of Vasilyev's theater company, and to judge for myself.

The director's appearance isn't at all what I'd expected. He looks like a hippie 20 years out of date. Who's he trying to kid? I chuckle smugly to myself and approach him hoping for an interview.

Almost immediately, however, I find myself yielding to his gloomy charm. His cellar "chic" turns into penthouse aristocratic. Soon I discover that I am not interviewing him; he is silently listening to me expound my innermost thoughts on life and the theater.

Vasilyev's productions have the same impact. You go with the intention of reviewing a performance and, if it's a good one, of being pleasantly entertained. Instead, you quickly find yourself drawn into a game, caught up in what I call the play's "energy field."

That field is particularly strong in Vasilyev's production of Slavkin's *Cerceau*, which tells about destroyed illusions and lost ideals. The main character, Petushok, played by Albert Filozov, comes to the conclusion that he has wasted his whole life. He has no friends, no love, and no work that affects his heart or his mind. When an old, distant relative dies, Petushok inherits a dacha, a country house. On his fortieth birthday, he invites a group of almost complete strangers to the dacha and suggests that they live together as a commune.

Conversations take over, and it appears that nothing is happening on stage. Everybody talks and talks and talks as if they're afraid that they'll be interrupted at any moment. The play is reminiscent of a Chekhov work—little action but high emotion.

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At a rehearsal of Luigi Pirandello's Six Characters In Search of an Author. Facing page, top: A modern version of The Last Supper? No, it's a scene from Vasilyev's Cerceau. Bottom: The new star in Moscow's theatrical sky with veteran Soviet stage producer, Yuri Lyubimov (right).

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Cerceau has a cast of brilliant actors, who left first-rate theaters and good money or gave up movie careers to come to work with Vasilyev. The director achieves the impossible and reveals in them something even they never thought they had. Because of this, Cerceau, which goes on for four hours, captivates with its dialogue.

Neither pressure, nor flirting, nor the desire to charm emanates from the stage. The play doesn't contain a hint of exhibitionism. The power of the drama lies in its ability to create the sensation that you, the spectators, are taking part in some action that has a direct bearing on your life.

The most recent Vasilyev production is Luigi Pirandello's Six Characters in Search of an Author, a modern European classic with a very simple plot. A strange group of six people appear at the theater, interrupting the rehearsal. Who are they? What do they want? Nothing special, just sympathy and understanding. Six people seeking an author to write a play about their feelings and conflicts. As You go with the intention of reviewing a performance and, if it's a good one, of being pleasantly entertained. Instead, you quickly find yourself drawn into...the play's "energy field."



the play progresses, all six tell their life story. Everyday conversation and intellectual talk prevail in this play too, only with the difference that they are conducted not by veteran actors but by drama students who obey the director's rigorous rules.

The play is interspersed with pantomime sketches, dance routines, and music. The same episode is repeated several times with different players, which creates a very interesting effect.

Vasilyev's production can't be talked about in the usual way. Yes, the direction is superb, the acting is wonderful, and the staging is exquisite. But the same can be said of many other productions as well. Vasilyev's *Six Characters* is unique. It's a musical piece rather than a dramatic production. It's not that the music penetrates the core of the play or that the dialogue is lyrical, but that the play displays an organic kinship of adjacent fields of art.

The director's arrangement of material and freedom of improvisation bring to mind a jazz composition. When the key theme appears, you follow its development, guess where it is headed, and anticipate the finale. Suddenly, at the last moment, the "maestro" deceives you and does something totally out of character, and you're happy that you're mistaken. A new theme takes shape, develops rapidly—and again there's anticipation, a new fraud, the displacement of habitual realities. Remember, Thomas Mann said that music is the most perfect of the arts because its form is identical to its content.

Vasilyev is capable of turning a remark into a whole episode, and, I assure you, you won't be bored. He adeptly juggles genres without ruining the style. His professional skill in the theater is comparable to a vocalist or a musician having perfect pitch. The main thing is Vasilyev's uncanny way of erasing the boundary that exists between audience and actor, of interchanging the roles of author and character, of mixing fantasy and reality, the unexpected and the routine. It's an innovative approach that one day may be the norm. People don't want to be isolated and alienated. Instead, they want to feel a part of something, of humanity.

So, what about sorcery and the magical? I'm convinced that Vasilyev's plays emanate a certain magic. I don't mean the message (it's serious, honest, and worthy), the artistic idiom and style (they are immaculate), or any other parameter that critics ordinarily use to appraise a production. Vasilyev's magic is in the energy field that his works exude, which seems to protect viewers from despondency and reticence.

the Communist Party had in mind in 1917 when it came to power, before when its old system did not work, it became oppressive. Now, under Gorbachev, I hope that the new Communists or some other party achieves the goal of efficiently distributing goods and services and achieving social equality without tyranny. Then the Soviet Union will be able to achieve some of the beliefs it was created on.

> Mary Frost Spokane, Washington

It was a pleasure to note that the October issue of SOVIET LIFE mentions our revered Prince Demetrius Gallitzin (1770-1840). The memory of his great contribution to our area is very much alive. Last May on the 150th anniversary of his death, an outdoor Mass was celebrated at his tomb in nearby Loretto, the village that he established in 1799. Two bishops conducted the ceremony that attracted hundreds of people.

At the same time, an eight-foot bronze statue of Prince Gallitzin was placed here in the Altoona Cathedral. A commemorative bronze plaque was attached. The statue is a companion piece to one of Bishop John Carroll, the first U.S. Bishop, who was appointed 200 years ago. Carroll became Some experts refer to a link with folklore and ritual games, to the ancient heights of creativity, to a time when art was a means of pleasing the dangerous world into which we came and from which we will leave one day.

Still, there is nothing mystical in Vasilyev's plays. He deals with things that all of us know about—things about life. We know these things, but we've forgotten, and Vasilyev reminds us. The director says he's a realist, and I agree, adding that he is so in the literal sense of the word. He stops every moment of changing life and suspends it in time to give it a farewell glance before it is gone forever, never to return.

As Vasilyev grasps hold of that fleeting moment, the whisper of a secret can be heard—and in that secret is the joy of life.

a guide and protector of Gallitzin, and a strong bond of friendship existed.

When Gallitzin arrived in this country in 1792, he adopted the name of Augustine Smith to avoid undue attention. Under this name he became a naturalized citizen. In 1808, he petitioned the Pennsylvania legislature to restore his proper name, and it is under the honorable name of Prince Demetrius Gallitzin that we hold him in grateful remembrance.

If we forget our roots, we will not know who we are or where we are going.

> Reverend Monsignor Thomas E. Madden Cathedral of the Blessed Sacrament Altoona, Pennsylvania





#### LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

It is so wonderful to witness the improved relations between our two countries. I have long believed that the Soviet people and the American people are more alike than different in their hopes, dreams, aspirations, and desires for peace. I look forward to learning more of the Soviet people through my subscription to SOVIET LIFE.

#### Ed Chenette Millington, Tennessee

I was encouraged by the article "A Political Atlas of the Russian Federation." [August 1990—Ed.] Whatever lies in the future for Russia and the Soviet Union, it is evident that most parties have in mind the goal of social equality. Although this is partly what

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### THEATER

Continued from page 51

The studio movement is experiencing a revival, which is nourishing us with ideas and spurring us on. But the studios lack professionalism, and enthusiasm alone is not enough. Some survive, while others fall by the wayside.

We've learned how to start up a new theater, but we don't know how to close down those that have lost their appeal.

Theater should reflect up-to-theminute current events, but it's not a newspaper. It takes months of rehearsals before a play is ready for the stage, and time passes, and the situation changes. How can we win?

Yes, today life is difficult, and theater shouldn't ignore painful things. But sometimes it's necessary to stage plays that provide a respite from everyday troubles, that simply offer you a means to relax.

Tatyana Shmyga, a prima donna at the Moscow Operetta Theater: We've been without an artistic director for a long time. This has been very wearing on our level of professionalism. Can you imagine—we butchered the classic *Princess of the Circus*! We couldn't even get the music right.

But in comparison with other musical theaters in the country, we're still high art. I frequently go on tour with concerts, and what I see is terrible. Vacant chairs in orchestras are left empty, corps de ballet and choruses are practically nonexistent, leads are sung by talentless singers, and there are 30 people in the audience.

People come to see our classical operettas, but we have virtually no young artists. Young singers begin working with us, but they quickly run off to join the opera. Who is there to teach them, if a pianist is standing at the conductor's podium? We're constantly being assigned new principal directors, who frequently overload us with productions and then leave to teach at a drama school.

How can you even talk about creative satisfaction? In the theater—it's all garbage, just as it is in the other spheres of culture. Mikhail Roshchin, 55, playwright: The entire country, as well as the theater, is living with perestroika. Everything that is happening to society is happening to the theater. We're all walking a tortuous and twisting path. Openness has appeared, and new plays are now in production. Before, it would have taken five to seven years just to obtain necessary permission to stage them at all. Back then it was impossible to breathe. Now, it's different. The old ways grew and gathered strength for many long years now they are dying off little by little.

A quest for a new language in art is currently under way. We have so many unused possibilities, so much wealth! Now is the time to "gather the stones"—to return to artistic excellence, to depart from the routine.

Theater is a barometer that reflects the state of society. The development of both the realist and the modernist trends awaits us. Alas, the West has overtaken us. We have to copy foreign elements, although what we want to do is to make our own discoveries. Everything that we do right now is merely "by chance."

Unfortunately, pap for the masses prevails. Art has turned into videos, in which you can include anything. This so-called art is flourishing, but I'd like to preserve the genuine art. I'm against the prosaic, but I'm also against flashy and hollow inanity. As far as I am concerned, we've gained nothing over the years. It's been a total waste.

Valentin Gaft, 54, stage and film actor: The level of our stage art was and is high. We still have one-day runs, flops, and odd productions. All the same, the quality remains. For my generation it exists. I learned from the great masters, and I try to preserve what they taught me. Everything mattered to them—material, author, and the director, someone who was not a dictator but a sensitive and intelligent person.

Today the rush is on to come across more effectively, to sell yourself more dearly. We rush, rush... one by one we scatter in all directions. Theater is a conglomerate of like-minded people who give their best and share with their partner. Art is capable of doing everything, but it must also study everything and keep up with the times. As always, natural selection still plays a part in this.

Nina Ananiashvili, ballerina at the Bolshoi Theater: The situation in the ballet is a complex one. Fortunately, new troupes are being formed, and the artists now have a choice. Before, there was only one sacred goal—to work at the Bolshoi at any cost, even if it meant that you'd spend the rest of your life in the corps de ballet. That's how we saw things.

It's a pity that the ballet has lost some of its former significance. Maybe that's our fault. Anyway it makes you feel bitter and somewhat insecure.

The years fly by with catastrophic swiftness. Television has forgotten us, and magazines and newspapers rarely write about us. They have "their own clientele," which they cover in volumes. Why the indifference, I don't know. We danced in England, and the press gave us rave reviews, but not one word about us appeared in our papers. I guess the critics didn't think we were newsworthy.

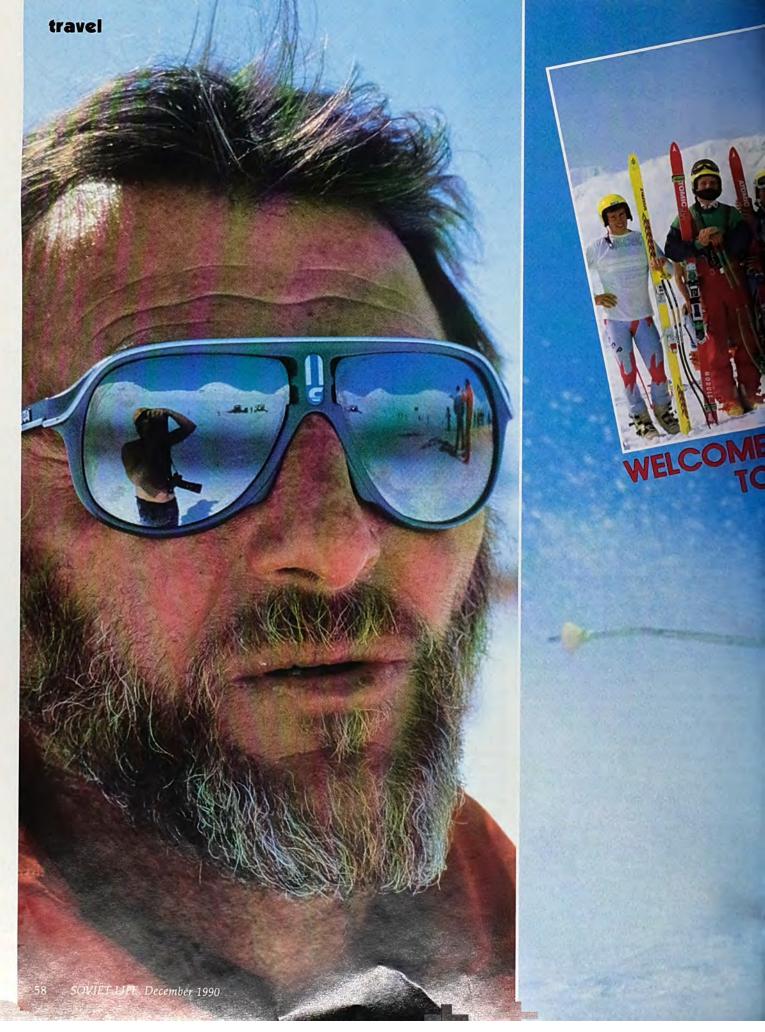
Each big—the word *"bolshoi"* means *"big"* in Russian—theater has its own big problems. Our theater needs repairs in both the literal and figurative sense.

World tours by the Bolshoi are both good and necessary, but when the troupe is away from home for more than half of the year, it's not easy. Working abroad can be a real burden. With as many as seven or more shows a week, we dancers sustain injuries, get sick. Life on the road is hard. When I'm on tour, I just can't wait to return home, to get back to the studio, to get back in shape.

They say we should preserve our repertoire. Well, we're preserving it on tour, but how many times can we perform our entire repertoire, for example, in the United States—one, two, three times? Won't American audiences tire of us? So, we need fresh, new productions.

Yes, we're going through troubled times in the theater. Some say we should go in one direction, others in another. Only time will tell.

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he Elbrus region in the Northne Elorus region in the North-ern Caucasus has long been called "the pearl of Russian skiing." The attraction is Mount Elbrus (5,642 meters), igheet neak in Europe Coour the highest peak in Europe. Snow covered year round, the region was a skier's paradise, that is, until the alpine resort in Gudauri opened. Gudauri is located in the principal Gudauri is located in the principal range of the Caucasus, in the Geor-gian Republic, a 20-minute hop by helicopter or a two-hour ride by car from Tbilisi, Georgia's capital. Only five years ago Gudauri was ∽

By Aloiz Fil

Photographs by Roman Denisov

The slopes in Gudauri present challenges to both weekend skiers and the pros. Above left: This ski team traveled here to compete.

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Still being developed, Gudauri hopes to be in a position to vie for a winter Olympics in about 10 years.





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Ant t



This alpine meadow presents none of the unpleasant obstacles just perfect ski conditions. Above: The pool of the Gudauri Hotel.

simply a postal stop on the road through the Caucasus. Then some Georgian architects, themselves avid downhill skiers, "discovered" the potential of the local slopes. Their assessment was later confirmed by the International Ski Federation.

This led to the development of the alpine resort in Gudauri. Though the resort is still under construction, the accommodations that are already there are satisfying visitors with the most discerning taste.

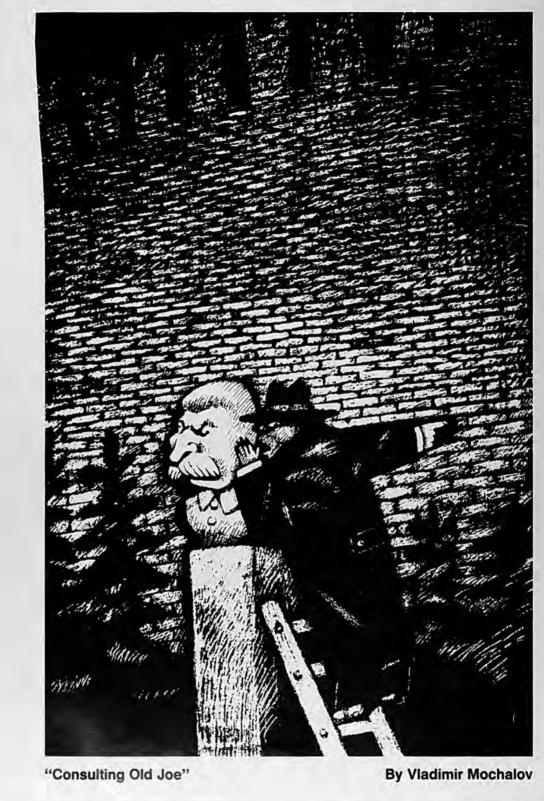
With a three-star rating, the Gudauri Hotel offers not only the standard fare for a hotel of its class but also much more. I call it the "total ski approach." For instance, as soon as you step outside the hotel, you fasten your bindings and push off with your poles. Straight ahead of you, at the bottom of a 100-meter incline, are the turnstiles to the three chair lifts to Mount Kudeba. No lines, no waiting. In a few minutes you are on your way up, and once you get to the top, it's all downhill back to the hotel.

Yet Mount Kudeba isn't Gudauri's only attraction. There's also heli-ski, which enables top skiers with strong nerves and a full wallet to fly by helicopter to the mountaintops and to ski the virgin slopes. Heli-ski is found at only a few ski resorts in the world.

Gudauri is working to build its reputation among mountain vacationers and skiing pros, and the word about this wonderful place seems to be getting out. The 1990–1991 season is completely booked.







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st Ilya Vyuy ev constructed Aleutian ritual mask from old ravings and from descriptions Inative people supplied.

### The Artist from the Commander Islands

By Alexander Dorozhkin Photographs by Valeri Shustov



"Boy, what luck running into you!" he answered, breaking into his endearing smile. "I don't live in Moscow any more, you know. Three years ago I moved to the Commanders."

The Commanders ... The name rang a bell, but...? In a few seconds I knew exactly what he was talking about—the Commander Islands, that exotic archipelago in the North Pacific, over 6,000 miles from Moscow.

When I think about it, I'm not surprised by something like that from Ilya. He's always been somewhat of a rolling stone. His mother, Veronica Vyuyeva, is a prominent art scholar specializing in Russian folk crafts. She always took her son with her on ethnographic expeditions to the Russian North. So, even as a small child, Ilya showed an ardent interest in history and archeology and a talent in art too.

He was only 10 when his first contributions were published in several historical journals, with drawings of old household implements, folk costumes, and decorative patterns. As an adult, his interest in sculpture, pottery, and metalwork turned serious.

Ilya went on to tell me his story. An avid traveler, he had wandered throughout the Soviet Union with his 🗘

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easel and sketchbook. As he roamed through the northern sections of the European part of Russia, he kept coming across vestiges of the Russian-American Company, the large trading company that was founded in 1799 to explore and develop the western coast of North America. All in all, the Russian-American Company organized 25 naval expeditions before it disbanded in 1868.

Memories of the company are most closely connected with the Commander Islands, named after Commander Vitus Bering, the legendary Russian explorer, Ilya told me. After spending a year on Bering Island with a biological research team, he decided to make it his home. Later he took part in archival studies of the Russian settlements in North America and began researching the history, culture, and customs of the Aleuts, the indigenous population of the Commanders. He made drawings of their ornately decorated ritual masks from the few extant samples and old engravings he came across, and he did what he could to encourage the local people to take up the handicrafts of their ancestors, including miniature carvings in stone, wood, and bone.

"Most Aleuts have given up the old crafts in which they excelled," Ilya said. "They used to be known for their fine canoes, clothing, and footwear. Their everyday tools were works of art."

Supplanted by Russian from the 1930s to the 1960s, the Aleut language was on the verge of extinction, which would have put the kiss of death on the local folklore—polyphonic songs, dances with pointed rhythms, and colorful rites. Over the past few years, Ilya has done much to bring the native culture back to life by uniting several local groups into song and dance companies and by working to set up the Aleut Cultural Center on Bering Island.

My persevering friend has won support for the center from the Soviet Culture Foundation and the USSR Ministry of Culture. The Soviet-American Cultural Initiative also made a sizable donation. In the future Ilya hopes to start exchange projects with museums and galleries in Alaska and California.



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#### WAR OF 1812 REENACTMENT

Borodino is a household name for Russians, even those who are not history buffs. One of the key battles of the War of 1812 against Napoleon was fought near this village in the vicinity of Moscow. The battle has been immortalized in a poem by Mikhail Lermontov and in the novel *War and Peace* by Leo Tolstoy. In the January issue you can read our story about a reenactment of this historic event.

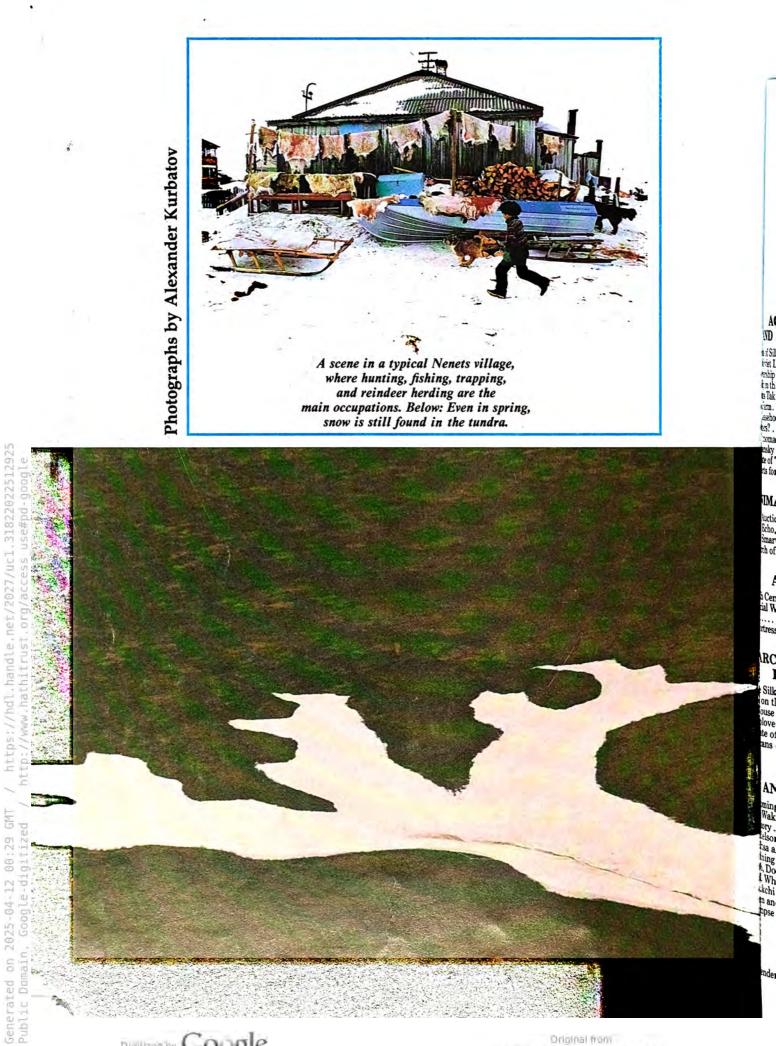


#### JOURNALISM USA-USSR

Mary Murphy and Suzanne Milton, American journalists, spent two months working in Moscow. Milton wrote for the daily newspaper *Moskovskaya pravda*, and Murphy took photographs for the magazine *Soviet Union*. Journalistic routines are different in our two countries; nevertheless, Murphy and Milton concluded that more things are alike than are different.

> **COMING SOON** The Soviet Court Battles Anti-Semitism







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P designates items in the "Panorama" column. TC designates items in the "Things Cultural" column.



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| Ownership<br>New Soviet Legislation  | 2(401):   | 2  |
| Ownership<br>New Soviet Legislation<br>Tribute to Sakharov   | 2(401):<br>2(401):  | 2<br>6   |
| Ownership<br>New Soviet Legislation<br>Tribute to Sakharov   | 2(401):   | 2<br>6   |
| Ownership<br>New Soviet Legislation<br>Tribute to Sakharov<br>Young, Efficient, Ready to Help  | 2(401):<br>2(401):  | 2<br>6   |
| Ownership.<br>New Soviet Legislation<br>Tribute to Sakharov<br>Young, Efficient, Ready to Help<br>The Open Society: Beyond the   | 2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):   | 2<br>6<br>10   |
| Ownership.<br>New Soviet Legislation<br>Tribute to Sakharov<br>Young, Efficient, Ready to Help<br>The Open Society: Beyond the   | 2(401):<br>2(401):  | 2<br>6<br>10   |
| Ownership.<br>New Soviet Legislation<br>Tribute to Sakharov<br>Young, Efficient, Ready to Help<br>The Open Society: Beyond the   | 2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):   | 2<br>6<br>10   |
| Ownership.<br>New Soviet Legislation<br>Tribute to Sakharov<br>Young, Efficient, Ready to Help<br>The Open Society: Beyond the<br>"Iron Curtain"<br>A New Kind of Law, a New   | 2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):  | 2<br>6<br>10<br>14   |
| Ownership.<br>New Soviet Legislation<br>Tribute to Sakharov<br>Young, Efficient, Ready to Help<br>The Open Society: Beyond the<br>"Iron Curtain"<br>A New Kind of Law, a New<br>Kind of Lawyer   | 2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):  | 2<br>6<br>10<br>14<br>42   |
| Ownership.<br>New Soviet Legislation<br>Tribute to Sakharov<br>Young, Efficient, Ready to Help<br>The Open Society: Beyond the<br>"Iron Curtain"<br>A New Kind of Law, a New<br>Kind of Lawyer   | 2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>3(402):   | 2<br>6<br>10<br>14<br>42<br>2  |
| Ownership.<br>New Soviet Legislation<br>Tribute to Sakharov<br>Young, Efficient, Ready to Help<br>The Open Society: Beyond the<br>"Iron Curtain"<br>A New Kind of Law, a New<br>Kind of Lawyer<br>Making Progress<br>Socialism: Where Is It Headed?  | 2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):  | 2<br>6<br>10<br>14<br>42<br>2  |
| Ownership.<br>New Soviet Legislation<br>Tribute to Sakharov<br>Young, Efficient, Ready to Help<br>The Open Society: Beyond the<br>"Iron Curtain"<br>A New Kind of Law, a New<br>Kind of Lawyer<br>Making Progress<br>Socialism: Where Is It Headed?  | 2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):   | 2<br>6<br>10<br>14<br>42<br>2<br>12  |
| Ownership.<br>New Soviet Legislation<br>Tribute to Sakharov<br>Young, Efficient, Ready to Help<br>The Open Society: Beyond the<br>"Iron Curtain"<br>A New Kind of Law, a New<br>Kind of Lawyer<br>Making Progress<br>Socialism: Where Is It Headed?<br>For Democracy, Glasnost, P  | 2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):  | 2<br>6<br>10<br>14<br>42<br>2<br>12<br>47  |
| Ownership.<br>New Soviet Legislation<br>Tribute to Sakharov<br>Young, Efficient, Ready to Help<br>The Open Society: Beyond the<br>"Iron Curtain"<br>A New Kind of Law, a New<br>Kind of Lawyer<br>Making Progress<br>Socialism: Where Is It Headed?<br>For Democracy, Glasnost, P<br>Vigil at the KGB  | 2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>4(403):   | 2<br>6<br>10<br>14<br>42<br>2<br>12<br>47<br>34  |
| Ownership.<br>New Soviet Legislation<br>Tribute to Sakharov<br>Young, Efficient, Ready to Help<br>The Open Society: Beyond the<br>"Iron Curtain"<br>A New Kind of Law, a New<br>Kind of Lawyer<br>Making Progress<br>Socialism: Where Is It Headed?<br>For Democracy, Glasnost, P<br>Vigil at the KGB<br>The First Presidential Election   | 2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):  | 2<br>6<br>10<br>14<br>42<br>2<br>12<br>47  |
| Ownership.<br>New Soviet Legislation<br>Tribute to Sakharov<br>Young, Efficient, Ready to Help<br>The Open Society: Beyond the<br>"Iron Curtain"<br>A New Kind of Law, a New<br>Kind of Lawyer<br>Making Progress<br>Socialism: Where Is It Headed?<br>For Democracy, Glasnost, P<br>Vigil at the KGB<br>The First Presidential Election   | 2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>4(403):   | 2<br>6<br>10<br>14<br>42<br>2<br>12<br>47<br>34  |
| Ownership.<br>New Soviet Legislation<br>Tribute to Sakharov<br>Young, Efficient, Ready to Help<br>The Open Society: Beyond the<br>"Iron Curtain"<br>A New Kind of Law, a New<br>Kind of Lawyer<br>Making Progress<br>Socialism: Where Is It Headed?<br>For Democracy, Glasnost, P<br>Vigil at the KGB<br>The First Presidential Election<br>New Soviet Legislation on Land   | 2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>4(403):<br>5(404):   | 2<br>6<br>10<br>14<br>42<br>2<br>12<br>47<br>34<br>1   |
| Ownership.<br>New Soviet Legislation<br>Tribute to Sakharov<br>Young, Efficient, Ready to Help<br>The Open Society: Beyond the<br>"Iron Curtain"<br>A New Kind of Law, a New<br>Kind of Lawyer<br>Making Progress<br>Socialism: Where Is It Headed?<br>For Democracy, Glasnost, P<br>Vigil at the KGB<br>The First Presidential Election<br>New Soviet Legislation on Land   | 2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>4(403):<br>5(404):<br>5(404):  | 2<br>6<br>10<br>14<br>42<br>2<br>12<br>47<br>34<br>1<br>41   |
| Ownership.         New Soviet Legislation         Tribute to Sakharov         Young, Efficient, Ready to Help         The Open Society: Beyond the         "Iron Curtain"         A New Kind of Law, a New         Kind of Lawyer         Making Progress         Socialism: Where Is It Headed?         For       Democracy, Glasnost, P         Vigil at the KGB         The First Presidential Election         New Soviet Legislation on Land         Ownership.         Perestroika Requires Realism.   | 2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>4(403):<br>5(404):<br>5(404):  | 2<br>6<br>10<br>14<br>42<br>2<br>12<br>47<br>34<br>1<br>41<br>42   |
| Ownership.         New Soviet Legislation         Tribute to Sakharov         Young, Efficient, Ready to Help         The Open Society: Beyond the         "Iron Curtain"         A New Kind of Law, a New         Kind of Lawyer         Making Progress         Socialism: Where Is It Headed?         For       Democracy, Glasnost, P         Vigil at the KGB         The First Presidential Election         New Soviet Legislation on Land         Ownership.         Perestroika Requires Realism.   | 2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>4(403):<br>5(404):<br>5(404):  | 2<br>6<br>10<br>14<br>42<br>2<br>12<br>47<br>34<br>1<br>41<br>42   |
| Ownership.<br>New Soviet Legislation<br>Tribute to Sakharov<br>Young, Efficient, Ready to Help<br>The Open Society: Beyond the<br>"Iron Curtain"<br>A New Kind of Law, a New<br>Kind of Lawyer<br>Making Progress<br>Socialism: Where Is It Headed?<br>For Democracy, Glasnost, P<br>Vigil at the KGB<br>The First Presidential Election<br>New Soviet Legislation on Land<br>Ownership.<br>Perestroika Requires Realism.<br>Communist Party in Transition   | 2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>4(403):<br>5(404):<br>5(404):<br>5(404):<br>7(406):   | 2<br>6<br>10<br>14<br>42<br>2<br>12<br>47<br>34<br>1<br>41<br>42<br>5  |
| Ownership.<br>New Soviet Legislation<br>Tribute to Sakharov<br>Young, Efficient, Ready to Help<br>The Open Society: Beyond the<br>"Iron Curtain"<br>A New Kind of Law, a New<br>Kind of Lawyer<br>Making Progress<br>Making Progress<br>Socialism: Where Is It Headed?<br>For Democracy, Glasnost, P<br>Vigil at the KGB<br>The First Presidential Election<br>New Soviet Legislation on Land<br>Ownership.<br><i>Perestroika</i> Requires Realism.<br>Communist Party in Transition<br>Rebel City Fires the Boss  | 2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>4(403):<br>5(404):<br>5(404):  | 2<br>6<br>10<br>14<br>42<br>2<br>12<br>47<br>34<br>1<br>41<br>42<br>5  |
| Ownership.<br>New Soviet Legislation<br>Tribute to Sakharov<br>Young, Efficient, Ready to Help<br>The Open Society: Beyond the<br>"Iron Curtain"<br>A New Kind of Law, a New<br>Kind of Lawyer<br>Making Progress<br>Making Prog | 2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>5(404):<br>5(404):<br>5(404):<br>7(406):<br>7(406):   | $2 \\ 6 \\ 10 \\ 14 \\ 42 \\ 2 \\ 12 \\ 47 \\ 34 \\ 1 \\ 41 \\ 42 \\ 5 \\ 6 \\ 6 \\ 10 \\ 10 \\ 10 \\ 10 \\ 10 \\ 10 \\$                       |
| Ownership.<br>New Soviet Legislation<br>Tribute to Sakharov<br>Young, Efficient, Ready to Help<br>The Open Society: Beyond the<br>"Iron Curtain"<br>A New Kind of Law, a New<br>Kind of Lawyer<br>Making Progress<br>Making Progress<br>Socialism: Where Is It Headed?<br>For Democracy, Glasnost, P<br>Vigil at the KGB<br>The First Presidential Election<br>New Soviet Legislation on Land<br>Ownership.<br><i>Perestroika</i> Requires Realism.<br>Communist Party in Transition<br>Rebel City Fires the Boss  | 2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>4(403):<br>5(404):<br>5(404):<br>5(404):<br>7(406):   | $2 \\ 6 \\ 10 \\ 14 \\ 42 \\ 2 \\ 12 \\ 47 \\ 34 \\ 1 \\ 41 \\ 42 \\ 5 \\ 6 \\ 6 \\ 10 \\ 10 \\ 10 \\ 10 \\ 10 \\ 10 \\$                       |
| Ownership.<br>New Soviet Legislation<br>Tribute to Sakharov<br>Young, Efficient, Ready to Help<br>The Open Society: Beyond the<br>"Iron Curtain"<br>A New Kind of Law, a New<br>Kind of Lawyer<br>Making Progress<br>Making   | 2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>5(404):<br>5(404):<br>5(404):<br>7(406):<br>7(406):   | $2 \\ 6 \\ 10 \\ 14 \\ 42 \\ 2 \\ 12 \\ 47 \\ 34 \\ 1 \\ 41 \\ 42 \\ 5 \\ 6 \\ 6 \\ 10 \\ 10 \\ 10 \\ 10 \\ 10 \\ 10 \\$                       |
| Ownership.         New Soviet Legislation         Tribute to Sakharov         Young, Efficient, Ready to Help         The Open Society: Beyond the         "Iron Curtain"         A New Kind of Law, a New         Kind of Lawyer         Making Progress         Socialism: Where Is It Headed?         For       Democracy, Glasnost, P         Vigil at the KGB         The First Presidential Election         New Soviet Legislation on Land         Ownership.         Perestroika Requires Realism.         Communist Party in Transition         Rebel City Fires the Boss.         Law Enforcement Agencies and         the Church Join Forces.         Russia's First Congress of  | 2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>4(403):<br>5(404):<br>5(404):<br>7(406):<br>7(406):<br>7(406):  | 2<br>6<br>10<br>14<br>42<br>2<br>12<br>47<br>34<br>1<br>41<br>42<br>5<br>6<br>57   |
| Ownership.<br>New Soviet Legislation<br>Tribute to Sakharov<br>Young, Efficient, Ready to Help<br>The Open Society: Beyond the<br>"Iron Curtain"<br>A New Kind of Lawyer<br>Making Progress<br>Socialism: Where Is It Headed?<br>For Democracy, Glasnost, P<br>Vigil at the KGB<br>The First Presidential Election<br>New Soviet Legislation on Land<br>Ownership.<br>Perestroika Requires Realism.<br>Communist Party in Transition<br>Rebel City Fires the Boss<br>Law Enforcement Agencies and<br>the Church Join Forces<br>Russia's First Congress of<br>People's Deputies   | 2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>5(404):<br>5(404):<br>5(404):<br>7(406):<br>7(406):   | $2 \\ 6 \\ 10 \\ 14 \\ 42 \\ 2 \\ 12 \\ 47 \\ 34 \\ 1 \\ 41 \\ 42 \\ 5 \\ 6 \\ 6 \\ 10 \\ 10 \\ 10 \\ 10 \\ 10 \\ 10 \\$                       |
| Ownership.<br>New Soviet Legislation<br>Tribute to Sakharov<br>Young, Efficient, Ready to Help<br>The Open Society: Beyond the<br>"Iron Curtain"<br>A New Kind of Law, a New<br>Kind of Lawyer<br>Making Progress<br>Making Progress<br>Making Progress<br>Making Progress<br>Socialism: Where Is It Headed?<br>For Democracy, <i>Glasnost</i> , P<br>Vigil at the KGB<br>The First Presidential Election<br>New Soviet Legislation on Land<br>Ownership.<br><i>Perestroika</i> Requires Realism.<br>Communist Party in Transition<br>Rebel City Fires the Boss<br>Law Enforcement Agencies and<br>the Church Join Forces<br>Russia's First Congress of<br>People's Deputies<br>Ivan Polozkov: "I Am Not a   | 2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>4(403):<br>5(404):<br>5(404):<br>7(406):<br>7(406):<br>7(406):  | 2<br>6<br>10<br>14<br>42<br>2<br>12<br>47<br>34<br>1<br>41<br>42<br>5<br>6<br>57   |
| Ownership.<br>New Soviet Legislation<br>Tribute to Sakharov<br>Young, Efficient, Ready to Help<br>The Open Society: Beyond the<br>"Iron Curtain"<br>A New Kind of Law, a New<br>Kind of Lawyer<br>Making Progress<br>Making Progress<br>Making Progress<br>Making Progress<br>Socialism: Where Is It Headed?<br>For Democracy, <i>Glasnost</i> , P<br>Vigil at the KGB<br>The First Presidential Election<br>New Soviet Legislation on Land<br>Ownership.<br><i>Perestroika</i> Requires Realism.<br>Communist Party in Transition<br>Rebel City Fires the Boss<br>Law Enforcement Agencies and<br>the Church Join Forces<br>Russia's First Congress of<br>People's Deputies<br>Ivan Polozkov: "I Am Not a   | 2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>5(404):<br>5(404):<br>5(404):<br>7(406):<br>7(406):<br>8(407):  | $2 \\ 6 \\ 10 \\ 14 \\ 42 \\ 212 \\ 47 \\ 34 \\ 1 \\ 412 \\ 5 \\ 6 \\ 57 \\ 2 \\ -$  |
| Ownership.<br>New Soviet Legislation<br>Tribute to Sakharov<br>Young, Efficient, Ready to Help<br>The Open Society: Beyond the<br>"Iron Curtain"<br>A New Kind of Law, a New<br>Kind of Lawyer<br>Making Progress<br>Making Progress<br>Making Progress<br>Making Progress<br>Socialism: Where Is It Headed?<br>For Democracy, <i>Glasnost</i> , P<br>Vigil at the KGB<br>The First Presidential Election<br>New Soviet Legislation on Land<br>Ownership.<br><i>Perestroika</i> Requires Realism.<br>Communist Party in Transition<br>Rebel City Fires the Boss<br>Law Enforcement Agencies and<br>the Church Join Forces<br>Russia's First Congress of<br>People's Deputies<br>Ivan Polozkov: "I Am Not a<br>Conservative".   | 2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>4(403):<br>5(404):<br>5(404):<br>5(404):<br>7(406):<br>7(406):<br>8(407):<br>8(407):   | $2 \\ 6 \\ 10 \\ 14 \\ 42 \\ 12 \\ 12 \\ 47 \\ 34 \\ 1 \\ 41 \\ 42 \\ 5 \\ 6 \\ 57 \\ 2 \\ 5 \end{bmatrix}$                                    |
| Ownership.<br>New Soviet Legislation<br>Tribute to Sakharov<br>Young, Efficient, Ready to Help<br>The Open Society: Beyond the<br>"Iron Curtain"<br>A New Kind of Law, a New<br>Kind of Lawyer<br>Making Progress<br>Socialism: Where Is It Headed?<br>For Democracy, Glasnost, P<br>Vigil at the KGB<br>The First Presidential Election<br>New Soviet Legislation on Land<br>Ownership.<br>Perestroika Requires Realism.<br>Communist Party in Transition<br>Rebel City Fires the Boss<br>Law Enforcement Agencies and<br>the Church Join Forces<br>Russia's First Congress of<br>People's Deputies<br>Ivan Polozkov: "I Am Not a<br>Conservative"<br>The Russian Communist Party   | 2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>5(404):<br>5(404):<br>5(404):<br>7(406):<br>7(406):<br>8(407):  | $2 \\ 6 \\ 10 \\ 14 \\ 42 \\ 12 \\ 12 \\ 47 \\ 34 \\ 1 \\ 41 \\ 42 \\ 5 \\ 6 \\ 57 \\ 2 \\ 5 \end{bmatrix}$                                    |
| Ownership.<br>New Soviet Legislation<br>Tribute to Sakharov<br>Young, Efficient, Ready to Help<br>The Open Society: Beyond the<br>"Iron Curtain"<br>A New Kind of Law, a New<br>Kind of Lawyer<br>Making Progress<br>Socialism: Where Is It Headed?<br>For Democracy, Glasnost, P<br>Vigil at the KGB<br>The First Presidential Election<br>New Soviet Legislation on Land<br>Ownership.<br>Perestroika Requires Realism.<br>Communist Party in Transition<br>Rebel City Fires the Boss<br>Law Enforcement Agencies and<br>the Church Join Forces<br>Russia's First Congress of<br>People's Deputies.<br>Ivan Polozkov: "I Am Not a<br>Conservative"<br>The Russian Communist Party<br>A Political Atlas of the Russian  | 2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>5(404):<br>5(404):<br>5(404):<br>7(406):<br>7(406):<br>8(407):<br>8(407):  | $2 \\ 6 \\ 10 \\ 14 \\ 42 \\ 2 \\ 12 \\ 47 \\ 34 \\ 1 \\ 41 \\ 42 \\ 5 \\ 6 \\ 57 \\ 2 \\ 51 \\ 8 \\ 18 \\ 10 \\ 10 \\ 10 \\ 10 \\ 10 \\ 10$   |
| Ownership.<br>New Soviet Legislation<br>Tribute to Sakharov<br>Young, Efficient, Ready to Help<br>The Open Society: Beyond the<br>"Iron Curtain"<br>A New Kind of Law, a New<br>Kind of Lawyer<br>Making Progress<br>Socialism: Where Is It Headed?<br>For Democracy, Glasnost, P<br>Vigil at the KGB<br>The First Presidential Election<br>New Soviet Legislation on Land<br>Ownership.<br>Perestroika Requires Realism.<br>Communist Party in Transition<br>Rebel City Fires the Boss<br>Law Enforcement Agencies and<br>the Church Join Forces<br>Russia's First Congress of<br>People's Deputies.<br>Ivan Polozkov: "I Am Not a<br>Conservative"<br>The Russian Communist Party<br>A Political Atlas of the Russian  | 2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>5(404):<br>5(404):<br>7(406):<br>7(406):<br>8(407):<br>8(407):<br>8(407):<br>8(407):   | $2 \\ 6 \\ 10 \\ 14 \\ 42 \\ 12 \\ 47 \\ 34 \\ 142 \\ 5 \\ 6 \\ 57 \\ 2 \\ 518 \\ 18 \\ 18 \\ 18 \\ 18 \\ 10 \\ 10 \\ 10 \\ $                  |
| Ownership.<br>New Soviet Legislation<br>Tribute to Sakharov<br>Young, Efficient, Ready to Help<br>The Open Society: Beyond the<br>"Iron Curtain"<br>A New Kind of Lawyer<br>Making Progress<br>Socialism: Where Is It Headed?<br>For Democracy, Glasnost, P<br>Vigil at the KGB<br>The First Presidential Election<br>New Soviet Legislation on Land<br>Ownership.<br>Perestroika Requires Realism<br>Communist Party in Transition<br>Rebel City Fires the Boss<br>Law Enforcement Agencies and<br>the Church Join Forces<br>Russia's First Congress of<br>People's Deputies<br>Ivan Polozkov: "I Am Not a<br>Conservative"<br>The Russian Communist Party<br>A Political Atlas of the Russian<br>Federation  | 2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>5(404):<br>5(404):<br>7(406):<br>7(406):<br>8(407):<br>8(407):<br>8(407):<br>8(407):   | $2 \\ 6 \\ 10 \\ 14 \\ 42 \\ 12 \\ 47 \\ 34 \\ 142 \\ 5 \\ 6 \\ 57 \\ 2 \\ 518 \\ 18 \\ 18 \\ 18 \\ 18 \\ 10 \\ 10 \\ 10 \\ $                  |
| Ownership.<br>New Soviet Legislation<br>Tribute to Sakharov<br>Young, Efficient, Ready to Help<br>The Open Society: Beyond the<br>"Iron Curtain"<br>A New Kind of Law, a New<br>Kind of Lawyer<br>Making Progress<br>Socialism: Where Is It Headed?<br>For Democracy, Glasnost, P<br>Vigil at the KGB<br>The First Presidential Election<br>New Soviet Legislation on Land<br>Ownership.<br><i>Perestroika</i> Requires Realism.<br>Communist Party in Transition<br>Rebel City Fires the Boss<br>Law Enforcement Agencies and<br>the Church Join Forces<br>Russia's First Congress of<br>People's Deputies<br>Ivan Polozkov: "I Am Not a<br>Conservative"<br>The Russian Communist Party<br>A Political Atlas of the Russian<br>Federation<br>The Social Democrats of Russia  | 2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>2(401):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>3(402):<br>5(404):<br>5(404):<br>7(406):<br>7(406):<br>8(407):<br>8(407):<br>8(407):<br>8(407):<br>8(407):  | $2 \\ 6 \\ 10 \\ 14 \\ 42 \\ 212 \\ 47 \\ 14 \\ 42 \\ 5 \\ 6 \\ 57 \\ 2 \\ 518 \\ 18 \\ 21 \\ 21 \\ 21 \\ 21 \\ 21 \\ 21 \\ $                  |
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