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Reenacting the
Battle of Borodino



Soviet Life

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Nobel Peace Prize Laureate

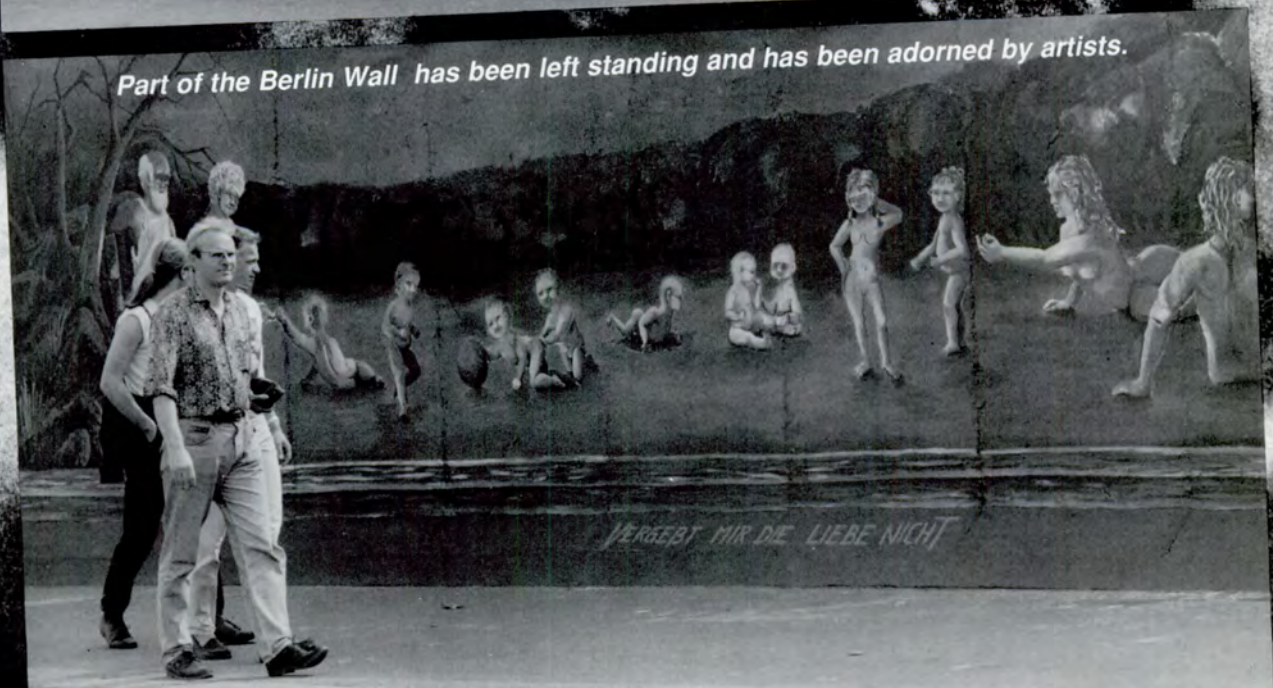


**On December 10, 1990,
Soviet President Mikhail
Gorbachev was awarded
the Nobel Prize for Peace
in recognition of his
contribution to
disarmament and
reduction of tensions
between the
superpowers.**



DANKS, ANDRE J SACHAROV

Part of the Berlin Wall has been left standing and has been adorned by artists.



The Award

By Pyotr Mikhailov

When Alfred Nobel instituted his prizes at the end of the nineteenth century, he could hardly foresee that almost 100 years later one of them would be conferred on a statesman who pursued a policy even more explosive than the dynamite Nobel had invented. But, as we know, Man proposes, but God disposes. On December 10, 1990, one of the most prestigious international prizes—the Nobel Prize for Peace—was awarded to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

The Norwegian Nobel Committee found it both easy and difficult to make this choice. Difficult because the list of candidates for the year 1990 included 100 names, among them Pope John Paul II; U.S. President George Bush; Czechoslovakian President Vaclav Havel; German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher; Nelson Mandela, leader of the South African liberation movement; Alexander Dubcek, the leader of the reformist "Prague Spring" of 1968; and Zhai Ling, the leader of the Chinese student uprising.

Furthermore, Gorbachev was the leader of a superpower. The Nobel Committee has avoided awarding this prize to political leaders, lest they use it for their political ends and because politicians, unlike the great humanists, tend to pursue the interests of a group of countries.

The choice was easy to make because voices in support of Gorbachev's candidature came from all continents. At the beginning of the year *Time* magazine named him Man of the Decade. Shortly before *Time's* decision was announced, the Swedish newspaper *Dagens Nyheter*, preparing its readers for the choice of the laureate, wrote: "There is no historical parallel to the global change that has occurred over the past few years and that feeds our trust in long-term cooperation instead of the cold war between the superpow-

ers, in the possibility of transferring large resources from the arms industries to social needs, in joint responsibility, through the United Nations, for peace and security, and in free communication between nations previously divided by a fence, by the Iron Curtain and by the oppression of their intellect."

The newspaper's conclusion was simple: "Gorbachev was a fair choice. If the prize is to go to a person whose contribution to peace is the greatest, it is difficult to imagine anyone but Gorbachev." In the newspaper's opinion, the 1990 prize would be profaned if it were conferred on someone else. The Swedish newspaper *Svenska Dagbladet* shared this view. "If Gorbachev does not receive the Peace Prize, it will be scandalous!" For the sake of objectivity, the newspaper discussed other candidates as well—Vaclav Havel, Zhai Ling, and Nelson Mandela. "What would Havel be without Gorbachev? Were not Chinese students inspired by the hope for democracy given to them by Gorbachev? Even in South Africa, the new international climate is being used as an argument in the campaign to eliminate apartheid!"

Of course, *Time*, *Svenska Dagbladet*, and other international observers were well aware of the problems, first of all ethnic and economic, that the initiator of perestroika had not yet solved at home. They are too acute to be overlooked. On October 15, when the Nobel Committee announced its decision, BBC and Reuters correspondents interviewed Muscovites to find out what they thought about the event. The answers were nearly the same and conveyed mixed feelings. On the one hand, the people interviewed were proud for their country; on the other hand, they were extremely concerned about inner instability.

"Yes, in the world arena Gorbachev has scored impressive victories, but at

home economic and ethnic problems are crying out for solution," said most of those polled. Some, however, said that the committee should have taken into account the situation in the Soviet Union, deciding not to award such a prestigious prize to Gorbachev. They obviously forgot that the prize is international.

The position of people tired of shortages, lines, and instability is not shared in the West. The difference in the opinions is easy to understand. Although in the Soviet Union perestroika has done away with bureaucratic tyranny and the military threat, shortages have set in, and ethnic conflicts have flared up. For those in the West, however, the somber image of the Evil Empire, as Ronald Reagan once called the USSR, and the Soviet military threat, are a recent memory. Therefore the person who is helping them to overcome their fears is enormously popular. In the issue devoted to the Man of the Decade, *Time* magazine wrote: "A master politician, Gorbachev could win election in many countries, but probably not his own."

Perhaps *Time* is right. As economic problems are growing in the Soviet Union, Gorbachev's popularity among his compatriots is declining, especially compared to his popularity at the onset of perestroika. This must be the fate of all charismatic leaders.

Even though historical parallels are far-fetched as a rule, one quoted by Robert Kaiser of the *Washington Post* conveys very well the meaning of Gorbachev's triumph and drama as a politician. On the day after the Nobel Prize was announced, Kaiser wrote:

"Like Winston Churchill at the end of World War II, Gorbachev is now in danger of losing the support of his countrymen despite the enormity of the gift he has given them. That gift includes the freedom to say what they think, the opportunity to know the true

history of their country; the chance to live someday in a 'normal' country, to use an adjective much favored by Russians in these exciting times. None of those measures is up to a regular supply of bread, meat and milk, which is an important reason why Gorbachev is in such difficulty today."

Some people in the Soviet Union believe that Gorbachev's peace policy has benefited the West much more than the Soviet Union. Indeed, peace normally benefits prosperous societies. But the peace policy that won Gorbachev the Nobel Prize is aimed at ensuring both global security and the well-being of the Soviet people. From the outset of perestroika, Gorbachev knew all the inadequacies of the system and understood that reform would take time and would be a success only in a new international setting. For Gorbachev international stability was not only and not so much an end in itself, but a prerequisite for carrying out internal reform. In this respect the Soviet Union's national interests coincided with the interests of the world community.

Gorbachev must be given credit not only for grasping the meaning of this coincidence but also for using the opportunity to bring into harmony national and international interests. It is not surprising therefore that his efforts won him the highest international award.

By a twist of fate, or, perhaps, by some subtle tactical design, on the day when the news was announced and critics in Moscow streets were telling British journalists that peace policies could hardly fill empty stores, a remarkable event occurred in the Supreme Soviet. Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, Gorbachev's alter ego in international affairs, announced figures throwing light on the Soviet military budget. The deputies learned that total military spending in current prices stood at 77.9 billion rubles and included allocations not only to the Defense Ministry, but also to other defense-related departments. The annual national budget, meanwhile, amounts to 490 billion rubles.

Responding to Gorbachev's critics, Shevardnadze explained why the Soviet Union was advocating disarmament and was making compromises. It is necessary to maintain security at a

level of reasonable sufficiency, he said, a level that will not ruin the economy completely, or there will be nothing to defend. "Think what will happen," Shevardnadze said, "if, in renouncing the disarmament agreements, we become even more deeply entangled in the arms race? Shall we be able to maintain the arsenals filled to the brim, given the dire shortages of food, clothing, and basic necessities?"

It looks as if the new Nobel Prize winner was far from falling into euphoria, too. He told reporters that he owed his prize to perestroika. On that day he met with Canadian and American business people and discussed with them various aspects of economic cooperation. Then he had a talk with representatives of the Supreme Soviet's committees on the program for economic recovery and transition to market arrangements, which is designed to take the nation out of the economic crisis. Late that night the President signed the 70-page draft program. The next day, however, the draft program was sharply criticized by the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, Boris Yeltsin.

And yet, keeping in mind that Gorbachev has been awarded a prize for his peace efforts, not for economic activity, one can only agree with the idea expressed by *Svenska Dagbladet* shortly before the Nobel Committee announced its decision. "One cannot lose the sense of historical perspective. The peace prize must be given to the person who has made a unique contribution to the prevention of war, to the strengthening of peace, and to the reconciliation of nations."

And so the choice was made. Time is the best judge. Fifteen years ago, the choice fell on the great scientist, humanist, and human rights champion, Andrei Sakharov. The world has recently realized that Sakharov's humanistic ideas and planetary mentality have been an inspiration for Gorbachev's policy. This means that 15 years ago, the choice was made with an eye to the future.

There is every reason to hope that the twenty-first century will confirm the rightness of the choice made on October 15, 1990—the year that marked the end of the cold war, which had been 45 years in duration. ■

EDITOR'S NOTES

Leningrad's "600 Seconds," a prime-time news program, is one of the most popular shows on Soviet TV. It shows life in its true colors, including the dark side. Even I was shocked by its story about a poorly dressed old woman, wearing a chest full of medals. She held in her arms a food package from Germany. "I fought in the Second World War to the very end. Now I am all alone. And who remembers me? The people against whom I fought in that war."

We can understand this woman and her grief. But how can we explain the paradoxes of our life? We receive humanitarian aid—food, medicines, and gifts for kids—from all over the world, including the United States. We sincerely thank all SOVIET LIFE readers who participate in this humane action. Americans don't hesitate to help people in need. But they may wonder why the Soviet Union needs humanitarian aid at this time.

Americans understood the need for relief after the disastrous Armenian earthquake two years ago. In the 1920s Americans helped us to fight hunger, epidemics, and economic dislocation. That need was also clear: Russia had just lived through a revolution and a civil war. I want to take this opportunity to pay homage to the late Armand Hammer, the first capitalist to extend a helping hand to Soviet Russia. The United States also helped us a lot during the Second World War.

But what about now? According to official data, the USSR had a record crop in 1990. Some Soviet journalists called foreign food parcels to Soviet citizens "Relief aid to the victims of a bumper harvest." It is natural that Americans are confused. But we Soviets are also confused. Where has everything disappeared? We accuse everyone and everything. One thing is clear: Food packages from abroad aren't a solution to the problem; we must rely on ourselves.

Like many of my compatriots, I am ashamed for my country when I hear reports of foreign aid shipments. But I am glad for the poor and the destitute. I thank you all on their behalf.

Robert Tsfasman

SECURITY FOR EUROPE



The Paris summit conference on Conventional Forces and Confidence- and Security-Building Measures in Europe.

The two blocs that have been adversaries for four decades will become partners in the construction of a new, United Europe living in conditions of security. This idea is incorporated in the final documents of the Paris Summit of the talks on Conventional Forces and Confidence- and Security-Building Measures in Europe. Oleg Grin-evsky, chief Soviet delegate at the Vienna talks, wrote the following in Literaturnaya gazeta.

More tanks, armored vehicles, artillery pieces, and aircraft were destroyed in an hour in Paris than in any battle in the history of wars. The highest wall in the path of European unity was destroyed.

As for the political significance of the Agreement on Conventional Forces in Europe, I would compare its consequences to the destruction of the Berlin Wall. It has crushed the wall of East-West military confrontation in Europe, and in three-odd years Europe will be liberated from the remnants of this wall.

A qualitatively new situation will take shape, with a balance of forces on a vast territory from the Atlantic to the Urals. The threat of a surprise attack and large-scale military operations will be virtually eliminated.

But the treaty is not limited to the elimination of the remnants of the cold war. More than that, it will create the basis for a new security system.

In these unprecedented conditions NATO and the Warsaw Pact will be losing their military functions. Created for confrontation, they are seemingly becoming meaningless now.

I think it is too early to mourn them yet, however. In Paris the members of these alliances passed from military to political cooperation. Under the influence of changes in Europe, the treaty, which was designed as an agreement between blocs, has developed into a multilateral agreement between 22 sovereign states.

It is based on the commitments of two groups of Eastern and Western states to reduce their armaments so that in 40 months, after the agreement comes into force, their collective

strength would not surpass 20,000 combat tanks, 30,000 armored vehicles, 20,000 100-millimeter caliber and larger artillery pieces, 6,800 combat aircraft, and 2,000 strike helicopters.

This means that tens of thousands of weapons will be reduced in the process. Parties to the treaty have agreed to divide Europe into three zones: Central Europe, Hinterland, and Flanks. They also agreed on an acceptable system of distribution of weapons by zones and on the procedure for redeploying them from one zone to another. Every region will have a balance of forces under which it will be impossible to amass enough armaments for an attack. The poisonous sting of the war has been eliminated.

It is well known that the recent Soviet policy of building up armaments—we attempted to be stronger than all opposing states taken together—did not add to our international prestige. On the contrary, it contributed to the consolidation of the West on the basis of anti-Sovietism, increased the threat of war, and bled our economy white.

The Soviet Armed Forces in Europe will undergo rigid limitations, but the same concerns the armed forces of the NATO countries. Take the reunited Germany. Under the treaty its military capabilities will be much smaller than those of West Germany before the reunification. In general, Germany will have the highest disarmament quotas. The bulk of reducible armaments will be destroyed, and this is worrying me. As we begin the process of reducing our own armaments, we must not allow a giant heap of scrap metal to accumulate beyond the Urals, because this

might very well create a new source of ecological pollution.

Regrettably, our specialists still do not know what we should do with these heaps of armaments. Before converting T-55 tanks into civilian vehicles we should ask ourselves: Will these vehicles be economical? Where will they be used? On the other hand, resmelting them would mean throwing money to the wind. The creation of a special furnace would cost three to four billion dollars and would take at least five years.

States are strong with the prosperity of their citizens. The Paris Treaty is expected to improve our living standards. The Soviet Union will cease to be a country that declares peaceful principles while building up its nuclear muscles.

A few words about nuclear disarmament. I believe that this problem will soon be put on the agenda, just like the issues of troop reductions and naval forces. The treaty is a good basis for reaching different agreements.

And finally, about the drafting of the treaty. Quite often U.S. Ambassador James Woolsey and I worked into the night in the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York or in the Soviet Foreign Ministry mansion on Alexei Tolstoy Street in Moscow. In the morning we reported to Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and Secretary of State James Baker about our progress. After listening to a report compiled by one of us, they discussed it and made decisions for both sides, Soviet and American, together.

Could we have dreamed of working this way a few months ago? ■

HIGHLIGHTS OF 1990

The meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush in Helsinki on September 9, 1990, was the promptest in the history of Soviet-American summits. Announced only a few days in advance, the talks in Finland lasted only seven hours. Such promptness was necessitated by the explosive situation in the Persian Gulf that resulted from Iraq's annexation of Kuwait. The developments in that region were the first post-cold war crisis and the first serious test for Soviet-American relations, which had just settled down. And, one must say, they stood the test creditably.

For the first time, Soviet and American presidents made a similar assessment of a regional conflict, decisively condemning the aggressor. Opinion seemed to be unanimous around the world: The Helsinki meeting was an unexampled lesson of the fruitful diplomacy of the new era. In the photograph:

Mikhail Gorbachev presents George Bush with a caricature symbolizing their common victory over the cold war.



September 12, 1990, became a landmark in the history of Europe: The foreign ministers of the USSR, the United States, Great Britain, France, West Germany, and the German Democratic Republic signed in Moscow a treaty on the final German settlement. The treaty laid down very important provisions on the entire package of the external aspects of German unity, including those concerning the frontiers of a united Germany and renunciation of any territorial claims. The new treaty ends the rights and responsibilities of the four great powers that won the Second World War. Germans will now live in a new, united Germany.





Academician Stanislav Shatalin, a leading Soviet economist and the chief economic adviser to President Mikhail Gorbachev, faced a spate of reproaches and accusations in 1990. Those who oppose a free market proponents asserted that Shatalin's program of reforms would lead to a breakup of the USSR and even to capitalism. The academician, however, remains firm in his convictions. He wants to see a real pluralism of forms of ownership and the establishment of Western-style work incentives. Shatalin rejected charges that he is blindly



copying the capitalist model. He says: "We are seeking a choice not between New York and London, but between death and life." Shatalin strongly supports the economic sovereignty of republics, advocates a demilitarization of the Soviet economy, and suggests effective social security measures for the population, for a considerable part of which the switch to a market means a decline in living standards. Many of Shatalin's ideas are now part of the Russian Federation's economic program. Unfortunately, the central government treated his bold proposals with excessive caution.



HIGHLIGHTS OF 1990



A wave of meetings and demonstrations swept the country in 1990. The process of democratization gave vent to the emotions and energies of people who had kept silent for decades, suppressing their discontent. The photograph shows a massive demonstration in Moscow on September 16. It was organized by a number of democratic movements. The demonstrators demanded that the government take urgent measures to improve the economic situation. Such large demonstrations are certainly rather rare. But in Moscow and other cities, small groups of people demonstrate almost daily under different slogans, some of them very extreme. "They'd better do some work," townsfolk often say. And they're probably right: It's time for a transition from words to deeds.



HIGHLIGHTS OF 1990

The name of Lithuania's prime minister, Kazimiera Prunskiene, appeared often on the pages of the world press in 1990. This outstanding woman has shown herself to be a determined and strong-willed politician. Prunskiene was often called the Iron Lady—by analogy with the former British prime minister, Margaret Thatcher. Spokesmen for the Soviet central government sometimes reproached Prunskiene for separatism. She rejected the idea: "We do not want either separatism or isolation. We want normal trade and economic relations with all the republics." She resigned early in January 1991.





Violence marred 1990. Ethnic conflicts flared up in the Caucasus, in Central Asia, and in Moldavia, causing senseless loss of life. The Central Asian republic of Kirghizia had been regarded as a calm area, but in June, in the town of Osh, bloody fighting occurred between Kirghizes, the indigenous nationality, and Uzbeks, who reside in large numbers in the Osh region. The encounters claimed about 200 lives, injuring more than 1,000. Discrimination against Uzbeks in housing sparked the conflict. In the photographs at left: Remnants of a pogrom (inset); a rally in memory of those who died in Osh.



Boris Yeltsin was elected the top leader of the Russian Federation—chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation. This maverick politician is very popular, but he also has many adversaries. The people of Russia, the largest constituent republic of the USSR, pin great hopes on Yeltsin to overcome the present crisis as early as possible. The Russian parliament acts boldly and constructively, but there is a long lapse between the time even the most prudent of decisions is adopted and the time it becomes practical policy. Last summer Yeltsin made a long tour of different regions of Russia, meeting with people and listening to their concerns. In the photograph he is meeting with workers in Tataria.

The Price of Freedom

By Pyotr Mikhailov

Even in the darkest days for the Soviet Union there have been people who could not and would not tolerate the arbitrariness of the authorities. They tried to regain the country's future, though even the greatest representatives of the Soviet public, whose names have become world famous in the past two decades, cannot agree on when the country was deprived of its future.

For example, Alexander Solzhenitsyn believes that it happened in 1917 as a result of the October Revolution. "We must admit: Our country has lost the twentieth century; the achievements of which we boasted are all a lie. We were thrown from a flourishing state back into semibarbarity. We are sitting upon ruins," Solzhenitsyn wrote in his article "How Are We to Organize Russia?" published in the Soviet Union in late 1990.

Andrei Sakharov thought that the country was deprived of a future during the stagnation period. "I think that all the achievements that our propaganda so likes to flaunt are negligible compared to the consequences of overexertion, disillusionment, degradation of the human spirit, and losses in human relations and souls," wrote the great scientist and humanist in April 1974, in the darkest years of stagnation, 11 years before perestroika.

Mikhail Gorbachev hardly needs to be quoted. His idea of perestroika was designed to destroy the command bureaucratic system, which was created in the years of Stalin's personality cult and yielded its bitter fruit under subsequent rulers. The great reformer, called "the Kremlin heretic" in the West, Gorbachev hopes to destroy the old system, turn his country into a state ruled by law, and regain the future for it.

During the first year of perestroika and democratization, initiated in April 1985, people gave vent to national emotions that had been long suppressed. And when glasnost raised the lid, it became clear that an explosion was imminent and would claim numerous victims. Steam began to be let off, starting with the 1986 ethnic outrages of young people in Kazakhstan. Then came the clashes in areas of Azerbaijan populated mostly by Armenians. Next we saw the

growing centrifugal trends in the Baltic republics and a rash of new ethnic conflicts.

Perestroika revealed distortions in the nationalities policy that had developed during the eras of Stalin and Brezhnev, giving a powerful impetus to ethnic awareness. This became especially clear last year, when union and autonomous republics proclaimed national sovereignty one after another: Russia, Moldavia, Uzbekistan, the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Tataria, Udmurtia, Komi, Yakutia, and Karelia.

The situation was complicated by the fact that the country was in the throes of a severe economic crisis, the blame for which the periphery laid on the center, and hence indirectly on Russia. The leadership of the country, above all, President Gorbachev, had a two-pronged task: to reform the economy and the state and to lead the country out of the economic crisis while keeping intact the union of the republics and peoples. They started tackling this problem in earnest in the middle of 1990.

Gorbachev initiated a program for stabilization of the economy and transition to a free market and the drafting of a new union treaty. Three groups of economists proposed three alternative programs. A competition for the best draft union treaty drew 300 responses.

The highest bodies of power of the constituent republics established working groups, but because of the new political pluralism they had to consult with representatives of a dozen new political parties and movements. At these consultations many new names for this country were suggested, such as the Union of Sovereign Socialist States, the Union of Soviet Sovereign Republics, and the Eurasian Union of Republics.

Opinions also differed on the form the renewed union should assume. Some advocated retaining the federation; others suggested a confederation. People have agreed that the union should be based on declarations proclaiming the sovereignty of union and autonomous republics. But the problem of how to organize the union remained unresolved for a long time.

"What should we do?"

Three great figures—a scientist, a writer, and a reformer—answered differently to this question, posed by democrats now that the existence of

the Soviet Union as a single whole is threatened. Andrei Sakharov put forth his opinion in 1989 in his draft constitution of the Union of Soviet Republics of Europe and Asia, as he suggested naming the voluntary union of sovereign republics (states) that should develop in place of the USSR.

The fundamental principles underlying this union are:

- Every nation and republic should enjoy the fundamental and priority right to self-determination.
- Each republic shall join the union on the basis of a union treaty in accordance with the will of its population.
- A republic shall have the right to secede from the union; the decision to secede shall be made in accordance with a referendum held within the given republic.
- A republic may be expelled from the union.
- A republic shall enjoy full economic independence unless a different status is sealed in a Special Protocol.
- The territory of a republic shall be governed by the republic's laws and union laws provided they are approved by the republic's supreme legislative body.
- The language of the nationality included in the name of the republic shall be the state language within its borders. Russian shall be the official language for relations between republics.
- Borders between republics shall be inviolable for the first 10 years after the constituent congress. Subsequently, border changes, the unification of republics, and the division of republics into smaller formations shall proceed in accordance with the will of their populations and the principle of self-determination of nations.

Sakharov drafted these principles in November 1989. He died in December 1989.

Sakharov was a man of global thinking based on the priority of the right of each nation to self-determination and the priority of universal human values. Unlike Sakharov, Solzhenitsyn calls for a strong leader and a strong centralized power based on Christianity and Russian nationalism. He thinks that the Soviet Union should be broken up and a Russian Union created in its place. This Russian Union would include the three Slavic republics—Russia, the Ukraine, and Byelorussia—and the Russified part of Kazakhstan and would have an aggregate population of 210 million. The three Baltic republics, the three Caucasian republics, the four Central Asian republics, and Moldavia should have the right to secede. If they do not want to, the Russians must suggest that they do so.

These are not short-term considerations, but the basis of Solzhenitsyn's thinking. In April 1974, Sakharov criticized Solzhenitsyn for such

views, which the writer expressed in an open letter "To the Leaders of the Soviet Union." Sakharov wrote then: "But I am convinced that actually the nationalist and isolationist thinking of Solzhenitsyn and his religious-patriarchal romanticism lead him to grave mistakes, making his proposals utopian and potentially dangerous." Why dangerous? Solzhenitsyn's nationalism does not seem to be aggressive, but rather gentle in nature, and it pursues the aim of reviving one of our most long-suffering nations.

Sakharov warned: "We know from history, however, that 'ideologists' have always been much softer than the practical politicians who followed them. A considerable part of the Russian people and a part of the country's leaders profess great-power nationalism combined with the fear of being dominated by the West and of democratic reforms. Taking root in that soil, Solzhenitsyn's mistakes can become dangerous."

Sakharov's warnings should be heeded today, especially if we remember the far-from-innocent speeches of some "practical politicians" at the Constituent Congress of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, held in 1990, not to mention the openly fascist speeches and actions of the so-called historical and patriotic society Pamyat.

The year 1990 was the year of sovereignty in the Soviet Union. First union and then autonomous republics and even autonomous areas proclaimed their sovereignty—the entire country seemed to be obsessed with proclaiming sovereignty. Moreover, while striving for political and economic security as the transition to market relations looms large, the republics displayed an ability to divide and multiply that even a cancer cell might envy, as one economist said.

Jokes or no jokes, Chukotka (a peninsula in the extreme northeast of the country), which proclaimed itself an autonomous republic in October, is twice as large as the reunified Germany. It is populated by six nationalities: Russians, Chukchi, Eskimo, Evenks, Koryaks, and Yukagirs. Even the Far Eastern island of Sakhalin, seeking to be a sovereign republic, decided to claim the continental shelf as its property.

The alternative economic programs also differ in taking into account the striving of republics and territories for sovereignty. The point of departure in the government program is a federation of republics with a strong center. The program drafted by agreement between USSR President Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin, Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, spotlights an economic alliance of sovereign states.

Understandably, the deputies who support the government program emphasize the advantages

Continued on page 31

Reenacting Borodino

***"And, men, remember,
not in vain, our
Borodino's field!"***

Borodino, a small town 124 kilometers west of Moscow, is remembered because of a battle between the Russian and French armies that took place there during the war against Napoleon in 1812. The battle was immortalized in a poem by Mikhail Lermontov and in the novel *War and Peace* by Leo Tolstoy. A monument to the soldiers who fought there was destroyed in 1937 but has recently been restored to its original glory.

By Galina Ryzhova
Photographs by
Sergei Titov
and Alexei Shadrin



The good American tradition of reenacting historic battles in all the glory of military uniform and weapons, with all the details of battle etiquette, came to us a bit late. When it did, we discovered that the history of the Russian Army was fascinating. Today thousands of adolescents are attracted to its study. On the battlefield they learn patriotism, not military strategy.

"You want to know when I got the idea to recreate a bivouac? Probably back when I was still a boy and, like everyone else, played soldier," says Mikhail Beketov. He is the head of the Historic and Patriotic Club for adolescents. "I made Russian grenadiers and husars from plasticine, and my greatest dream was to bring them to life. Now I have just that opportunity."

Flag of the Russian Empire, dating to 1709-1710.



"Our summer bivouac is near the Borodino field, in 1812 the site of the great battle between the Russian Army and Napoleon's troops. For two years now we've had this camp there, and it somewhat resembles military bivouacs of the nineteenth century," says Beketov, continuing his story. "Boys and girls between the ages of 12 and 16 stay there. They are there because they are fascinated by our country's history. We have an interesting curriculum, not only history studies. We also have regular lessons in fencing, ballroom dancing, horseback riding, military campaigning, Russian com-

bat. Come and visit us at Borodino—it is better to see something once than to hear about it a hundred times."

During the lessons on miniatures, I felt like the curious adolescents, who wanted to try everything with their own hands. What are war miniatures? Tin soldiers. At the bivouac, playing with tin soldiers is not only a game of chance; it's also a learning experience. The player must first create his own troops, and this is a very painstaking task: You must be familiar with the uniforms of the Russian soldiers and officers, know the insignia, banners, and



In full dress for the reenactment of the Battle of Borodino. Facing page, bottom left: Mikhail Beketov, a leader of the Moscow Historic and Patriotic Club.

standards of the troops, the medals. It also doesn't hurt to know how to pour tin soldiers.

"The boys and even the adults in the historic and patriotic club, whom I met at the bivouac, excitedly recalled the previous years' march along the route of the Russian Army, which during the war of 1812 followed Napoleon's troops as they were retreating from Moscow. They marched in full costume, with troop banners, fife, and drums. A huge gathering of people with bells met them in the town of Vyazma. In a village near Smolensk the

juvenile army was welcomed in the old Russian tradition with bread and salt, and some of the local old women could not hold back their tears."

Life in the bivouac is busy: Courses are in full swing all over the large green field—fencing, ballroom dancing, horseback riding. The club was able to obtain the horses at the nearby state farm. The children are so fond of them that they take on all the responsibility for the animals—they wash them, feed them, and groom them. A detachment of Novgorod cuirassiers teaches horseback riding.

Lessons in Russian combat were being held near





a birch grove behind the tents. Alexander Belov, the president of the National Russian Combat Club, conducted the classes.

"From time immemorial," he said, "the rich tradition of martial arts existed in old Russia. In Russian epics a warrior could measure his strength against an entire troop. And they were not exaggerating much. We know the actual names of the bogatyrs, the epic heroes: Demian Kudinevich, Rogday, and others.

"Our job right now is to resurrect these ancient traditions. We have already succeeded in reviving hand-to-hand combat and fighting on horseback. We have also revived some Russian folk games: 'Czar of the Mountain,' 'Paws,' and many others. Currently every young person without exception is fascinated by Oriental forms of combat, but unfortunately few of them know anything about our own national forms of martial art. This knowledge might be useful some day."





Wearing
the
uniforms
of historic
Russian troops.

I talked with Sergei Vileiko. He has been worried for a long time about how adolescents spend their free time.

"We should offer these children a choice. Boys and girls don't realize the dangers. They can get caught up in the hazardous and dangerous activities of gamblers and drug addicts, black marketeers, and even pimps. Unfortunately, sports for young people are also experiencing a serious crisis. Sports coaches demand record performances from their athletes and pay no attention to those who are only average.

"Our bivouac is a completely different matter. As you see, the variety of activity and interests is combined with sound physical training and a fascinating game. The most important thing that we achieve here is that we instill in these adolescents pride in the history of their fatherland, in the feats of arms of the Russian heroes. In September we take part in the dramatic battle reenactment on Borodino field,

which takes place every year. This is an important event for all of us, the crowning of our labors."

This reenactment, a major military-patriotic holiday, gathers troops of "grenadiers," "chasseurs," "dragoons," "hussars," and "Cossacks"—all members of the many such clubs that exist in this country. Previously here, on the wide field near the town of Mozhaishk, Soviet army soldiers who had been mobilized for the event marched in old uniforms that were worn threadbare by their many appearances in historical films. Only since 1989 has the Borodino holiday been acted out by those for whom this day is especially dear—the amateur and professional war buffs, who have formed clubs.

After the reenactment, bonfires were lit at the camp. The kids cleaned their weapons, their uniforms, and their shakos. A mazurka sounded in the dusk, and the hussars invited the ladies to a real ball under the open skies.

Refuting Stereotypes

By Ada Baskina

Photograph by Vladimir Chistyakov



Raymond Duch (left) and James Gibson in a Moscow artist's studio.

Recently Soviet and American sociologists met to work together on a study of the attitudes prevalent among citizens of the USSR and the United States toward each other. The Center for Human Values in Moscow aims to bring different nations closer together and to lay the psychological groundwork for building a common home. This was the

idea underlying Soviet-American research carried out in the Moscow area by scholars from the Institute of Sociology of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and from the Political Science Department of the University of Houston in Texas.

They conducted a poll in January and March 1990, asking people about their attitudes toward democracy. In September the Soviet and American

colleagues met in Sukhumi, in the Caucasus, to discuss the results. Participants were James L. Gibson, Raymond Duch, Gennadi Denisovsky, Polina Kozyreva, and Mikhail Matskovsky. Matskovsky, the head of the Center for Human Values, helped to organize the conference and was the inspiration for the joint project.

"You know, Jim, when I first met you at lunch in Houston, Texas, I had no

idea that less than a year later we'd be sitting on the Black Sea coast discussing the results of our joint efforts."

"Why, Mikhail, I imagined this picture right away, only without the sea. I realized from the first that we would cooperate as researchers and become good friends."

James Gibson and Mikhail Matskovsky are relaxing on a warm southern evening on a beach near Sukhumi. Their colleagues are sitting at a table with wine, fruit, and other food in a summer house. They all look comfortable and carefree. They have nowhere they have to be, and their hard work is completed. Only 10 months have passed since their first conversation about Soviet-American research, but a great deal has already been done: The questionnaires have been compiled in the United States and edited in Moscow; two polls have been held through personal interviews; data obtained have been analyzed by computer and interpreted; the viewpoints of both sides have been summarized; and articles have been written.

American and Soviet colleagues do not always interpret statistics in the same way. They had long discussions and even heated debates before they reached their conclusions. But the trust level (and this term was repeated here very often) was so high that agreement was reached (though not at once) on nearly every issue.

Tomorrow they will resume their businesslike discussions to firm up plans for exchanging researchers and writing a book together. But all this will happen tomorrow—today they are just relaxing.

Ray Duch recalls a day when they were sightseeing near the Black Sea coast. They were surrounded by Abkhazian schoolgirls, who, on learning that they were from America, welcomed them warmly, carefully choosing the English words. Ray was surprised by their friendliness—he thought that the local people would be ill-disposed toward Americans.

Jim Gibson remarked on the Caucasians' hospitality, to which we Muscovites are accustomed. Whenever we visit the Caucasus, we are received like welcome guests and treated to the best wine and food the hosts have. "Have you noticed how beautifully the table

is set?" someone observed. To tell the truth, I hadn't noticed this before. But a Caucasian table is a work of art.

No matter how hard they tried to stay away from serious topics, the conversation eventually drifted back to the subject they were studying.

Gibson: I think it is very important for you now to preserve democratic processes, though a transition to a free market may cause destabilization and hinder this process.

Denisovsky: I disagree with you because I think there cannot be a free market without genuine democracy.

Gibson: And how about Sweden? The prevalence of the state economy over the private sector does not interfere with democracy.

Denisovsky: Yes, but the Swedish economy is not fully monopolized by the state. I'm sure that market relations have to be used to achieve true democracy. Unfortunately, many of my compatriots do not understand this.

Duch: In America we heard a lot about the closed nature of Soviet society, and I thought Soviet people were suspicious, frightened, and restrained. On arriving in Moscow, I saw that they are not. To check my impressions, I compared the figures from Soviet and West European polls. To the question "Do you trust people?" 25 per cent of Austrians, 28 per cent of Portuguese, and 34 per cent of Muscovites replied Yes. Why were there so many more in Moscow?

Matskovsky: This is the sixth year of perestroika. Earlier you would have seen restraint, an unwillingness to discuss politics, and mistrust for people, particularly for foreigners.

Kozyreva: How could it be different when a political joke was reason enough for a prison sentence, and anyone who heard could report you?

Duch: It seems to me that your attitude toward democracy has two aspects. Most people see democracy as an abstract notion and are not yet ready for true pluralism because they haven't learned tolerance for the opinions of others. What do you think?

Denisovsky: I fully agree with you. For seven decades intolerance was considered a virtue. Any Young Pioneer knew the slogan, "Those who are not with us are against us."

Matskovsky: I remember another slogan: "If the enemy does not surrender, he must be destroyed." The Soviet people have had more than enough enemies—Russian nobility, Western capitalists, Trotskyists, Bukharinists, kulaks—well-off farmers—intellectuals, or cosmopolitans.

The next day all the scholars were in good, businesslike spirits. They had so many issues on the agenda, they could barely find time for my questions. I first interviewed Gibson.

Q: Jim, what was most unexpected for you in the Soviet Union?

A: The level of Soviet sociological science. To tell you the truth, we doubted, while preparing for this joint research, whether the statistics we got would be valid because Soviet sociologists have their own methods of collecting, processing, and analyzing data. But our doubts were soon dispelled. Moscow researchers are very professional: Gennadi Denisovsky, Polina Kozyreva, and their colleagues are very conscientious, and their methods turned out to be the same as ours. I particularly like Denisovsky, who is an outstanding analyst and thinker.

Q: Have you obtained any data that changed your ideas about Soviet people?

A: Yes. I was greatly surprised by the Soviet people's unqualified support for democratic reform. We in America thought that perestroika, imposed from above, was resisted by the common people. But the results of the poll indicate that this is not so.

Q: What was the most interesting thing for you in this poll?

A: The same thing that interested me in similar polls in Western Europe. Are freedom and democracy the highest humanitarian values for a Soviet citizen? We asked the same question everywhere: "What is your attitude toward democracy?"

Q: Are the Europeans unanimous in their attitude toward democracy?

A: Oh, no. In societies where democratic processes have begun only recently, people treat them with greater trust and hope. In Spain, for example, or in the Soviet Union. In Great Britain and other countries with older traditions of democracy, the attitude is much more reserved.

Continued on page 36

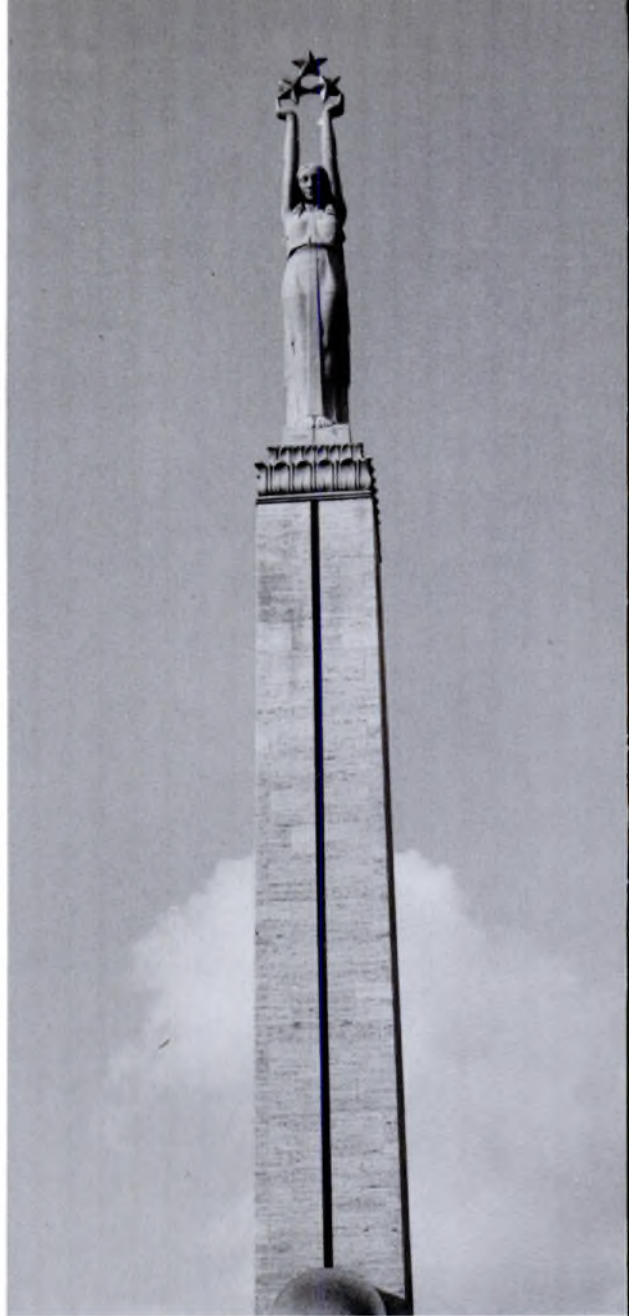
The Odyssey of A Latvian Rifleman

Photographs by Vsevolod Tarasevich





Monuments
to Latvian
war heroes.



Latvian riflemen were always described as legendary knights of the revolution, the faithful soldiers of Lenin. But we discovered that we did not know the whole story. Glasnost helped to lift the curtain on the fates of hundreds of Latvian riflemen. Janis Udris, a Latvian journalist, relates the story of one of these men.


It is difficult to imagine that one person could display on his chest the high military medals of four different governments that succeeded one another in his homeland during his lifetime. Moreover, these governments held diametrically opposed positions. It seems as if such a thing is impossible,

but all the same, such a person exists. He is not a mercenary, but a person who deeply loves his homeland and fought for its freedom.

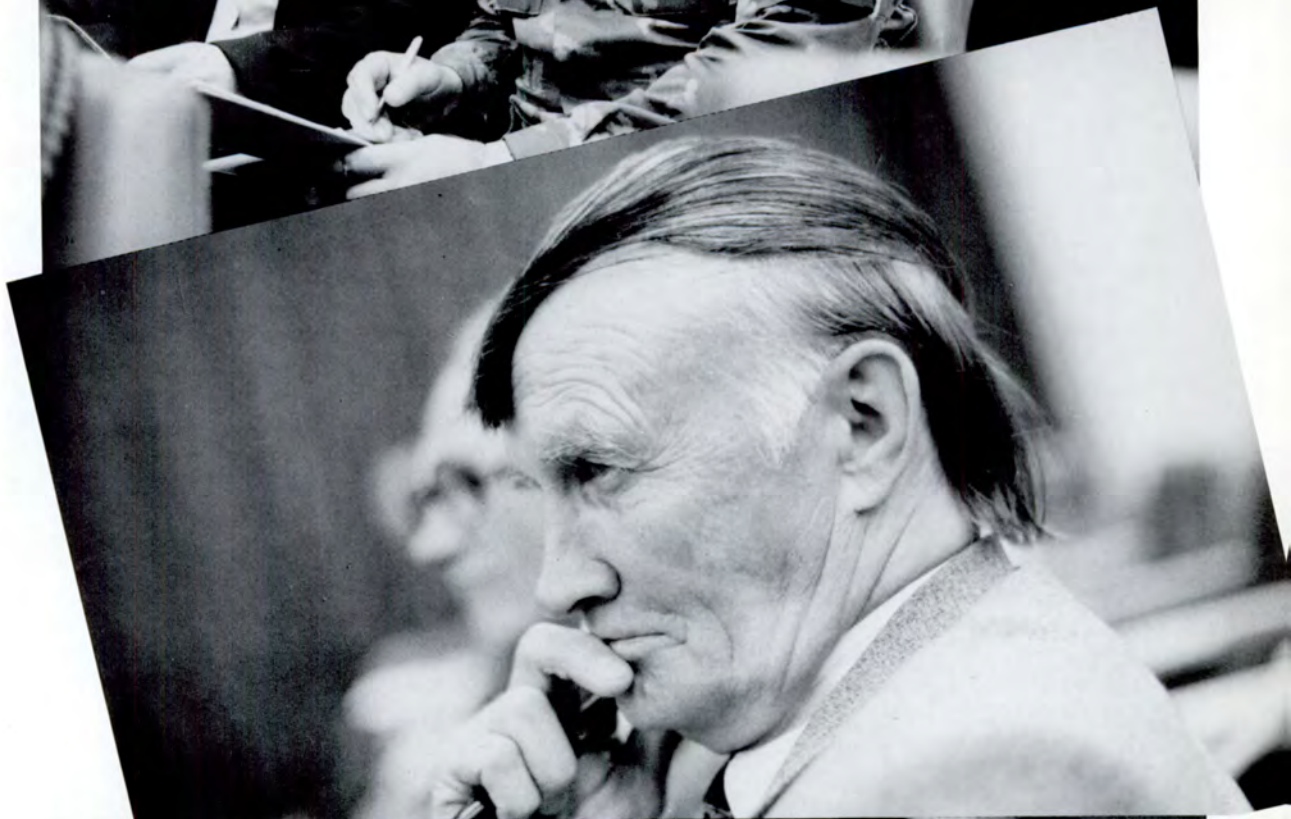
A paradox? Perhaps, but the recent history of my native Latvia is so complicated that there is plenty of room for paradox.

Peteris Lapainis has experienced a great deal during his 93 years. He is the possessor of four orders: the St. George Cross, which he received for service in the Czarist Army; the Order of the Red Banner, which he received from the young Soviet state; the Order of Lacplesis, the highest military award of the Latvian Republic, formed in 1918; and the Iron Cross of the German

Wehrmacht, which he received during World War II. In order to understand the paradoxes of his story, I set off for Baldone, a small picturesque village near Riga.

Lapainis was not at home when I arrived. I found him in the meadow, where he was grazing his cow. Looking at this poorly dressed old man, I could not believe that standing in front of me was a graduate of the Riga Military Academy and a captain of the Latvian Army who had reached the rank of major in the Wehrmacht. In appearance he was a typical old Latvian—just as thrifty, domestic, hard-working, and kind as my own grandfather would probably have been by now. 

Veterans of three wars participated in a recent conference of the Association of Latvian Riflemen. Center: Georgs Popovs. Bottom: Ezune Kucinskis. Facing page: Monuments in Riga to the Latvian riflemen (left) and to freedom.



We are sitting at the edge of the woods, and Lapainis is reminiscing. He speaks as if he is turning the pages of a much read book.

He was born on the banks of the Dougava to the family of a blacksmith. His father was renowned for his craft, always had plenty of business, and began to teach his son his trade at an early age. And when young Peteris just couldn't get the hang of things, his father said: "Obviously we will never make a blacksmith of you. Oh well, you will be a student."

Lapainis became a soldier: World War I began, and he was drafted into the Czar's Army. At first he served with the Russian troops, but in 1915, when the national divisions of Latvian riflemen began to be formed, Lapainis was sent to serve with the Letts. Together with thousands of other Latvian peasants, workers, and students, he rose to the defense of his homeland. The Germans had ruled for seven centuries in Latvia, and once again Germany was threatening to seize the Latvian lands.

The Germans approached Riga, but their path was blocked on the outskirts of the city by the Latvian riflemen. The famous Christmas battles, which were of primary importance in the history of the war, took place at Lozmetejkalns at the end of 1916. In a desperate attack, with no preliminary artillery training, the riflemen broke through the strong German fortifications. The Czar's Army command did not provide reinforcements at the decisive moment, however, and the Latvian riflemen were forced to retreat, suffering great losses.

No less tragic were the battles that took place on Naves Sala (the Island of Death), a small piece of land on the left bank of the Daugava that was abandoned by the retreating Russian Army. The Latvian riflemen held this place for more than six months, preserving a bridgehead for the counterattack by the Czar's Army that never came. Here thousands of soldiers died from the bullets and poison gas of the German Army. Lapainis was lucky. He not only survived, but was awarded the St. George Cross for his bravery.

Czarist power collapsed in February of 1917, and the riflemen were faced with the question, "What do we do now?"

The riflemen agreed on their goal: Their native Latvia should be independent and their people free. But they all held different opinions on how to reach that goal. Some fought for complete self-determination, while others pushed for autonomy within Russia. After the October 1917 Revolution Lenin's government declared the people's right to self-determination. This helps explain why the majority of the riflemen joined the side of Soviet power.

The Latvian rifle troops became the first members of the newly formed Red Army, and Lieutenant-Colonel Jukums Vacietis was the head of the Armed Forces in Soviet Russia from 1918 to 1919. The Latvian riflemen defended the bolshevik government, defeated the troops of General Denikin, and took the seemingly invincible fortifications of Baron Vrangel. At the most critical moment for the Lenin government—July 6, 1918, during the revolt of the Socialist Revolutionaries—the situation was saved by the arrival of the Latvian riflemen.

With military discipline and decisiveness, natural levelheadedness, and common sense, the warriors from Latvia inspired the other divisions of the Red Army with confidence. The White Army even had a strict order: The Latvian riflemen and Red sailors, considered the most desperate warriors, were never to be taken prisoner, but shot on the spot.

Back then (and even now sometimes) the Letts were portrayed as fanatic Communists. Some even claim that the Latvian riflemen executed the czar and his family, even though they had absolutely nothing to do with this crime.

Having spent many years studying the fates of the riflemen and collecting their stories, I became convinced of the following: The riflemen believed in Lenin's government, in the government of Russia that declared the right of the people who lived on the territory of the former empire to national self-determination. After all, neither the czar, nor Alexander Kerensky, the head of the provisional government, nor the White Guard generals promised this. And, in fighting for Lenin's government, the riflemen were fighting for the freedom of Latvia.

This process, however, rarely went

so smoothly as it was later depicted in books and on the screen.

"In the morning we learned that at night the regimental committee had made the rounds of the officers quarters and demanded that they sign a 'certificate of faithfulness' to Soviet power and to Lenin. Those who refused to sign were taken to headquarters, and one of the company commanders later turned up dead. Some said that he shot himself, while others said that he was shot. This is how it was," remembers Lapainis, "and as for the power of the Bolsheviks, we understood very little back then. New commanders were chosen almost every day. And at that time, at the end of 1917, the Germans continually attacked, the war dragged on, and we continually fell back. Finally we were faced with a choice: Whoever wanted to could enter the Red Guard and retreat to Russia or could go home. How could I go home, when it was in the hands of the Germans? Therefore, we all hopped on trains and set off for Moscow."

In Moscow Lapainis enlisted in the famous 9th division of the Latvian riflemen, which was formed to protect the Kremlin: "I was immediately selected as platoon commander, and so I had to be both in charge of the watch and general security of the Kremlin. I assigned the soldiers to their posts and often filled the post outside Lenin's study myself.

"During the revolt of the Left Socialist Revolutionaries we, the Kremlin Guard, wanted to rush in and suppress the uprising, but Lenin wouldn't let us leave the Kremlin and said that they would get by without our help.

"After the rout of the Left Socialist Revolutionaries, their leader, Maria Spiridonova, was put into my custody. We kept her in the throne room of the Kremlin. I spoke with her often. I remember that she said that we Letts would some day regret our missed chance that we didn't let them overturn Lenin. 'Lenin has absolutely no understanding of the interests of the farmers, and truly, you Latvians are a peasant nationality.'"

Now, when Latvia, having lived through a period of forced collectivization, is gradually returning to a system of individual ownership and private farming, the words of the former leader



Peteris Lapainis
and his wife.
Above: With his
cow and his dog.

of the Left Socialist Revolutionaries seem somehow prophetic to Lapainis.

Lapainis more frequently recalls the words of Lenin.

"I must say that Lenin spoke differently in official speeches than he did in personal conversations with us," says the old rifleman. "I've said it before, and I'll keep saying it until the day I die: Lenin always told us that if we defeated the White Guard generals, we Letts would be allowed to form our own government. The Letts believed this."

After his service in Moscow Lapainis fought with the Cossacks on the Don steppes. Here he was awarded his second order—the Order of the Red Banner.

After that Lapainis wound up in the army of the independent republic of Latvia. This republic did not accept bolshevism and in our historiography has always been regarded as bourgeois and counterrevolutionary.

Lapainis took part in battles against the 50,000-strong army led by Pavel Bermont-Avalov, which had been composed near Riga of former soldiers from Kaiser Germany. Before attacking Red Petrograd, Bermont's men decided to take Riga, but their path was blocked on the banks of the Daugava by the Latvian Army. Many of its ranks were made up of volunteers, poorly dressed, weakly armed, and often unshod. The experience of former soldiers like Lapainis was certainly invaluable.

In the fall of 1919, the enemy was defeated and turned back. Later Bermont's army was dismantled. In these battles the soldiers of the young Latvian Republic were both fighting for the national banner and defending the red banners of Soviet power in Petrograd and Moscow.

Later Lapainis received the Order of Lacplesa, the highest military award in the Latvian Republic, for a successful reconnaissance mission.

In peacetime Lapainis graduated from the military academy in Riga. For 20 years he was an officer of the Latvian Army. He began as a lieutenant and earned his commission as a captain. As

a bearer of the Order of Lacplesa, he enjoyed great respect among his fellow soldiers.

As a result of secret protocol in the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact of August 1939, fateful changes occurred in Latvia in 1940. In June the Red Army entered the sovereign country. Within a month so-called elections were held. The new parliament proclaimed Soviet rule in Latvia. In August Latvia was made a part of the USSR.

The Latvian Army was reorganized into a territorial body of the Red Army, but the command underwent a house cleaning. People began to disappear without a trace.

Lapainis was dismissed. He was lucky. On the eve of the aggression by nazi Germany, Latvian officers were arrested. Some of them were shot, and the rest were sent to Siberia. On that one day, almost 15,000 people were deported from Latvia. This circumstance may help to explain the sympathy that part of the population felt for the German Army, which soon occupied Latvia.

Nevertheless, in 1943, when the German occupational powers began to form a so-called volunteer Latvian legion, the number of enlistees fell short of expectations. Forced mobilization began; the alternative to joining the legion was being sent to the Salaspils concentration camp. The attitude toward professional soldiers was especially uncompromising.

This is how Lapainis ended up in the German Army—the fourth army in which he served. He did not display any special heroism, but spent more time worrying about how to preserve the lives of dozens of Latvian young men who had been forcibly mobilized into a foreign army and were serving under his command.

All the same, once a soldier, always a soldier. For one of his missions, as commander of a reconnaissance battalion, Major Peteris Lapainis received the Iron Cross.

On the day the German Army surrendered, Lapainis was in the port city of Ventspils. He promptly surrendered to a Soviet soldier.

Once again fate was in Lapainis' favor. "Many of my friends who had been awarded the Iron Cross of the German Army were shot," he recalls. "They didn't notice me in the chaos."

Of course he was arrested and sent to the North, near Arkhangelsk. There he and others were loaded on a ship and transported across the Arctic Ocean a long distance.

Lapainis fell ill and thought: "They will certainly throw sick men overboard." He received no help, but miraculously recovered. The prisoners were taken to Dudinki on the Yenisei River, above the Arctic Circle, and from there to Norilsk, where they worked building a railroad.

Even here Lapainis stood out: He was made brigadier over all of the other prisoners.

"All that time I was still strong, and the guys in the brigade were good sorts, mostly Latvian legionnaires. The work progressed." Later Lapainis was even transferred to the position of engineer and began to work with the explosives.

Lapainis finally returned home in 1955, two years after Stalin's death, and for a long time was considered a dangerous person. He worked as a logger so he would qualify for a pension. He kept silent about the past—until very recently it was dangerous to talk about such things.

Much has changed now. Lapainis and people like him have become a focus of interest for historians and journalists. A relative of Lapainis, Dainis Ivans is the leader of the People's Front of Latvia, and he was elected first assistant to the head of the Latvian Supreme Soviet.

And Lapainis, who has seemingly discarded both his awards from the four armies and his life as a soldier, calmly spends his days in simple peasant farming on the outskirts of the resort town of Baldone. He grazes his cow and takes care of his garden.

The Letts were often forced to rise in defense of their homeland, often in a union with a stronger power. It was not always easy to choose the right side. Only in retrospect does everything seem clear and simple. ■

Freedom

Continued from page 15

of federation. Mikhail Bronshtein, an economist from Estonia, believes that in the United States federal principles have guaranteed both the independence and the economic integration of states. But our federation, with a super strong center and its arbitrary commands, has proved a failure and has engendered protests from the republics.

Soviet economists who advocate federation and underline the dangers of sovereignty have more than once predicted the disintegration of the European Economic Community (EEC). Yet a dozen states are still members of that organization, and others are waiting to be admitted. Analyzing the EEC experience, Bronshtein claims that economic integration need not destroy sovereignty and national statehood. That is why he supports the Gorbachev-Yeltsin program. He believes that it provides for the creation of an economic alliance by member states of a federation. He does, however, feel that the establishment of political and economic structures should be delineated in the union treaty.

When Solzhenitsyn's article "How Are We to Organize Russia?" was published in Moscow in late September, the USSR Supreme Soviet was in session in the Kremlin, discussing, among other things, the drafting of a union treaty. No wonder that at one of the sessions President Gorbachev was asked to express his opinion of Solzhenitsyn's article.

Gorbachev said that the article contains quite a few interesting ideas and trends and is clearly the work of a great mind. He also said that he had read the article twice and very thoroughly, making notes in the margins. He stressed, however, that Solzhenitsyn's political ideas are alien to him. "He is all in the past, with old Russia and the monarchy," the President said. "I regard myself as a democrat with radical views."

About ethnic problems, which are actually tearing the country apart, Gorbachev said: "I have long made my choice in these issues. I am for a union of sovereign states, a renewed union, in which all would feel comfortable, and all peoples, each nation, would realize its intellectual capabilities and everything inherent in it."

The President said that "each nation is unique and great," an idea that coincides with a thought expressed by Solzhenitsyn in his Nobel Prize acceptance speech in 1972. He said that each nation, "even the smallest one, has its own distinctive features and is a unique facet of God's design." Notwithstanding this and Gorbachev's respect for the great writer, Gorbachev deemed it necessary to distance himself from Solzhenitsyn.

"As a politician I cannot accept his views on the future of our multinational state," he said. "They are far removed from reality; they are designed outside the context of modern conditions in this country."

And what is this situation? It was analyzed in great detail by Andranik Migranyan, the rising star of Soviet political theory, in his article "The Indivisible Union?" published in the newspaper *Izvestia*. Migranyan thinks that in conditions of growing economic and social chaos, the powerful striving for separation will not abate even if the President, the Congress of People's Deputies, and the USSR Supreme Soviet attempt to survive by making concessions.

Migranyan believes that secession by national-territorial formations and step-by-step solution of long-standing problems facing the center represent the only possibilities for escape from the crisis. In this case new political instruments and leaders, who still enjoy the people's confidence, can be used in local areas. They alone can initiate the new economic relations.

We should work out the principle of a new national-territorial division and try to reach consensus on this issue between the main subjects of the union, Migranyan thinks. We should also establish a coordinating committee of representatives of all national-territorial formations, which alone can counter the growing trend for independence and sovereignty. In conditions of ethnic conflicts, the elimination of the center would "Lebanonize" the country.

The main task of the center is to guarantee the least painful dissolution of the old union, Migranyan thinks, so that republics and regions independently find ways to organize themselves and establish cooperation or ties between each other as soon as possible. With this end in mind, the center must strive "not to rule but to coordinate relations and to facilitate the dissolution of the old empire."

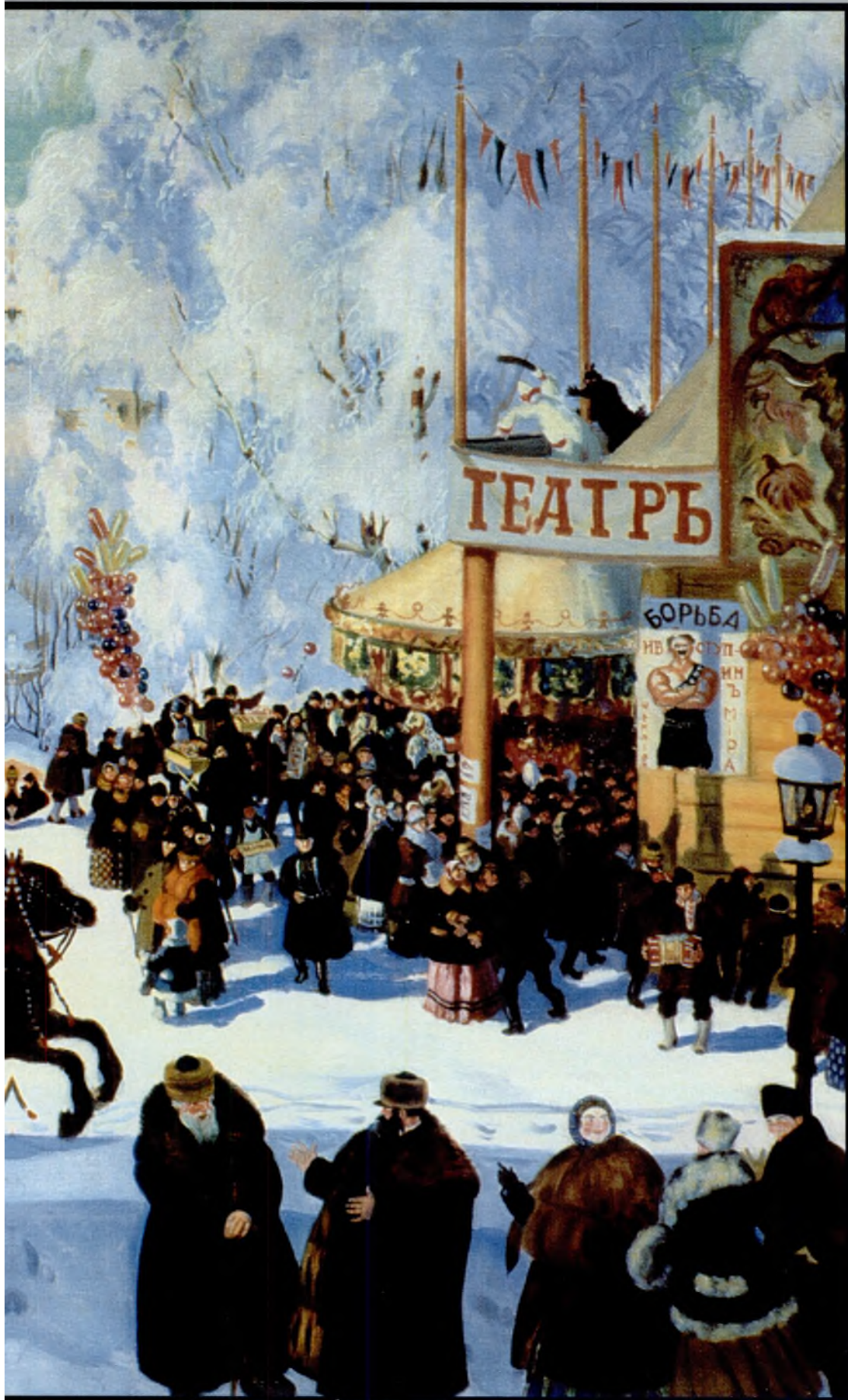
If we procrastinate over the renewal of the union and prolong the crisis, new structures in republics and regions might lose the credit of confidence and fail to solve economic and social problems. In short, there is no time to lose.

So the task is to dissolve the existing union in the name of future unification.

Solzhenitsyn's mistrust of the West and democracy led him to romanticize the patriarchal way of life. Criticizing this, Sakharov wrote in 1974: "The absence of unity in the West is the price it is paying for pluralism, freedom, and respect for personality, which are the source of power and flexibility of any society. There is no sense in sacrificing them to mechanistic, barracks-type unity."

The question today is: Are we prepared to pay the price of freedom? Isn't the price too high?





Russian Shrovetide,
by Boris Kustodiyev.
Oil on canvas. 1916.
Reproduction by
Alexei Sverdlov.

Mikhail Bocharov: Soviet Entrepreneur

By Boris Alexeyev



Bocharov realized early that workers had to take their factory on lease from the state and subsequently buy it out.

A recently published book, entitled *How to Survive in Moscow*, offers foreign business people many helpful tips, but it overlooks one crucial question—is it all right to deal with Russians at all? If yes, then with whom? It is easy to find an answer to that burning question if you contact the reliable and authoritative Mikhail Bocharov, president of Butek.

Bocharov, a lawyer, engineer, and economist, has been an energetic member of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation and the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. He generated many radical economic ideas that were supported by the late Andrei Sakharov, but have been rebuffed by the federal authorities.

The Russian legislature, headed by the equally restless and unpredictable Boris Yeltsin, proved to be more progressive. It set up a Supreme Economic Council (SEC) and unanimously nominated Bocharov as its president on Yeltsin's proposal.

Bocharov was born in Moscow in 1941. His résumé was brief enough to be described in 15 lines on an electoral poster circulated two years ago during the national election campaign.

After finishing secondary school, Bocharov entered a technical college, but after two years of studies, he quit and left for Norilsk in the Far North, "to test myself." Working there, far beyond the Arctic Circle, he renewed his studies at the law school of Krasnoyarsk University. After graduation, Bocharov became a deputy director of the Norilsk factory where he had started as an industrial worker.

Bocharov's energy and far-reaching ideas worked well for the factory, and he was offered a job at a Moscow research institute. After a few years in Moscow, he became the head of a major construction company in Butovo, near Moscow.

It was in Butovo that it dawned on Bocharov: To reanimate the ideologically hamstrung economy, workers had to take their factory on lease from the state and subsequently buy it out. In fact, he conceived a transition to the market economy as early as 1987. Two years later, his work force fully owned

the company, and Bocharov became the first Soviet entrepreneur.

When the workers of the Butovo Company nominated Bocharov as their candidate for people's deputy of the USSR, the local bosses launched a desperate counterattack. But Bocharov won 69 per cent of the vote.

Bocharov subsequently left the Communist Party, after 25 years as a member, and joined the Democratic Russia Movement, accused by diehard Communists of "engineering a counterrevolutionary coup," opposing perestroika, and collaborating with the CIA.

As president of Butek, Bocharov can conclude contracts with foreign companies directly, market his output abroad (with no intermediaries to siphon off profits), and avoid any party or government control.

Here are some excerpts from his extensive interview about business in the USSR.

Q: Is a Soviet-style concern just a copy of a Western one?

A: No, there's no way to transfer a foreign system to the Soviet Union. We have a different outlook and a different economy. It's easy to join our concern. All members must buy out their fixed assets and sever their ties with state-run structures.

Q: Are you trying to create another industrial giant?

A: In fact, we do not want to control our members. At the initial stage, the concern may give new members a helping hand. Then they may cooperate if they wish. Our objective is to learn entrepreneurship together. The name may be misleading. Actually, all our members are free to operate in whatever way they like. The concern is sort of an umbrella operation for them and a way out of the state structures.

Q: What will Butek produce?

A: Construction materials, chemicals, and electronic component parts. We already sell some of our products to Western firms.

Q: Why are foreign companies interested in doing business with you?

A: Direct contacts are crucial. Intermittent talks with state authorities are a pain in the neck for foreigners.

Q: You've traveled a lot. What are your impressions of the Western business community?

A: Utmost efficiency in decision making and ongoing perfection.

Q: What's the purpose of your numerous trips abroad?

A: I need personal contacts with Western businesses, and I think Western business people may find it helpful to have contacts with the new breed of Soviet entrepreneur to understand the current economic situation in the USSR.

Q: Could you become an industrial tycoon in the West?

A: Once an American journalist told me I'd be a millionaire in the West with my enterprise and instincts. But I know this is not serious. In order to achieve something there, you have to live in the Western business environment for many years and learn the ropes. I won't even mention perfect knowledge of the language because that is obvious. Unfortunately, I started studying English only recently.

What are Bocharov's activities as president of the Supreme Economic Council of Russia?

The SEC believes that its goal is to assist the Yeltsin reform plan.

"The basic thing for us," says Bocharov, "is to develop a strategy and tactics for introducing market relations into the Soviet economy at the minimum cost."

"We proceeded from this fundamental premise while drafting the 500-days plan for Russia. We believe we need this length of time to introduce a socially oriented market system in the republic. Well, it may be not exactly 500, but, say, 530. In any case, we have to set a concrete period of time and shoulder the responsibility."

Still, even the rosier plans may collapse under the burden of the gloomy reality. A system that has had decades to take shape will block every innovation suggested.

"That's true," agrees Bocharov. "We are facing many a problem, most difficult being changing stereotypes. But we don't despair because Russia has a tremendous potential, both natural and intellectual."

Stereotypes

Continued from page 23

Q: Doesn't that strike you as somewhat paradoxical?

A: No. Any social process has a positive and a negative aspect. The same thing can be said about democracy. While bringing freedom, personal independence, and economic progress, it at the same time gives a free hand to pornography, drug addiction, and irresponsibility in the press.

Q: Is freedom of the press a vice?

A: Any freedom without responsibility is evil. In its pursuit of sensations, the yellow press can publish erroneous information, and this may eventually cause serious trouble. Soviet people must learn how to evaluate events thoughtfully.

Q: Without dashing from one extreme to the other? That's a rule with us—we see everything as either black or white, without noticing any gradations of color. Western democracy, which we once regarded as an enemy of the socialist way of life, is now good in every way, indiscriminately.

A: One should discriminate between things and know about the dangerous companions of democracy.

Q: Being a student of European democracies, you must know the laws of their development. Can you predict the future of my country?

A: No. Democracy here is developing in most unusual conditions. This process begins, as a rule, in underdeveloped countries. Your country has all the outward signs of a highly industrialized society. Democratization here coincides with an economic crisis, which is also unusual. At the same time, conflicts among ethnic groups have been aggravated.

The first steps of democracy are not typical because they are being initiated by middle-aged people, while in other countries young people always lead the way. Take the 1960s in Europe, when students and even teenagers were in the vanguard. So I can't predict anything concerning your country. The only thing I can say is that the present economic crisis in your country reminds me of the crisis in America in the 1930s. As the United States emerged from it, it began a period of rapid eco-

nomic progress. I wish your country the same.

Q: What surprised you most in the Soviet Union?

Duch: The professionalism of my Soviet colleagues. In America we had heard a lot about the overpolitization and ideologization of Soviet sociologists. But we saw instead strict objectivity in their research.

Q: Did you have any difficulties in conducting the poll?

A: No difficulties at all, thanks to your researchers, who had thoroughly studied the 180 questions we sent them and changed them substantially. Some were adapted for Soviet people and 40 were deleted altogether.

Q: Was there anything you found particularly interesting in this research project?

A: The level of the citizens' political activity. I'm a Canadian, and I got involved in my country's political life when I was a student. In your country I'm trying to understand the degree of political activity.

Q: Do you think it's high?

A: Most people are very interested in politics, and their judgments are independent of the state ideology. I think the citizens' political awareness has made it possible for democratization to proceed so rapidly here.

Q: Mikhail, will you comment on the results of the joint research?

A: The most important result is that the stereotypes have been refuted. James Gibson and Raymond Duch said their impressions were different from Americans' general idea of the Soviet people.

Q: Would you be willing to give us an example?

A: For example, the stereotype that Soviet science is too politicized and biased, that it is based on dubious research methods.

Q: Are you sure that this opinion is erroneous?

A: Absolutely sure, as far as sociology is concerned. I do not deny that Western scholars had grounds for mistrust. For decades American political scientists tried to draw a realistic picture of our society and to find out, for instance, the amounts allotted to different articles in the budget—military expenditures, economic trends, public health,

efforts to combat crime, and so on—but they received controversial or even incorrect figures from Soviet sources. But these were mostly economic figures. Sociologists did not pay much attention to our country because they could not do research on their own and did not trust Soviet methods. Now that we can hold a joint sociopsychological poll, we have discovered that we have similar methods and principles and can fully trust each other.

Q: Did your work together refute any of your stereotypes?

A: For a long time we believed that if Americans studied our way of life, they did so only to find something negative about it. But now we realize that this opinion was utterly wrong. A scholar must rely on objective figures, and if there are more negative than positive phenomena in these figures, the scholar is not to blame for that.

Another version of the same mistrust for conclusions made by foreign sociologists is the assertion that they do not understand us; that we know ourselves better than others. An equally false stereotype.

When you are in the very focus of events, you're too involved in them to be able to make unbiased judgments—feelings and emotions get the better of reason. Only outside researchers can help understand the process. This is particularly true of our colleagues from Houston, and I think that our joint research project has gone a long way toward helping them to understand the democratic processes that are taking place in the Soviet Union.

Q: Are you ready to make any predictions yet?

A: No. It is way too early to talk about forecasts. We have only made the first steps and obtained the first figures concerning three basic aspects—attitude toward democratic processes; tolerance, or readiness for pluralism; and problems of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union.

Some time later we will repeat the poll and compare the figures we obtain from it. And only then will we be able to make any really reliable forecasts.

Forthcoming issues of SOVIET LIFE will include summaries of articles by Raymond Duch and James Gibson.

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LAND TO THE PEASANTS!

By Daniil Gai

P rivate ownership of land became a reality when the Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation, during its session on December 3, 1990, adopted a decision allowing it.

This is an event of unprecedented importance. The debate on this question was intense in the Russian parliament. "If we give peasants the land, then no one will dare to command them any more," said Ivan Silayev, prime minister of Russia, urging the parliament to vote for the measure.

Who owns the land? This is not a rhetorical question. The Bolsheviks who roused the people to the October Revolution in 1917 promised to give land to the peasants. But after the Revolution the land was made public property—it belonged to the state. The question has been repeated more than once.

During the parliamentary debate each side spared no words to promote its view. Those with ideological blinders on tried to scare ordinary citizens about the idea of private ownership, claiming that collective and state farms would be disbanded and that people operating in the shadow economy would buy up the land. They demanded a referendum and constitutional amendments, alleging that "people are not ready" for private ownership of land.

Vasili Starodubtsev, a famous collective farm chairman and member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, was an ardent advocate of a Russia-wide referendum. Starodubtsev's skeptical attitude toward farmers is widely known. He stands for "collective forms of farming" as "more efficient" and flatly rejects the idea that land may be bought and sold. He takes pride in his collective farm and absolutely loves to show it to visitors. Indeed, Starodubtsev's is an excellent farm with which no one else can compete. The secret is that his cows are from Germany, embryos from Canada; farm machinery and equip-

ment and seeds are also of foreign origin. Can the chairman of an ordinary collective farm who is not a member of the party's Central Committee, not the chairman of the Soviet Peasants Union, and not the chairman of the Council of Collective Farms of Russia get all this? The answer is clear: No.

Public opinion polls are a ready-made form of referendum. All of the recent polls show that the majority of peasants favor private land. According to a group of sociologists led by Academician Tatyana Zaslavskaya, 60 per cent of the peasants want to own land. But Starodubtsev and others like him are against private ownership. They cannot accept the idea that they won't be able to control farmers.

"Private land owners won't be able to fill the market in a short period of time," say the advocates of collective farming. But let them try first, don't drive a wedge into their wheel, and we will see. Only three per cent of land is under private use; 97 per cent belongs to collective and state farms. Nevertheless, private producers account for 60 per cent of the potatoes, 30 per cent of the vegetables, 27 per cent of the milk, and 30 per cent of the meat. What is then produced on the remaining 97 per cent of the land?

Small wonder we have to extend a hand for help to the "damn capitalists" in Europe and the Americas. Our thanks to the Germans who started sending food parcels to our citizens. Isn't it a shame that this autumn we grew the biggest crop ever in the years of Soviet government but nonetheless have to beg other countries for food?

I don't know whether private farmers will save us in such a situation. But they will certainly help us avoid hunger. And who said that private farmers are the panacea for everything? Private ownership is only one of many forms of ownership, and the peasant may choose whichever he prefers. All forms of ownership have equal protection under the law. To prevent abuses, local

Soviets will be in charge of all land sales.

Farmers are entitled to a certain acreage free. The average is estimated according to the amount of land per person engaged in farming in a given region. All the land above this average can be bought. All the land users, including collective and state farms and individual farmers, will pay a tax.

The right of citizens to own land will not be absolute right away. According to a resolution adopted by the Congress of People's Deputies, a plot of land cannot be sold or bought for 10 years after the right of ownership is granted. There are also other limitations. Agreeing to them, parliamentary deputies took into consideration the complicated situation that exists in the republic and, in particular, the traditional psychological rejection of private property by many citizens.

The expected reforms are only comparable to the reform of 1861, when serfdom was abolished in Russia. The present decision is to dismantle the bureaucratic system that has alienated peasants from the land and the implements of labor and made them completely dependent on a very intricate pyramid of management.

Russian parliamentarians supported other concrete proposals of the Russian Government designed to revive the village. At least 15 per cent of the republic's income is to be earmarked for these purposes. Until now similar allocations were four to five per cent. The Congress also decided to forgive the multibillion-ruble debts of collective farms and to allocate vast amounts for credits to farmers.

It is necessary to help farmers, and the help should be tangible. Our future is in free farming, unless collective and state farms suddenly surprise us with outstandingly high results. Miracles do happen in a world of honest competition. If this happened, it would be to our common good. ■

Courtesy of *Vechernyaya Moskva*



Hi-Tech Catches Smugglers

By Vera Kondratenko
Photographs by
Oleg Lastochkin

Sokolniki Park hosted the Customs Service-90 International Exhibition, at which Soviet and Western companies displayed their products.

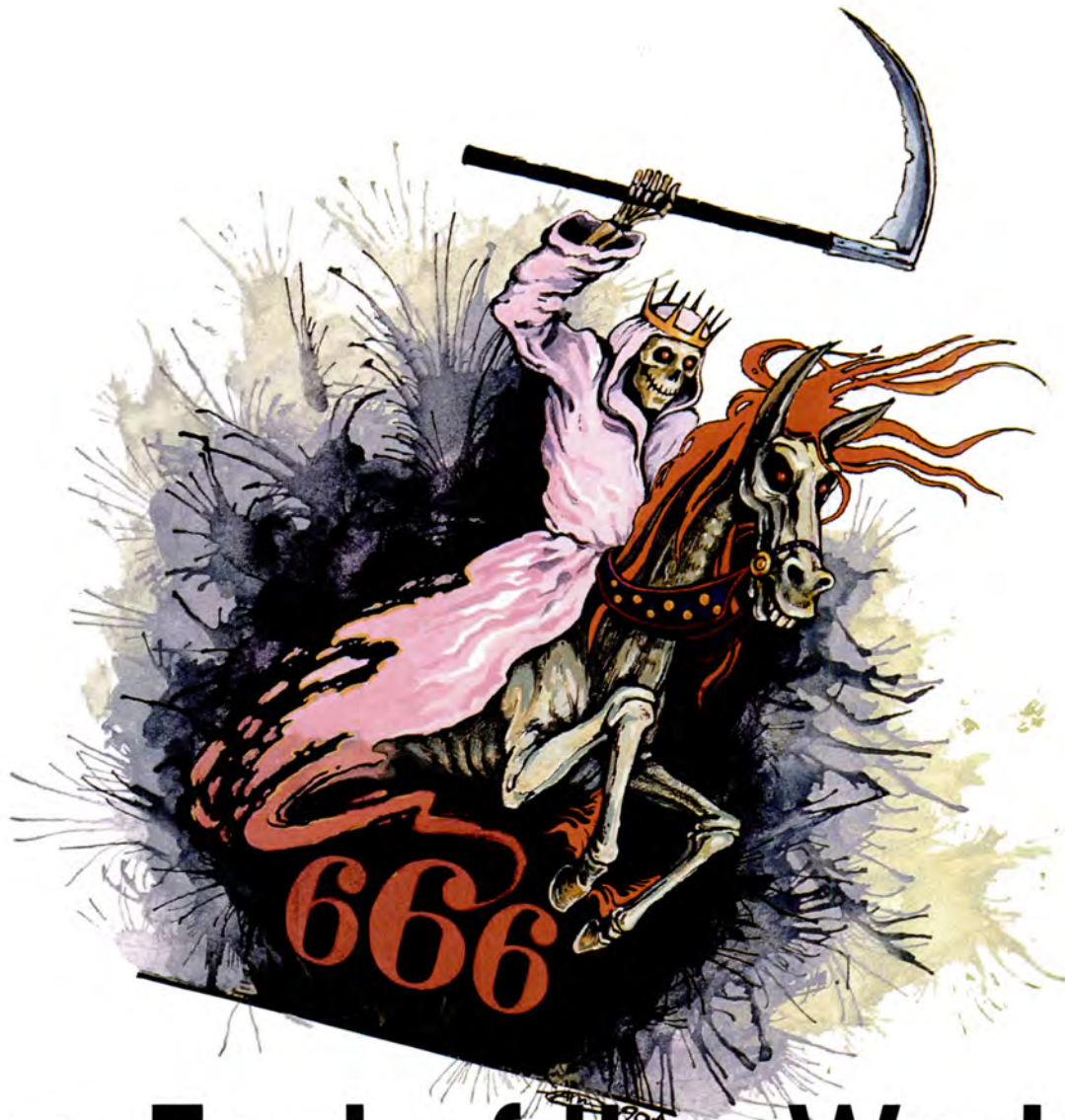
The Tomsk-based Proyekt design bureau displayed its MISS-5 stationary metal detector, which can detect dangerous metal articles in 99 per cent of all cases. The possibility of a false alarm is less than five per cent.

Proyekt also unveiled its portable Sverchok (Cricket) neutron detector for locating explosives and narcotics. Sverchok is 90 per cent more sensitive than conventional devices.

Geli Dugin, deputy chief of the Soviet customs service, noted: "Now that part of the Soviet munitions industry is switching over to civilian production, a great many companies specializing in customs control products have emerged. They are competing with each other, so their products must conform to world standards."



Will We See



The End of the World?

Drawing by Anton Tishchenko

Genetics, which deals with vital infinitesimals, has seen great discoveries and tragedies. In the time of Stalin, genetics was called a "false science." Its study was banned, but committed researchers had worthy pupils. One is Soviet Academy of Sciences Vice President Rem Petrov. His work on immunogenetics, new vaccines, and AIDS diagnostic methods is well known. He also writes fiction, and his books have been published in large editions in the Soviet Union and abroad. Science analyst Svetlana Vinokurova interviewed Petrov.

Q: In the past, end-of-the-world predictions have been rife. Recall the Revelation of St. John, the Apocalypse. In our own time, religion makes no such forecasts because man has seen what he can achieve, and there is a hope that reason will prevail over destruction. But natural cataclysms, environmental issues, and new diseases seem to prove the opposite, don't they?

A: As a college student I understood that Apocalypse is the end of the world for every dying person. At that moment the entire world that exists in the person's brain ends. We materialists used to accuse of idealism philosophers like Ernst Mach and Richard Avenarius, who said that reality only exists in one's mind. But it is a fact. The world as I see it only exists for me; it may be different for other people.

Speaking of the end of the world, we mean the death of humankind or of the greater part of humanity. But I repeat, every death is Apocalypse and must be seen as such by all of humankind. On this reasoning we build love of our fellow man.

As to the possible effects of human activity, I am convinced that no cataclysms or ecological Apocalypses can destroy life. Humanity, but not life, can die. Alongside some animals, plants, and microorganisms, genes will remain, and they will continue to develop in new conditions.

Q: You mean we can't destroy nature, don't you?

A: To illustrate, here are some facts from my own life. In 1957 I became one of those "nonconformist" scientists who gathered around Academician Nikolai Timofeyev-Resovski. Today he is popularly known as Bizon through Daniil Granin's book. I often asked him how he thought life began. At first he would laugh my question away, but when I asked for the third or fourth time, he took me

seriously and answered: "We all were taught to be materialists, and none of us wondered how the matter originated. The answer is that it always existed. Maybe life, too, always existed."

Intelligent life is only part of life and nature. We human beings presumptuously think that we are the king of all creation and that everything emerged so that we could emerge. Therefore, it is an illusion that we can destroy earth and upset the Solar System. Out of greed and vanity we can only kill ourselves and hurt the environment, but not the universe and nature. People should think more about how to help life develop and prosper on earth and work toward that end.

Q: Plague and cholera used to wipe out millions of lives and were seen as harbingers of doom. Others believe such pandemics were "worldwide sanitationists," which eliminated the weak, diseased, and unfit. Now doctors have to save the life of everybody. But doesn't this destroy humankind? There are 3,000 hereditary disease types in the world today, the World Health Organization says.

A: This question shows a lopsided approach to the problem, as if everything living developed through elimination of the least fit. Genetics says the opposite also is true: Sometimes freaks are more fit than the normal species. For example, mutant wingless fruit flies were brought to an oceanic island where winds blew constantly. In a few years, the entire island swarmed with these wingless flies, which crawled on trees, instead of flying. Because they were never airborne, the wind could not blow them into the ocean.

Of course, selection can produce an unviable species with some useful attribute. But nobody handles selection of people. The incidence of hereditary disease is one in 10,000 to 100,000 people, many of whom can be genetically screened. With genetic counseling, parents who carry hereditary diseases will be able to have healthy progeny.

Therefore I think it only humane to treat all people no matter fit or not physically. This will not undercut humankind's gene pool, but it can save

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lives—whether they would be great lives or just those who are a consolation to their parents.

Q: Isn't AIDS going to kill all people? There are now from six to 12 million virus carriers in the world, 70 per cent of whom are diseased. Even if an AIDS vaccine were developed this year, the epidemic would have reached its peak in 2007. And besides, the virus can mutate: Well over 3,000 versions have been produced in the laboratory, and one patient has proved to have 14 virus types. No efficient treatment has been found to date. As an immunologist, what do you think?

A: I don't think AIDS will bring final doom. I believe in science, which will create a vaccine. But I have no doubt another virus will spring up. Viruses do evolve. Nobody knows where the flu virus came from. Now it's AIDS. To me it did not come unexpectedly. As an immunologist, I supposed a virus that could affect the immune system might emerge. Humanity and science must be prepared for new viruses and be on the lookout for a remedy. It should be a concerted search. No country can stand aside and be walled off, even more so when a pandemic like AIDS is involved.

In our country, lack of funds is the stumbling block in combatting this disease. An Intersectoral AIDS Council has been set up, but the government has no money to fund it. Some people say "only 14 patients have died of AIDS, while thousands die of flu and fires or are just killed." Such reasoning is immoral, unwise, and inhuman. Who knows what may happen tomorrow—how the virus will mutate and be transmitted from one to another. No country is immune to epidemics.

The 1990 San Francisco Congress on AIDS, in which I participated, made it plain that no medical cure is yet available.

It was a very interesting congress. Its watchword was "AIDS: From Science to Politics," meaning that this disease has assumed social and political dimensions in addition to the medical aspect. The congress was attended by more than 1,000 people who are involved in one way or another with AIDS—scientists, sociologists, lawyers, public activists, patients, doctors, nurses, and even "third-sex minorities."

French scientist Luc Montagnier of the Pasteur Institute, who discovered the AIDS virus, gave a sensational report. He said that the basic cause of the deadly disease was not the immune deficiency virus, but its permanent satellite pneumocyst—the simplest nonvirus organism. In his laboratory, cells infected by the virus lived on, and only a pneumocyst addition killed them. If he is right, which vaccine is more important—the one against the virus, the pneumocyst, or both?

It is my belief that humankind and science can defeat AIDS.

Q: I know you developed the AIDS diagnosticum, for which you won the international prize of the World Academy of Sciences on Health Protection and Population. You are now working on a basically new type of vaccine. Will you tell us about this new vaccine?

A: At the Institute of Immunology, of which I am the director, we sought to produce vaccines not from the entire virus, but from its peptides. This is how we developed the AIDS diagnosticum Peptoscreen-1. Now we've developed the Peptoscreen-2, which can recognize two viruses.

What's new is that we do not develop vaccines through the use of whole though debilitated virus or genetically engineered whole-virus proteins contained in the plasmid of the DNA circular molecule. We attach virus peptides to synthetic polyelectrolytic carrier molecules, which ensure a powerful immune response.

Our vaccines minimize the risk of disease infection for people in good health. In the first place, when a whole virus is used, there is a risk of "underkilling" it. In the second place, nobody can guarantee 100 per cent safety for the plasmid.

Furthermore, traditional vaccination causes the emergence of corresponding antibodies in the body, making it difficult in further examination to understand if the antibodies are the result of vaccination or disease. The vaccinated may thus be discriminated against as virus-carriers.

Vaccines our institute is developing cannot initiate disease because in them the virus is represented by a small peptide of 20 to 25 amino acids and only "generates" antibodies in the vaccination area. As a result, vaccinated people can be easily distinguished from diseased, who have antibodies in all body parts.

In other words, a vaccine created on the peptide

basis and strengthened by our polyelectrolytic carrier-molecules or in another way would be best in every parameter. But it's very difficult to say how soon we will be able to make some headway.

Q: What has Soviet genetics achieved in recent years?

A: The unique work to synthesize mirror images of short gene portions is one achievement. These artificial formations can merge with their natural doubles and shut off the flow of information from the corresponding gene. If this gene codes in a living cell the production of a protein, its synthesis ends. If it is a virus gene, the virus dies. Actually, this work opens up broad possibilities for treating cancer, viral diseases, and AIDS.

Geneticists in Moscow and Kiev have developed methods for plant-to-plant gene transfers. As a result, the so-called transgenic plants are produced with a range of present signs, such as resistance to poisonous chemicals, or containing reserve protein genes. In our conditions, this can help meet feed and food protein shortages. In some countries, including ours, transgenic introduction of additional growth hormones produced giant fish. Very soon transgenic animals will be able to produce milk and wool of high quality and resistance to disease.

Selectors in many countries, including Soviet, have found a beetle that feeds on ragweed of American origin, whose pollen causes a respiratory allergy. The USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of Zoology has "resettled" it in 16 regions, from the Ukraine to the Soviet Far East. Its staffers have begun selection of insects that destroy narcotic hemp.

Genetic engineering is quite productive, although there is no streamlined mechanism to apply scientific developments. We have no flexible mobile industries that would snatch scientific ideas straight from the drawing boards and implement them. Lack of such a mechanism certainly impedes the further development of Soviet genetics.

Q: What are the goals of genetics and science in general?

A: Speaking of genetics, command of genes will only come when the genomes of basic organisms are fully decoded. This is a major scientific goal to be achieved by a concerted effort on the part of all

scientists in the foreseeable future. See for yourself, this largely technical job is separating the entire million-gene chain in a living organism. Having decoded the structure of every gene, we'll learn how any sign in the human organism—normal or pathological—is programmed. We'll learn first the operation of this system and then how to influence it.

The Human Genome program has gotten under way. Development of the Animal Genome and Plant Genome programs lies ahead. The chief goal of science in general is raising the biological quality of life. Humankind is tired of making ever new means of destruction and of engineering supertasks. The goal of science and humanity must be improvement, including biological, of the quality of life. Spending on world science is shifting toward biology, and I'm sure it will continue to do so.

What's new is that we do not develop vaccines through the use of whole though debilitated virus or genetically engineered whole-virus proteins.



"WHY SHOULDN'T I LOVE AMERICA?"

By Leonid Mitrokhin

Nicholai Roerich and his family were an important bridge between the United States and the Soviet Union.



Much has been said today about the champions who even at the hardest of times stood for spiritual rapprochement between Russia and America. As early as the 1920s Nicholai Roerich and his family were an important bridge between our two nations. Their cultural activity, art, social, and academic activity in the

Roerich received a medal for his outstanding contribution to the American cultural heritage.

United States are vivid evidence of this.

Frances R. Grant, an American cultural figure who was an associate of Roerich, called him "the voice of America" at one time. She maintained that Roerich, who was born in Russia, did not come to America, of all places, by chance.

The Roerichs' way to the United States wasn't simple. In 1917, they

were in Finland. Later, when they were staying in London, Roerich received an invitation from the Art Institute of Chicago to display his works in American art galleries. It was at that time that Roerich first went to the United States, postponing his plans to travel to the Orient.

True, Roerich had his first contact with the United States much earlier, around 25 years before he first set foot on American soil. At the turn of the century, haughty Europe still had little faith in the cultural potential of the vast United States and claimed that America was backward culturally, compared with its industrial development. Roerich understood even at that time that such an approach to the young nation was superficial. He predicted that things would change, that the United States would reach incredible cultural heights. On his initiative, the first exhibition of American paintings was arranged in Russia.

Americans remembered Roerich's faith in the development of American culture, so when he visited in 1920, it was not as a stranger. His art was an instant success, and his steadfastness won people's hearts.

Roerich said at the time, "Young and great is this country, and great are its youthful aspirations." His faith attracted Americans, who rated him an outstanding artist after the first exhibition of his works held in the United States, the 1920 New York exhibition.

Roerich expressed in his art great faith in the future, which, he believed, would see great achievements. This is true of the numerous paintings he produced during his stay in the United States. He established in the United States a number of artists organizations, which were to play an important role in the cultural life of the country.

One of Roerich's projects, the Institute of United Arts, was meant as a school where all the arts would be taught. The institute opened on December 31, 1921. The *New York Times* noted a year later that the Institute of

United Arts created by Roerich carried out the development of ideas in practically every sphere of art "under a single roof" and would produce solutions to many a problem faced by America.

In 1922, Roerich established Corona Mundi, an international cultural center, which arranged art exhibitions that traveled to America's outlying areas, schools, small towns, factories, and even prisons. He also set up Corardens, an international artists society. His idea for this organization was to unite artists all over the world. And he began Alatas, an international publishing house, as a clearing house for information on innovative ideas.

These were some of Roerich's contributions to American culture.

But there was more. In the summer of 1923, the Roerichs decided to launch an artistic and academic expedition to Central Asia that would be carried out under the sponsorship of Americans.

Shortly before that, they organized a major art exhibition in New York, in which the principles of the future Roerich museum were implemented for the first time. In November of 1923, the museum itself was opened.

Unfortunately, not everything went so smoothly. During Roerich's long trips to India and Central Asia, he was accused of tax evasion. More than 1,000 of his paintings and Oriental artifacts from his collection were taken away from the museum and auctioned off. It was not until years later that American enthusiasts managed to recover part of the collections and restore the museum.

Roerich said of the New York museum: "You may wonder why my museum should be in America, and what my attitude is toward my pictures being in a foreign country, outside of Russia. But is America a strange land?

"All the severe obstacles are being removed, and our range of vision is becoming greater....It is particularly easy for me to speak about it because I have spoken so much about the beauty of Russia and the importance

of the Russian people. But why not look at the future now that unforeseen but most logical bridges emerge linking different nations, and it is really hard to say which stone would be best for the cornerstone of similar important structures to be created in the future? If I love Russia, why shouldn't I love America? If I have appreciated the wonderful features of this young country, why should I necessarily forget the Russian treasures that are intertwined with all the gifts of Oriental wisdom?

"Indeed, if there were less nihilism and less ignorance, the boundaries would be broader. And what seemed to be impossible yesterday would become practicable tomorrow. So, let's develop a broader approach."

These words were written in the 1920s, when there were no diplomatic relations between the USSR and the United States.

Roerich created some pictorial cycles in the United States. Among them was *The Messiah*, which, as art critics pointed out, crystallized the image of humanity's hopes.

Roerich showed America as a country that revived brotherhood among people, and that is the reason behind the very warm welcome given to his ideas by the romantics among American intellectuals.

It was also in the United States that Roerich proposed the Roerich Pact and the establishment of a peace banner, an international cultural flag. In his open letter to the editor of the *New York Times* on March 11, 1930, Roerich noted in particular that it was significant that the idea of a pact concerning the preservation of cultural values in case of a war was first proposed specifically in the United States. Thanks to its geographic location, the United States depended on such protection less than other nations—its own art treasures were in no particular danger, and the signing of the pact would express in the best way the American peacemaking aspirations and concern for world civilization. The peace banner expressed the same idea. Roerich explained that the design of the flag



he created for the project (three spheres in a single circle against a white background) symbolized eternity and unity.

The *New York Times* reported on October 21, 1934, that President Franklin Roosevelt had designated Secretary of State Henry Wallace as U.S. plenipotentiary to sign the Inter-American treaty on the Roerich Pact. The treaty was drafted by the Pan-American Union.

Wallace said, "The Roerich Pact, which forms this treaty, provides that all museums, cathedrals, universities, schools, libraries, and other cultural sites be registered by the nations and marked by a banner—known as a Banner of Peace—which designates them as neutral territory respected by

all signatory nations. This pact owes its conception to the versatile genius of Nicholai Roerich, one of the greatest figures and true leaders of contemporary culture."

In many ways, the history of the Roerich Pact was similar to that of the Red Cross, which was only accepted after 16 years of effort. But, as Roerich himself noted on one occasion, "Where the Red Cross cares for the sick and physically wounded, the Roerich Pact protects the values of human genius, thus preserving the spiritual health of nations."

The pact was signed on Pan-American Day, April 15, 1935, by the United States and 20 other countries.

Speaking at the signing ceremony, President Roosevelt said, "It is most

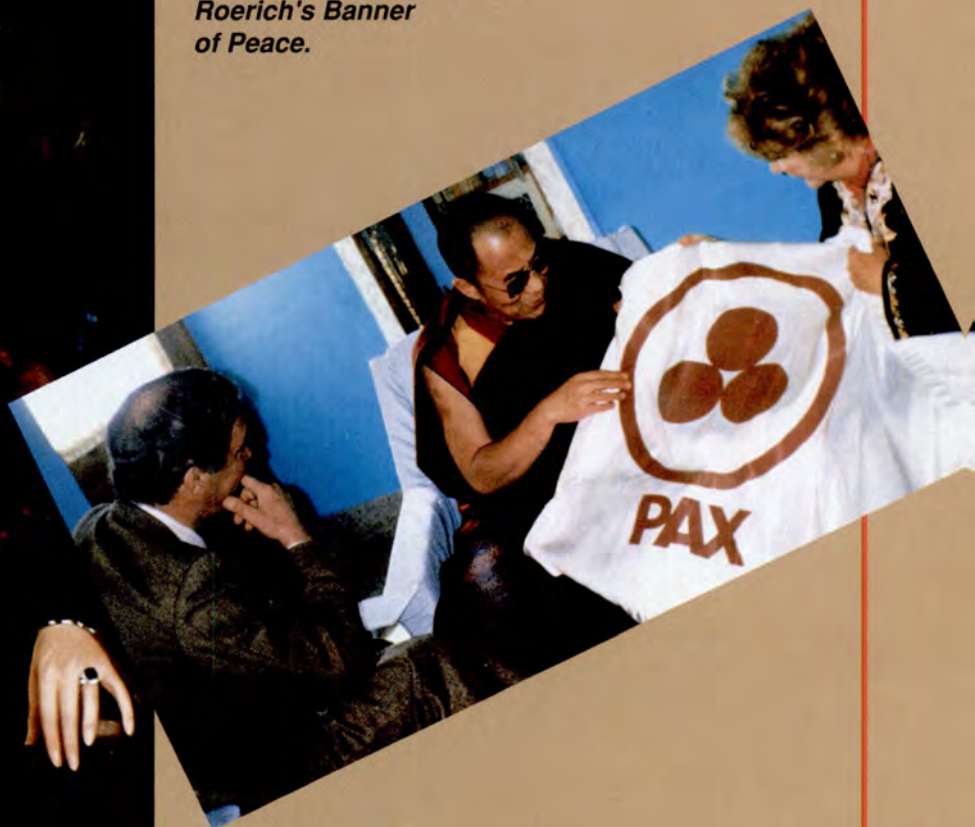


appropriate that on this day, designated as Pan-American Day by the Chief Executives of all the Republics of the American Continent, the Governments, members of the Pan-American Union, should sign a treaty which marks a step forward in the preservation of the cultural achievements of the Nations of this hemisphere. In opening this Pact to the adherence of the Nations of the world, we are endeavoring to make of universal application one of the principles vital to the preservation of modern civilization.

"This Treaty possesses a spiritual significance far deeper than the text of the instrument itself. It is but one of the many expressions of that basic doctrine of continental responsibility



Paintings of
Nicholai
Roerich
(facing page left) and
his wife (left) by their
son Svyatoslav.
Ofllamma by Nicholai
Roerich. Below: The
Dalai Lama examines
Roerich's Banner
of Peace.



and continental solidarity which means so much to the present and the future of the American Republics.

"On the occasion of this celebration of Pan-American Day let us again dedicate ourselves to the task of translating into deeds the essential unity of interest of the Nations of this Continent. Let us also bring renewed allegiance to those high principles of international cooperation and hopefulness which, I feel assured, will be a great contribution to civilization by the Americas."

Such were the fruits yielded by Roerich's peacemaking effort on the eve of the Second World War, of his great effort to consolidate what he called the "forces of light."

Millions of Americans worked ac-

tively during World War II for the victory of the "forces of light," the Allies. Particularly active was the American-Russian Cultural Association (ARCA), of which Roerich was honorary president. I've discovered in Soviet archives interesting manifestations of Americans' solidarity with the USSR in 1941-1945. One of them concerned an illustrated lecture by Dr. Dudley Watson, held at Carnegie Hall on January 9, 1943, on the theme "Russian Art's Contribution to American Culture." Other posters advertised other fund raisers to help the Soviet Union. One of them, for instance, was to benefit Russian war orphans. The ARCA lectures, concerts, and other functions were held at Carnegie Hall in New York.

ARCA President Dudley Forsdick wrote to Vladimir Kemenov, chairman of the USSR Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries: "A note of heartfelt recognition and true brotherhood between our two nations sounds today through the salvos of the American salute in honor of the heroic Red Army. That brotherhood is firmly based, on the one hand, on outstanding works of creative endeavor and thought already created in our countries and, on the other, on the future unity of common work and aspiration for love and beauty.... We understand you, our colleagues in Russia; we send you our greetings and suggest that we walk hand in hand toward a glorious implementation of our aspirations."

An American Small Business in Moscow

Kuperwood, Inc., was registered in Moscow's Oktyabrsky District, which is famous for its progressive undertakings, toward the end of November 1990. This is the second firm in the USSR with wholly foreign capital. Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing (3M) was the first. The activities of Kuperwood, Inc., include: trade, collection, and dissemination of information on the commodities and services markets, engineering and technical research, and assembly and adjustment of engineering equipment.

Phoenix Sells for Rubles Only

The American company Phoenix International, which exclusively represents 14 industrial companies from different countries on the Soviet market, intends to start selling its products (medical equipment) in the USSR only for rubles. According to Henry Zingerman, president of Phoenix, the firm made this decision because of the inability of its Soviet clients to find stable hard currency resources.

In April 1989 the volume of Phoenix's trade on the Soviet market was estimated at more than 50 million dollars. Part of the firm's receipts in rubles will be converted into hard currency with the help of hard currency auctions. The rest will be reinvested in the creation of metallurgical and pulp-and-paper businesses in the USSR and in the development of a joint-stock bank that Phoenix will establish in Moscow. The bank will handle transactions in rubles and in hard currency and will support financially projects in which Phoenix is participating. Zingerman, a career banker, does not exclude the possibility of other operations as well.

Good Prospects for Programmers

A branch of the U.S. Nantucket Corporation and the Moscow-based experimental youth association Kirovets have signed an agreement for a joint venture called Magnet that will manufacture and sell in the USSR clipper computer programs and products developed through them.

According to Mikhail Kuperman, director general of Nantucket's technical center in Moscow, the joint firm will begin by selling Nantucket's program products in the Soviet Union and then start the production of program means locally. Later the company will teach Soviet computer users and programmers the rules of using program means that are accepted all over the world and turn the results of their work into a commodity for sale. A special service group is to be created and a "hot line" for free consultations by phone is to be established for this purpose.

Nantucket manager Vanessa Wade said that the main objective was to give Soviet specialists the newest computer technologies for work with data base.

According to Wade, Nantucket intends to invest its Soviet profits on the territory of the USSR mostly in projects to manufacture program means, in building hotels, and in real estate. The firm is prepared to support Soviet programmers financially.

Amur-America Company

The sponsors of a Soviet-American joint venture in the Soviet Far East, Amur-America Company, are two fisheries and Paragon Pacific Trading, based in Seattle, Washington. This is the third venture involving fisheries of the Khabarovsk region.

Federal Express Ready to Help

George Murphy, a consultant on the USSR for Federal Express, said in Moscow that Federal Express is ready to lend its experience and technology to develop the Soviet courier system. Federal Express intends to participate in a number of joint ventures with the USSR.

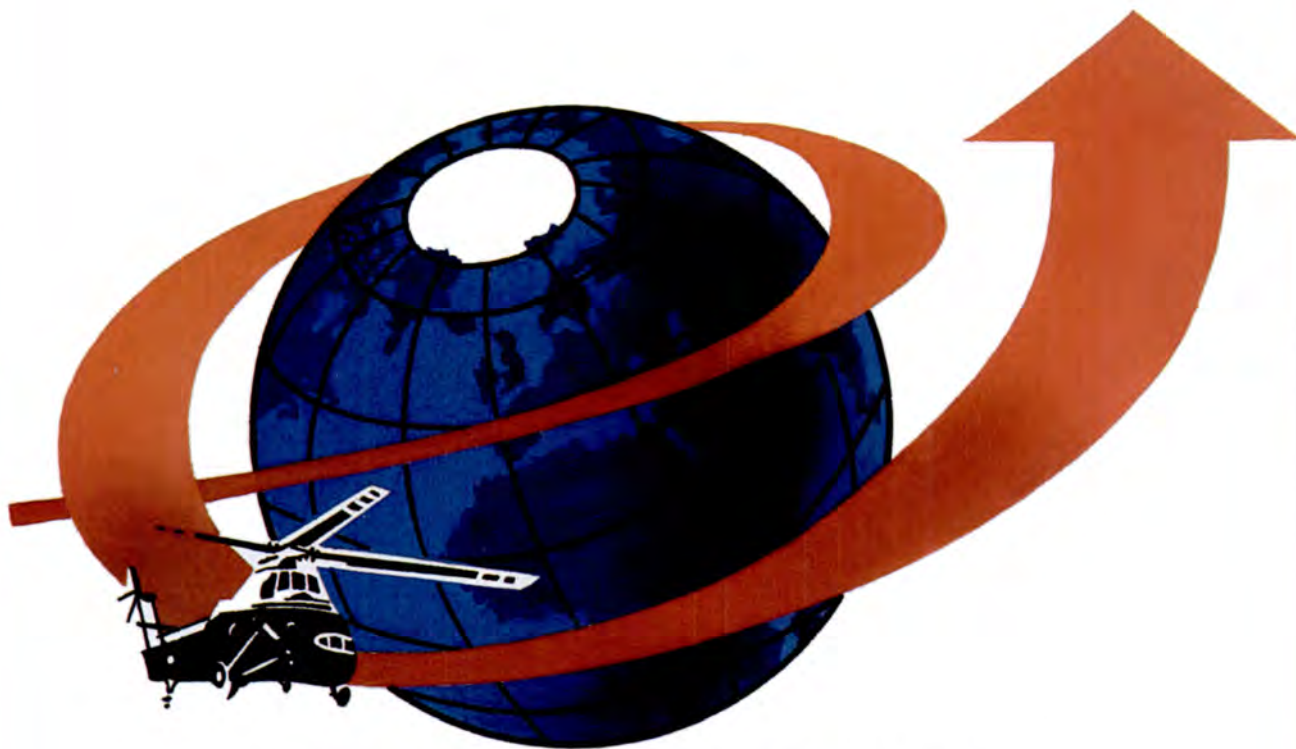
According to Murphy, any Soviet enterprise specializing in corresponding areas can become a partner of Federal Express. The corporation is ready to make its own satellite communications stations and data base on commodity stocks available for operation in the USSR. Federal Express intends to begin its activities in the USSR by making investments in existing transportation courier enterprises.

Business Week Outstrips Its Rivals

The first issue of the magazine *Business Week/USSR* is available in Moscow. According to its vice president, Herd Hinske, the new magazine is fully oriented to the Soviet market. The Russian edition is copublished by McGraw Hill and the Moscow-based Kniga publishers and is printed in Minsk, Byelorussia.

Each Russian-language issue will be a digest of four weekly American and European issues. Intended for aspiring Soviet entrepreneurs, *Business Week/USSR* contains information on the world market situation, international economics, and finance.

A successful choice of the Soviet partner made it possible for *Business Week/USSR* to get on the market 18 months earlier than similar publications by its main rivals, *Forbes* and *Fortune*.



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Belated Repentance

Grand Duchess Yelizaveta Fyodorovna, prioress of the Marfo-Mariinsky Convent and a member of the Russian royal family, has been memorialized at last. She founded the Marfo-Mariinsky Convent in Moscow and became its first prioress. She also financed the construction of the convent's church, hospital, and orphanage. In 1918 the Soviet government closed the convent and exiled Yelizaveta Fyodorovna to the Urals, where she was brutally murdered. Seventy-two years later, the church consecrated a monument to this remarkable woman. On it is the inscription: "To Grand Duchess Yelizaveta Fyodorovna with Repentance."



Golden Khokhloma

The lacquered woodenware produced in Khokhloma is a tradition more than 300 years old. Local artisans invented an original method of painting that imitates gilding. The Khokhloma gilding technique has remained almost unchanged. A coat of lacquer changes the silvery pattern to golden. The objects are hot water- and acid-resistant.



Armenian Choir in Moscow

The Armenian National Choir is very popular and has a loyal following. It was organized in Moscow—the choir's artistic director, Ninel Andriasova, believes that Moscow is a crossroads of national cultures. Two-thirds of the Soviet Armenians live outside Armenia, 200,000 of them in Moscow. The choir has 21 singers, most Armenian, but some Russian and Ukrainian. "Our aim was to put together a creative ensemble," says Ninel Andriasova." The repertoire includes Armenian religious and folk music, classical Russian and foreign pieces, and liturgical music.



A Collection of Devils

In 1906 the famous Lithuanian painter and composer Mikalojus Ciurlionis received a figurine of the devil as a birthday present. Thus began a collection of toy devils. When Ciurlionis died, he left a large museum of toy devils, which is known far beyond Lithuania.

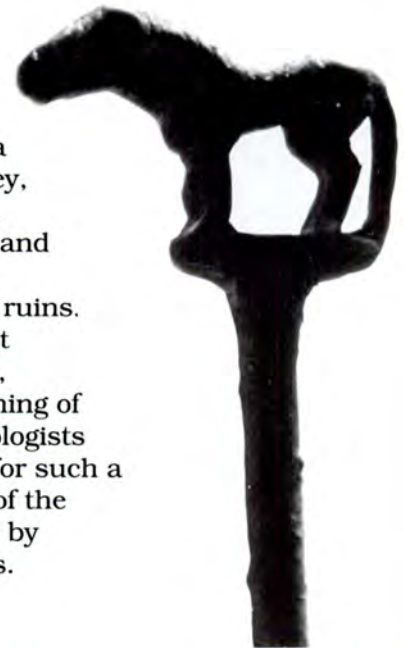
Svetlana Smelyanskaya, a designer for Moscow's Central Puppet Theater, was deeply impressed by the museum. She also has a collection of devils, which includes 314 figurines, ceramic, porcelain, and wooden, and others made of more unusual materials, such as pen caps and pumpkins.



Another Archeological Sensation

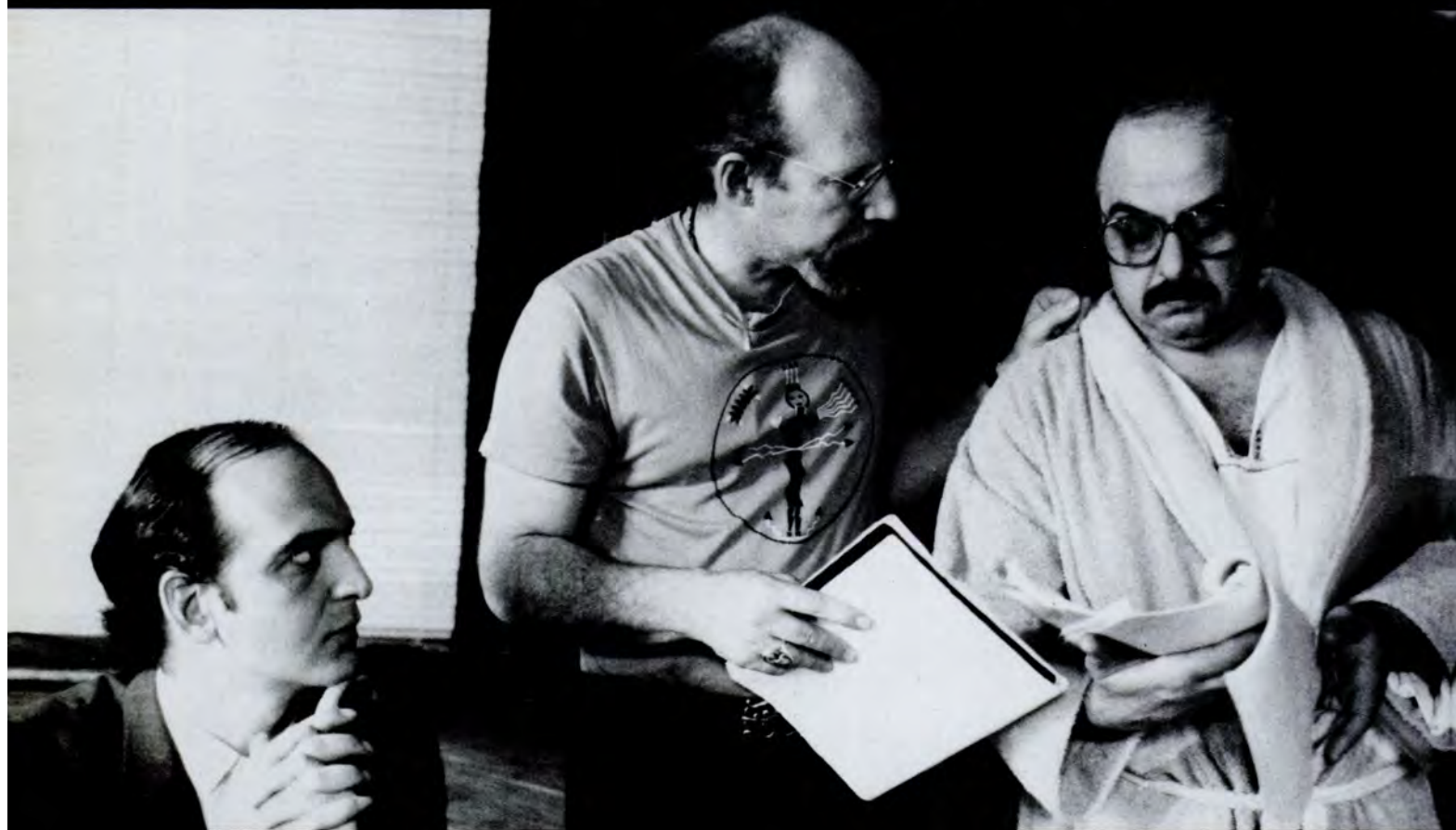
Ashur Tailanov lives in northern Tajikistan. In his vegetable garden he has found bronze axes and knives and stone mortars and pestles. He uses many of them; these implements serve people today as faithfully as they did in ancient times. Sarazm is an archeological site that sprawls across more than 10 hectares. Excavation has been going on there for more than 10 years, and every discovery makes it more obvious that this site is a real sensation. The first buildings were erected at Sarazm more than six millennia ago. Archeologists have revealed Sarazm's links

with many cultural centers of the ancient East, from Mesopotamia to the Indus Valley, through the seals, pottery patterns, and burial places discovered in the ruins. The town's ancient name, Sari Zamin, means "the beginning of the earth." Archeologists hope the reason for such a name will be one of the secrets uncovered by future excavations.



KAFKA ON STAGE, USSR-USA

By Dmitri Marchenkov
Photographs by Alexei Folumenov and Igor Mikhalyov



Several years ago American theatergoers had the chance to become acquainted with the play *Kafka: Father and Son*, which was staged by director Leonardo Shapiro at the Broadway theater café La Mama.

insights, which defy quick understanding, the play, based on the works of writer Franz Kafka, was quite successful and received outstanding reviews. Its author was the Soviet playwright and theatrical director Mark Rozovsky.

"I wrote the play *Kafka: Father*

was produced on the smaller of the stages of the Moscow Art Theater," Rozovsky recalled. "Back then, however, the time of Kafka's works had not yet arrived here, and the play, which ran for a few performances, was forbidden."

In general, Kafka's works had a



Sergei Erdenko (left)
as Kafka the son and
Vladimir Dolinsky as
the father. Top:
Dolinsky. Facing page:
Director Leonardo
Shapiro with Soviet
actors.

ume of his short stories was published in the mid-sixties, the first publication of his work in this country. The stories had an enormous effect on their Soviet readers. The selections revealed the monstrous fantasy worlds Kafka created. His psychological perceptions can be compared only with those of Dostoyevsky.

"In turning to Kafka, I tried to get into something that is not always seen in the West, but clearly felt in the East—the idea of fatal violence, which has been a topic of traditional Russian literature," continued Rozovsky. "The play is based on *A Letter to Father* and *The Judgement*. At first glance the play seems to relate the conflict between a father and a son. The conflict conceals the philosophy of oppression by a cult of personality—that is, that very violence experienced by our people in association with what they were forced to undergo during the times of Stalin and Brezhnev. Naturally the play *Kafka: Father and Son* drew a negative reaction from the cultural watchdogs."

The subsequent fate of the play was extraordinary. In 1984, a group of American theatrical directors, including Leonardo Shapiro, came to Moscow. At one of the meetings Shapiro said all the recent Soviet plays he had seen had "fake happy endings and were just as cheap and dishonest as the plays on Broadway." At the end of the evening Rozovsky approached Shapiro and offered him a play that could not have a happy ending. Shapiro was interested, and he took the script back to the United States with him. Lena Prishchipenko, an artist of Russian extraction who works in Shapiro's theater, translated the play into English, and a new play appeared on Broadway—*Kafka: Father and Son*.

Six years later the play returned to Moscow, together with Shapiro, and was staged with Soviet actors from Rozovsky's theater studio At the Nikitsky Gates. This studio has existed for eight years. During the past four years it has survived

ticket sales—Rozovsky refused the government funding that supports the majority of theaters in the USSR.

He has also declined to use many traditional theater techniques. More precisely, he began a quest for new methods, unpredictable in form, dedicated to surprising the audience, forcing it to think and attracting it to come to other plays. There are both classics and contemporary works in the repertory of the theater studio At the Nikitsky Gates.

Recently the theater began to invite directors from England, Denmark, and the United States. According to Rozovsky, Soviet theater was cut off from world culture by the Iron Curtain for too long, and integration of artistic values is simply a matter of life and death for him. When plans developed for the Kafka production, Rozovsky said he suppressed his desire to direct the play himself. "It was interesting for me to think that someone on the other side of the ocean understood Kafka the way I do," said Rozovsky. "I was certain that Shapiro's work with our actors would be beneficial both for them and for him."

Shapiro enthusiastically agreed to direct. Of course, not everything went smoothly at first—after all, it was the first time he had worked with Soviet actors and for a Soviet audience, and he also had to take into consideration the specifics of life in the USSR.

"On the most immediate level it's a play about a father and a son, and there is nothing there that refers directly to governments or political systems," said Shapiro. "It is about creativity and repression, but it's told in a personal way. And I think people here, including the people in this theater, seem to have much more trouble understanding Kafka—the son—and his position than they did in America. This is a very authoritarian society all the way through, and people here are much more naturally willing to side with the father, to take the side of authority and the way

the side of the misfit, of an artist, of a person who doesn't fit in."

But this wasn't the only problem. The actors, who are accustomed to free self-expression under the direction of Rozovsky, had to sublimate their desires and acting methods to the will of the foreign director.

"I liked Shapiro's style," said young artist Sergei Erdenko, who played the role of Kafka the son. "He sets the stage with mathematical precision, as if he were drawing it. His direction is like a print, like music. It seems to me that when you yourself decide how to play a role, you often think in a pattern, go by a repeated route—do what is easier, more convenient. Shapiro tries to break this in order to realize even those of his ideas that are most uncomfortable for the actors."

Vladimir Dolinsky, who played Kafka the father, is an artist of many years' experience. "Shapiro limited the freedom of the actor, restricted the opportunity to improvise on stage. I had difficulty making him understand that I, as an actor, know the strong sides of my craft and know how and in what place to make an effect on the audience. When we stage a production with Rozovsky, the actors appear as coauthors of the play. In this production I did not feel that I was a coauthor. It seems to me that it would have been possible to create a more profound interpretation of this role, from which the play would only have benefited."

Creative friction is probably incapable among people in theater. And, although the general consensus is that *Kafka: Father and Son* was a success, both Rozovsky and Shapiro now think that they could have done more.

"Kafka is an author we are learning to understand," Rozovsky said after the premiere. "Much that is in the play is new to our audience. We are creating a theater of profound psychology, and in this sense the work of the actors with Shapiro was highly productive. I hope that the play furthers our the-

We Have a Lot in Common

By Dmitri Vladimirov

American journalists Suzanne Milton and Mary Murphy met in Moscow's Hotel Salyut, where they were to spend two months sponsored by the USSR Journalists Union for exchange training of American journalists. The idea originated seven years ago, when the Journalists Union and the New England Society of Newspaper Editors decided to establish relations.

They began by exchanging delegations of editors, who eventually signed an agreement. Under the terms of the agreement Linda Feldman, currently a correspondent for the *Christian Science Monitor* in Moscow, came to the Soviet Union three years ago to work at *Moscow News*.

After that two Soviet journalists went to the United States. One of them was Sergei Kuhianidze from *Moskovskaya pravda*, who worked with the *Cape Cod Times* in Massachusetts. Suzanne Milton of the *Cape Cod Times* was selected for the trip to

Moscow by the New England Society of Newspaper Editors.

"You are going to a country where history is being made," said Milton's mother.

It was Milton's second attempt to take part in an exchange. Two years earlier she had submitted an application, but at that time her Russian was too rusty—she hadn't used it since college. So she pored over her textbooks relearning the language, and her dream came true.

Milton worked at the Moscow-based newspaper *Moskovskaya pravda* with Sergei Kuhianidze, who helped her with her Russian. She says that the work at a Soviet newspaper differs radically from what she did in the United States.

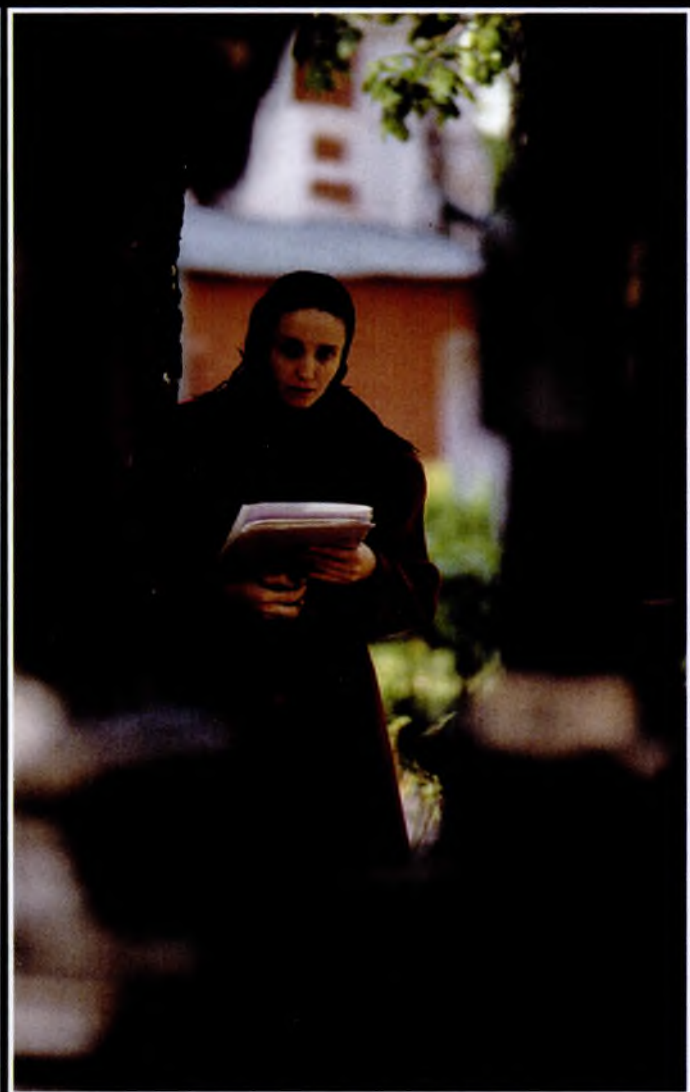
"The newspaper and publications

in general are different here," she says. "First of all, American publications are big and include lots of advertising, while in the USSR they are small, with practically no advertising. Another difference is what the newspapers here decide to print and the timing of it. Politicians' speeches, for example, in the Supreme Soviet are published in full; a lot of space is devoted to history and literature—you may find a short story in a newspaper here.

"In America I wrote about anything, from new stores and corporations to business trends, local government, and environmental issues. Here I'm basically a columnist, though I'm not used to giving an opinion on issues. Back home I usually just write about things that are happening and say 'this happened,' 'this is how it happened,' 'this is what people say about what happened.' So it's very unusual for me to make public my opinions. Here I compare issues that are similar or different in our two countries, trends that are repeating

American journalists on exchange in Moscow: Mary Murphy of the Providence Journal.







Mary Murphy
(above) and some
of the
photographs she
took around
Moscow.





Suzanne Milton.

themselves: debates over smoking, pornography, a new Constitution, things like that."

Milton accepted the Soviet way of life practically painlessly because she has a wonderful ability to see the sunny side of things. She was told that there is nothing to eat in Moscow, but she's lunching in cafés and canteens and finding the meals there very tasty, or at least much better than in her hotel. She was told that Moscow is a dirty city, but she thinks that it is cleaner than big American cities. Even the empty shelves in Moscow shops didn't bother her: "Which is better," she asks, "to go into a store and have money to spend but not be able to buy because the shelves are empty, or to go into a store and see things and not be able to buy them because you don't have enough money?"

I don't think Soviet people would agree with Milton, but everybody is entitled to an opinion.

Some things disappointed Milton. For example, when she saw the Coca-Cola advertisement on a roof in Pushkin Square, she said that it doesn't go with its surroundings. The nearby McDonald's didn't evoke a feeling of home in her either.

In general, Milton said about

changes she saw that our countries are moving toward each other, the United States from a free market toward greater social guarantees and greater state interference in private enterprise, and the Soviet Union from state control to a free market.

"There is a sense of change here that is taking place so quickly it's hard for people to grasp in both the Soviet Union and the United States," she says. "From what I see, this country is going to face a hard time during the transition."

Mary Murphy, a photojournalist from the *Providence Journal*, Rhode Island, followed mostly in Milton's steps. The first photojournalist taking part in the exchange, Murphy worked on the illustrated magazine *Soviet Union*, which is published for domestic and foreign consumption.

Murphy had a hard time getting used to the absence of deadlines, which govern the life of dailies. That's not to say that she had nothing to do. She never went anywhere without her camera, finding interesting shots everywhere, talking with people, or traveling around Moscow. She likes to find unusual things and cozy nooks and corners in the sprawl of Moscow.

"I like photographing everything," she says. "I like just going out on the street to take pictures of people. But I don't want to be an intruder; I don't want to make people look bad. I no-

ticed that people here are not willing to be photographed in lines, for example. Or the other day I tried to take a picture of a Gypsy beggar in the street, and she went away."

"In general, I think it's very interesting being a photographer because every day there is something new to do. I have a variety of work here."

Indeed, Murphy's colleagues did not let her remain idle. Murphy took photographs at Slava Zaitsev's Fashion Center and met with the leading Moscow fashion designers. She photographed the Soviet baseball team and attended a performance of the Cats Circus. She took a photograph of Boris Yeltsin in Red Square after he was elected Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation.

Milton and Murphy visited the old Russian towns of Vladimir and Suzdal, which are famous for their churches. They traveled to beautiful Leningrad and visited Boris Pasternak's grave outside Moscow.

Murphy was most impressed by the Soviet people, by their openness in expressing their opinions. She liked going to Pushkin Square, which has become a Moscow version of Hyde Park, with its Speakers Corner where independent newspapers are sold and people discuss problems and criticize their leaders freely.

"I think it's a fascinating country," says Murphy, who was in the Soviet Union in 1985 and so has things to compare. "We have a lot more in common than people can realize, and people here are very friendly and helpful. We are very similar in what our lives are like."

"But why are there so few women photographers in the Soviet Union?" Murphy asks. "I want to meet some of them—we'd have so much to talk about!"

Murphy took back to the United States quite a few rolls of film, some of which she presented to our magazine, and Milton took with her copies of *Moskovskaya pravda* containing her articles.

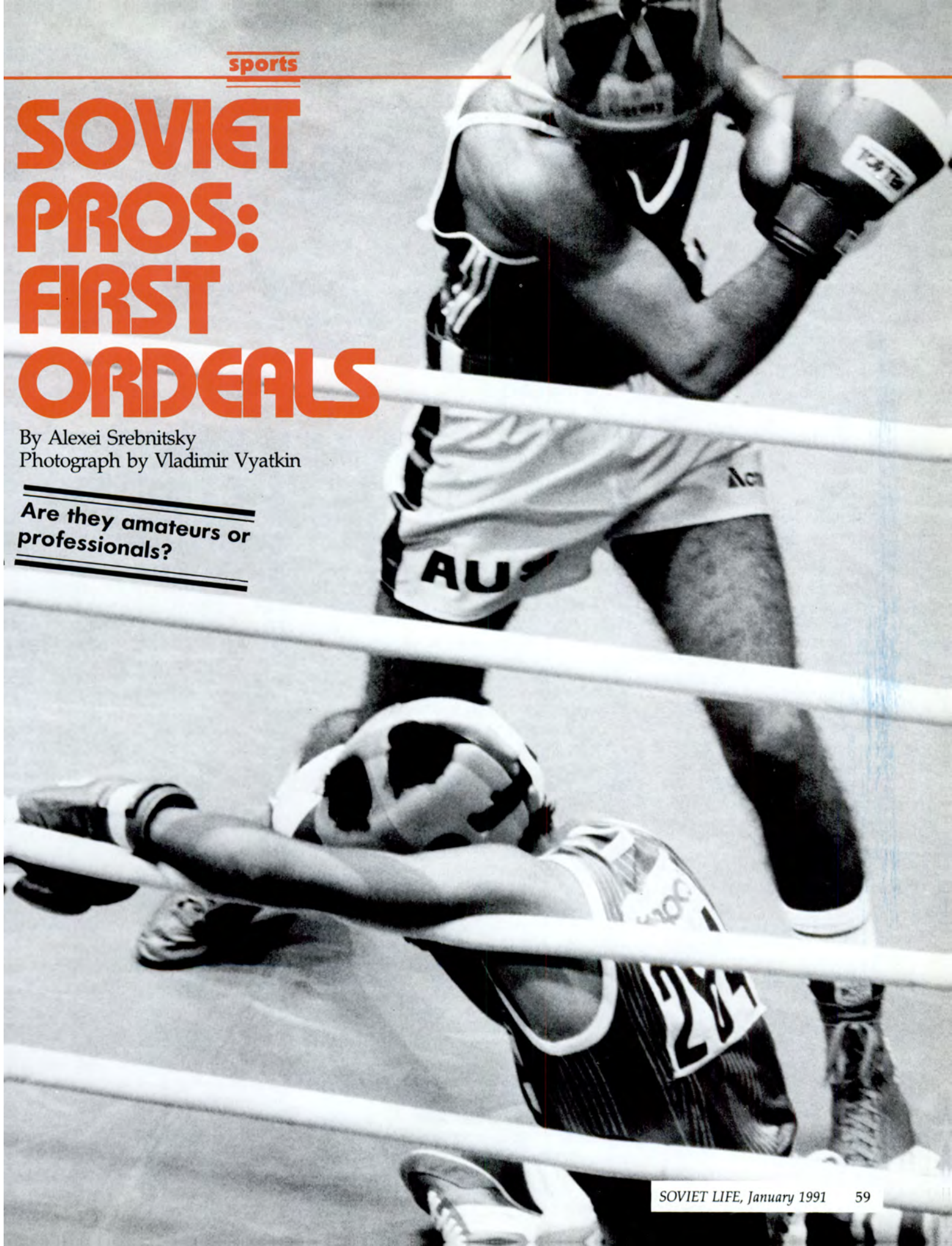
The exchange program isn't over; perhaps telexes with the names of new exchange journalists are traveling back and forth between our countries as you are reading this article. Let's wish them luck!

sports

SOVIET PROS: FIRST ORDEALS

By Alexei Srebnitsky
Photograph by Vladimir Vyatkin

Are they amateurs or
professionals?



Until just recently the same tired old joke made the rounds at rowdy Moscow banquets: "Did you hear the one about the man who had three sons—two of them were smart, and the third was a soccer player." Of course, it's not particularly funny, but you must admit that it's a good summary of the popular idea: that sports is a profession for idiots. On the other hand, at least the joke acknowledges that some people in the USSR (even if they are idiots) are professional athletes. This fact is admitted everywhere, but not officially.

Over the past 30 years in my role as a sportswriter for Novosti Information Agency, I've provided the foreign press with reports about the achievements and problems of Soviet sports. There was no greater sorrow for me than having to answer the question: Do professional athletics exist in the USSR or not? Can the Soviet champions, who are professionals in every sense of the word, really be called pure amateurs?

This is when it became time to evade the issue. There were secret instructions in accordance with which journalists were supposed to preserve the government's secret thoroughly and under no circumstances call athletes "athletes." In the directories issued on the eves of the various Olympics, in the space in the biographies of the athletes where profession is usually written, one most frequently read the words "teacher," "instructor," "student," "graduate student." As a rule, top athletes received a salary (it was called and still is called a stipend, not a salary) either from the State Committee for Physical Culture and Sports or from their sports club. They received this salary as athletes.

Top athletes had nightmares about Article 26 in the Olympic Charter (concerning the status of the Olympian), because they violated this rule day and night.

At the same time, Soviet propaganda conducted a consistent attack on the "morals of bourgeois athletics" (whose highly paid professionals sup-

posedly died in poverty), on its cruelty, backstage machinations, and dishonesty. Propaganda asserted that there were no professional athletes in the USSR, only amateurs.

Not surprisingly there was no specific deception. On the one hand, it is to some degree immoral to call "amateur" a person who earns money exclusively through running, jumping, lifting weights, breaking his vertebrae on the gymnastics floor. On the other hand, how can you call the person who receives a government pittance and has to give virtually all that he earns to his employer "professional"? The best term to define the average Soviet athlete—even one of international class—is "semiprofessional."

Incidentally, when Juan Antonio Samaranch became head of the Olympic Committee, a number of compromises and thaws took place in international sports. At first with limitations and then with greater and greater range, professionals were allowed into the Olympic Games, world tournaments, and other similar events. Article 26 was liberalized, and now governments are allowed to give financial assistance to athletes. Businesses began to invest significant sums in amateur sports as well; the process of sports "commercialization" became a reality. Today even a champion such as Sergei Bubka, the pole vaulter, has been known to pass up a Soviet championship for the sake of participating in some commercial tournament.

Life goes on, and it demands new attitudes as it changes. Fresh breezes have even swept into the enormous territory under the control of the State Committee for Physical Culture and Sports. Moreover, this coincided with the democratization process taking place within Soviet society. For a start, in the athletes' work records, the much derided words "sports instructor" or "instructor-methodologist" began to be replaced by the almost honest term: "instructor-athlete."

The Fyodorov affair occurred in 1990. I think all hockey fans remember this story. At the end of the Goodwill Games in Seattle, Washington, Sergei Fyodorov, a member of the Soviet hockey team, disappeared

from the hotel where he was staying with his teammates. Soon afterward he surfaced in Detroit, Michigan—it turned out that he had been negotiating a contract for a long time with the Detroit Red Wings, a National Hockey League (NHL) club. Moreover, Fyodorov had addressed his national federation with his ideas on this subject, but the federation disregarded his request.

There was a scandal. Nikolai Rusak, chairman of the State Committee for Physical Culture and Sports, threatened a break with the NHL. The Soviet side was especially indignant about the fact that Fyodorov had violated his agreement with his own club in Moscow.

It was the hour of the American lawyers. It was not difficult for them to prove that an ordinary work record (the document that is written up for any person beginning a job) can in no way be considered "a Soviet type of contract," as my compatriots insisted. All that remained was to agree with the well-founded arguments. The scandal concerning the Fyodorov affair died down, the question was decided amicably, and Fyodorov himself plays for Detroit in the NHL, still maintaining his Soviet passport.

Currently in the Soviet Union they are more or less admitting (under the perestroika process) that professional athletes have the right to exist. But as before, the athletes have neither rights nor obligations toward their employers. To put it simply, there is still no practice of contracts and legal agreements between clubs and athletes, between athletes and trainers, between trainers and clubs. The first attempts are being made, but they are still no more than attempts.

It is impossible to talk about professional sports without discussing the material side of the issue. It is well known that the negotiated monetary sum is the secret of every contract, and I don't plan to dispute this. Under the rules of the Soviet Government, a Soviet athlete who earns hard currency is required to hand over a significant portion of that money, in the form of a tax, to the government's purse and an additional amount to the state sports committee.

The first to rebel were the tennis

players Natalya Zvereva and Andrei Chesnokov. They refused the intermediary services of the sports committee, found their own managers to arrange their foreign appearances, and very quickly became (even by Western standards) fairly rich people. Their example was followed by hockey player Vyacheslav Fetisov, who signed a contract with one of the NHL clubs without the participation of Sovintersport (a special department of the state committee).

A common characteristic of these athletes and of the others who followed their example is that they all eagerly perform charitable works. They channel hard currency that they have earned into purchasing special equipment for handicapped Soviet athletes, training for children, and so on. After his stunning debut in the National Basketball Association (NBA), Sarunas Marčiulionis decided to take over the management of the club in Vilnius that had trained him. Fed by the dollars of their new partner, the Lithuanian basketball players have a new incentive for improvement. The government could never have given them this.

The processes known as perestroika that are taking place in the Soviet Union have affected sports. Specifically, the chink has widened in the Iron Curtain that separates Soviet athletics from the West, and a fairly stormy flood has rushed toward that chink. Now dozens of soccer players, hockey players, cyclists, and so on, are signing with foreign pro clubs. These are the only athletes who can be called true professionals in the USSR. But they earn their bread abroad.

Now we witness an odd phenomenon. Athletes who were considered the brightest stars in this country lose some of their luster in the West. Yes, Marčiulionis was hailed as the best rookie in the NBA out of all the foreigners. Similarly, Fyodorov and Alexander Mogilny earn praise from the NHL commentators. But alas, there are many more negative examples. When Vyacheslav Fetisov, Igor Larionov, and Vladimir Krutov, the best players in world hockey tournaments, went over to the world of pros, they got lost in a mass of other

players. The soccer players whom Soviet sports fans looked upon with favor—Alexander Zavarov, Vagis Hidiatullin, Rinat Dasayev, and Igor Belanov—are constantly traded from one club to another in the West, moving a degree lower each time. What does this mean?

Soviet semiprofessionals (after all, this is what we agreed to call them) are not used to responsibility, are not used to the life of a true professional. They always had an overseer standing over them, regulating their daily regime, the details of their everyday life—a trainer, the team captain, or some sort of administrator. Don't drink, don't slip away from training camp, don't do this, don't do that.

It is clear that the Soviet champions weren't used to independence, that they were unsure of themselves and are paying for it now that they are experiencing conditions that are completely new for them.

Despite all this, young Soviet athletes still show an undoubted determination to go west. In a foreign land you will be well paid and will be able to ensure your future—after all, in sports, where age catches up with you especially quickly, you need to do this while you are young and strong. In the USSR an athlete, even if a three-time champion, had no guarantees at all until recently.

My old friend Valeri Brumel, whom I have known for 25 years, was down to his last cent after the auto accident in 1965 that ended his career in sports. For a time, athletic organizations supported him, and then they forgot him. I'm not going to even try to tell you how Brumel managed to make ends meet over the past years, but his natural optimism, energy, and enterprise allowed him to remain solvent. To some degree justice has triumphed: Last year Brumel received a pension—120 rubles a month. He was an outstanding athlete, an Olympic and European champion, and a world record holder in the high jump.

For those unfamiliar with Soviet reality, I will explain that 120 rubles a month is very little money. But all the same it is something. The important thing is that finally Soviet athletes are being granted pensions. As yet, only outstanding athletes who defended

the colors of the Soviet team have received the right to such a pension.

Some other innovations have also occurred. Any athlete (once again—only first class) who is forced to retire because of age or injury continues to receive the state stipend for a few years. The idea is that this allows the person to complete an education program, train for a profession, and begin a new life without having to worry about the daily essentials. I understand that these are only half-measures and that they have not yet extended to all athletes, but the first steps are being taken, and others will follow.

Charitable organizations are also being founded to provide funds for former athletes. More solutions will appear as the professionalization process develops, with legal foundations and guarantees. At the end of 1990 a completely new organization was formed: the Union of Soviet Athletes. Galina Gorokhova, a famous fencer in the past, has been elected president. Gorokhova explained that the main task of this union is to fight for legal and social defense of athletes and material aid to former athletes. A great success was the announcement that 400,000 rubles, the proceeds of sports lotteries, will be paid into the pension fund for athletes and trainers at the beginning of 1991.

Soviet boxers are most energetically gravitating toward the professional sphere. They did not try to find their way into foreign clubs, deciding first and foremost to organize themselves at home.

This is how the Soviet Boxers Association was born. Its representatives have already tried themselves in the international ring.

Professional sports in the Soviet Union is just finding its legs. It is prepared to draw upon Western experience, mistakes, and achievements. It has all the prerequisites for development because the government has now lost power. It is another matter that the growth of professional sports, of sports in general, and of all spheres of social life in the USSR are directly linked with the political (and even more important, economic) transformation that is taking place in this country. ■



GREEN FIRE



By Vladimir Zhernakov and
Alexander Laskovenkov
Photographs by
Alexei Sverdlov

Emeralds from the
Malyshevsky mine
in the Urals. Facing

page insets (clockwise
from top): A large emerald
crystal from the Maly-
shevsky mine. A gold cup
decorated with enamel and
studded with emeralds. An
eighteenth century watch.
A seventeenth century
goblet made of gold and
silver and studded with
diamonds, rubies, and
emeralds.



Maxim Kozhevnikov, a peasant who lived in the Urals, found regular hexagonal green stones under the roots of a fallen pine on the banks of the Tokovaya River in 1830. Kozhevnikov's discovery marked the beginning of an era of emerald mining in the Urals. The mines became known worldwide. During the nineteenth century, hundreds of prospectors labored in the mines in search of a cluster—even a single emerald, which could make a man rich. At the beginning of this century, an Anglo-French company supplied alexandrites and emeralds from the Urals to European markets. Strip prospecting for emeralds continues to this day. But science and technology cannot guarantee success.

In this small area geological stems of different kinds developed, producing exceptionally beautiful stones—pure crystals, yellowish-green chrysoberyl, and alexandrite, green in daytime and umbine-red at night.

The chief treasure of the mines is emeralds. In the Urals, they vary from bluish-green to yellow in color. Each mine produces stones with different characteristics.

Emerald crystals vary in shape, relief, and internal structure. Depending on the conditions of their development, they may be regular hexahedron, triangular, or diamond-shaped; lusterless, from contact with phlogopite scales, or mirror-smooth. Contact with fluorite and apatite produces intricate patterns. Longitudinal and transverse zonality and different mineral inclusions give the stones their individuality. Around chromite an additional color halo is formed, producing a peculiar tint.

Emerald is a variety of beryl and is found with beryl crystals, which differ in morphology, opacity, and color, but are usually greenish. Transparent beryl varieties make good low-cost jewelry. Yellowish-green beryl, whose color results from iron admixtures, is found in the Urals. These stones become light blue in color after slow heating. Black beryls contain minuscule phlogopite inclusions.

Dark green, large, and transparent emeralds are unique. The famous Kokovin Emerald is such a stone. Recently a galaxy of large crystals and clusters, such as Slavny Uralski, Yubileiny, and Novogodni, have been found. The stones range in color and size from tiny sparkles, resembling stars in the night sky, to large gems, to be worn by kings and exhibited in the best museums.

Master aristsans make unique pieces of jewelry and thematic collections of minerals from the Ural emerald mines.

Continuing page: The large emerald in the background, called Miner's Glory, is a national treasure. The Alice, a piece from the seventeenth century, is in the collection of the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad. Inset: The Icon Our Lady with Infant Christ is also from the late nineteenth century. The red enameled case is added with emeralds and diamonds.



BEAUTIFUL AND HISTORIC TORZHOK

Readers of our February issue will take a trip to Torzhok, an ancient town several hours northwest of Moscow. Torzhok is a true Russian town of ancient churches, old houses, quiet streets, and lovely natural scenery. It has a long, colorful history and a rich cultural heritage.



FIGHTING ANTI-SEMITISM

Anti-Semitism is on the rise in the Soviet Union today. Unfortunately, people like Konstantin Smirnov-Ostashvili, a man who was recently sentenced to two years' imprisonment for instigating strife, have plenty of followers. Correspondent Vladimir Reznichenko discusses this disturbing trend in our next issue.

COMING SOON

When Will Women Take Key Positions in Politics and Business?



Nicholai Roerich. *Ruler of the World*. Story begins on page 44.

Soviet Life

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EDITOR'S NOTES

I'm afraid that once Mrs. Jack W. Ramsey from Georgia reads this issue of our magazine, she may cancel her subscription. Mrs. Ramsey wrote to us warning that she would do so "if I do not see a reduction in the amount of coverage given to the Jewish problem."

I don't think that we dedicate too much space to the Jewish question. But there's an article in this issue that Mrs. Ramsey may not like. It deals with the trial of Konstantin Smirnov-Ostashvili, who was sentenced to two years in prison for inciting ethnic strife.

Frankly, Ostashvili himself doesn't deserve the attention of our respected readers. But his story does. First of all, the man was the first in many years to be condemned for an act of anti-Semitism. And second, even though he's small fry, he represents a very dangerous phenomenon.

I think that we would get much angrier letters than the one from Mrs. Ramsey if our magazine were sold in the Soviet Union. Mrs. Ramsey seems to be an educated lady whose arguments are mostly of a cultural nature. As the reaction in the Soviet Union to the Ostashvili trial has demonstrated, there are many people in our country with rather primitive, animalistic, anti-Semitic instincts. There are probably people like that in the United States too. They remind me of a character from Stanley Kramer's movie *Ship of Fools*. When another character says that all the world's problems are caused by Jews and cyclists, this man asks: "Why cyclists?"

Anti-Semitism is only part of the problem. Blind intolerance toward people of different ethnic origins is the scourge of our life today. We will cover these problems in greater depth in subsequent issues. I do hope that Mrs. Ramsey will keep her subscription, so she will be able to read about other facets of the issue.

Robert Tsfasman

Andrei Cherkasov (left) and Tim Mayotte.



Moscow Hosts the Kremlin Cup

By Olga Grendal Photograph by Sergei Guneyev

The very first winner of the new Kremlin Cup in Moscow—the first ATP (Association of Tennis Professionals) men's tennis tournament ever held in the USSR, with a prize fund of \$330,000—was a Soviet player. Andrei Cherkasov won the title when he defeated American tennis star Tim Mayotte.

Cherkasov disposed of his rivals with seeming ease. At a postmatch news conference, Bud Collins, a well-known American journalist and the editor in chief of the magazine *World Tennis*, asked the Soviet player which rivals he would just as soon avoid. "I'm not afraid of anyone," was the answer.

Cherkasov is only 21, but he has already gained a great deal of competitive experience. The Kremlin Cup reaffirmed his high skills. Meanwhile, Mayotte won the title Mister Sportsmanship. He impressed the Soviet public as a gifted, strong-willed, restrained, and tactful player. At the end of the tournament he and Cherkasov were each presented with a large cut-glass vase manufactured in Yerevan.

One of the Kremlin Cup sponsors was Sasson Khakshouri, a Swiss businessman of Iranian descent. He personally shouldered many of the expenses for the tournament, contacted other sponsors to raise money for the prize fund, petitioned the ATP for sanctioning, and lined up leading players. Khakshouri said that tournaments like this one are very important.

Much of the credit for the tournament's success also belongs to its manager, Eugene Scott. Scott was once an American tennis star himself. He is now the publisher and editor in chief of the newspaper *Tennis Week*.

During the tournament Dennis Van der Meer of the United States, one of the world's best coaches, conducted an open lesson for young players. About 300 kids poured onto the court, but 60 minutes later, when the last exercises started, only four were left.

A special tennis village was set up for the recreation of the competitors and guests. Service manager Roman Biehler of Switzerland brought in six chefs and headwaiters from his country for the event. ■

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Front Cover: An American naval officer
visiting Vladivostok poses with two local
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REINING IN THE HEADLONG DASH OF CHANGE

By Stanislav Kondrashov

It was not too long ago that horse-driven carriages were the main means of transportation in Russia. Coachmen used to hold their horses on bad roads and at sharp turns in order to avert an accident. Now that history is rushing us on at full speed, isn't it worth asking the driver to be more careful at sharp turns?

Setting a reasonable pace for prudent change is the main task for the Soviet Union at home and on the international scene. And the connection between domestic and foreign policies manifests itself in the most unexpected ways. For example: Last year more than 100,000 citizens returned to the USSR, while over a third of a million left it for good. Those who returned were in military uniform—soldiers withdrawn from Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and the former German Democratic Republic. The Soviet citizens who left the country were civilians headed for permanent residence in Israel, the United States, and Germany.

The cold war is over. There is no danger of a real war in Europe. But the year 1990 revealed a new Soviet threat to the West—not the threat posed by soldiers and tanks but that of mass emigration in search of a better life. Western Europe is anxious to fortify its frontiers. The United States warns that it will not accept more than 50,000 Soviet emigrants a year.

Western advocates of human rights are embarrassed because they must shut the doors of their home in the faces of insistent Soviet citizens. Soviet citizens who advocate general humanitarian values are also embarrassed—if they are still capable of the feeling—to realize that the main value in this country last year was the U.S. dollar. Everyone seems to be after the dollar—radicals and conserva-

tives, economic executives and politicians, the apolitical.

History gallops on at full tilt, snorting with sarcasm. And the year 1990 was a tough one. The problems of Soviet society and the fates of individual personalities were intertwined. Mikhail Gorbachev, President of the USSR, and Boris Yeltsin, Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, embodied the antagonisms between the central government and the republics. Prime Minister Nikolai Ryzhkov's heart attack seemed a physical manifestation of the battle surrounding the establishment of a market economy. Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's resignation reflected the drama of the new foreign policy.

I would like to deal more specifically with the latter instance. I remind the reader that the foreign policy of perestroika is based on the renunciation of political and military confrontation with the West in general and the United States in particular, and on the attempt to follow in the wake of global parliamentary democracy and market economics.

The first act of the drama was the jubilant march under the flag of general humanitarian values, when we opened our country to the world, especially to the West. The world's first reaction was skeptical. But eventually it accepted with gratitude and relief the new Soviet leader who stood ready for dialogue and compromise. The main results of this first act were the Soviet-American INF (Intermedi-

ate-Range Nuclear Forces) Treaty, the unilateral reduction of the Soviet Army by 500,000 men, and the Soviet troop pullout from Afghanistan. This set a good mood for future foreign policy.

The second act began in the autumn of 1989, with the peaceful revolutions in Eastern and Central Europe. In the currently accepted parlance, it can be termed the act when the empire collapsed. The Warsaw Treaty Organization ceased to exist physically and is about to dissolve itself formally.

The new policy has had both its roses and its thorns. More than enough has been said about the roses. It is therefore worth concentrating on the thorns now. The Soviet Union has had to pay the highest price for the mad confrontation with the West, especially in Europe. Now it is having to pay the highest price for entering into a peaceful period. The USSR will even have to pay more than all the others for the dismantling of the war machine, which we are to do under the Treaty on Conventional Forces in Europe. This is because we have accumulated more weapons that are no longer necessary than anybody else.

It is difficult to judge what the third act will be. Centrifugal forces within the country, in the union and autonomous republics, have intensified. Will the Soviet Union continue to exist as a state formation with the single foreign policy that gives it the status of a great power? Or will the new political thinking result in the emergence of a

host of new states that will have to grope separately for their own foreign policy ways in this tough world? These are questions of life and death. In broad outline they can be resolved by the drafting and conclusion of a union treaty, which would redistribute power between the center and the republics on a new basis and impart stability to the new union through a voluntary democratic agreement. Will the sides display wisdom, or will the zeal of vengeful sentiments and political ambition prevail, as has happened in the past?

Returning to foreign policy, it must be said that a shortage of wisdom and strength was manifested in the second act. At this time the main issue became not the question of the direction of change—this direction is correct and historically inevitable—but the question of its limit, of its reasonable pace, without which change becomes uncontrollable and unpredictable and may lead to crisis and collapse. Statesmanship implies, above all, a sense of measure and the ability to ensure it as much as possible. But by no means everything was understood in time and far from everything was done to keep this reasonable pace. Our leaders should have insisted on our own terms with due account of this country's internal situation, when necessary running the risk of complications with our partners.

The rhetoric of "universal human values" does not always include the practical defense of national interests. In the opinion of some of this country's brass, as well as in the eyes of millions of people, our forced pullout from Eastern Europe, as well as the necessity to part with our empire, turned into disorganized retreat, if not humiliating flight. We didn't even have enough time to build apartment houses for our troops.

Shevardnadze had been given the highest diplomatic post in our country. But along with all the glamour connected with the job, he had to shoulder a heavy and cumbersome burden. The problem was to trim in the space of a few years the monstrous amounts of weapons that the Soviet Union had stockpiled over the decades by making use of international relations, especially Soviet-

American relations. Of course, the foreign minister did not scrap various weapons systems himself, including the medium-range missiles, of which the USSR had several times more than the United States. But it was Shevardnadze and his comrades in arms from the Foreign Ministry who carried out difficult negotiations with the other side. It was Shevardnadze who waged the no less exhausting interdepartmental battles with the Soviet military establishment, which was by no means willing to divulge its secrets to Foreign Ministry officials. Even now the military establishment is keeping quite a few things to itself.

Despite major changes for the better, members of the Soviet brass have not yet given up their traditional tendency toward overmilitarization. The Soviet military-industrial complex, which forms the backbone of an economy geared toward the arms

Will the zeal of vengeful sentiments and political ambition prevail, as has happened in the past?

race, an economy that is not consumer-oriented, has also offered stiff resistance.

I would like to believe that military and civilian interests are not irreconcilable. Does the military have no common sense at all? By the way, the military leadership has been considerably renewed of late. Guided by state interests, it is also in favor of maintaining reasonable levels of armed forces and armaments. However, it approaches this issue with its own old-fashioned yardstick. And, most importantly, it is the military leaders, and not Foreign Ministry officials, who have to prune the armed forces and slash expenditures.

As distinct from diplomats or politicians, the Soviet military-industrial complex must do more than drastically alter its outlook. You see, this process involves the destinies of millions of people and the nation's most advanced scientific and technological

potential, which has now been left in the lurch as a result of harebrained conversion schemes.

We have again returned to the key issue, that of carrying out changes at a reasonable speed. Regrettably, those people who follow, willingly or unwillingly, the example of past generations of Soviet leaders—to rule by fiat—are still hard put to switch into the right gear. Yet another issue is involved here: that of relegating the armed forces to a more modest place in national life. The depoliticization of the army is necessary, but it still cannot be implemented at a breathtaking speed. That would destabilize the armed forces at a time when the country is plagued by a serious crisis and when the armed forces are called upon to serve as a major stabilizing factor.

Military and foreign policy priorities have always met in our country at the intersection of the common state interest. Of course, behind closed doors in interdepartmental groups a certain amount of infighting did go on. But harmonized directives, approved by the top leadership, came out in the end. Once they reached the Soviet diplomats, the diplomats sat down at the negotiating table with the Americans and other members of NATO—and in the past year also with the representatives of Hungary and Czechoslovakia—to discuss the conditions and time frame of a withdrawal of Soviet troops.

The gallop of history is also being felt here. It is accompanied by the expansion of the political struggle, which has now burst from under the carpet into the open. And so a deputy colonel asks Shevardnadze to look the soldiers in the eye—soldiers who, having been hastily withdrawn from Eastern Europe, now live in tent camps in the snow.

But I cannot assume that the schedule for troop withdrawal was not endorsed by the Ministry of Defense or approved by the top leadership. Why, then, did no one mount the rostrum in order to share the responsibility and to defend Shevardnadze? This is obviously what hurt the foreign minister and exhausted his patience. ■

Courtesy of the newspaper *Izvestia*

USSR Appoints New Foreign Minister



The Supreme Soviet of the USSR approved the nomination of Alexander Bessmertnykh as Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR. Bessmertnykh replaces Eduard Shevardnadze, who announced his resignation last December. The new foreign minister is a 57-year-old career diplomat and former Soviet Ambassador to the United States.

Introducing the nominee to the Supreme Soviet, President Mikhail Gorbachev emphasized Bessmertnykh's professionalism and noted that the candidate for the post was "a highly cultured man with a broad outlook."

Bessmertnykh was born on November 10, 1933, in the city of Biysk in Altai Territory. He graduated from the prestigious Moscow State Institute for Foreign Relations in 1957. He holds a degree in law.

Bessmertnykh has worked in the Soviet Foreign Ministry since 1957. From 1966 to 1970, he was a member of the group of assistants to the foreign minister. Between 1970 and 1983, he served as first secretary, counselor, and minister-counselor at the Soviet Embassy in the United States. In 1983, he became a member of the ministry's board and was appointed to head the Department of the USA. In 1986, he rose to deputy foreign minister and became first deputy foreign minister in 1988. In May 1990, Bessmertnykh became Ambassador of the Soviet Union to the United States.

Bessmertnykh is married and has two children, a grown daughter and an infant son.

Writing in the Soviet journal *Mezhdunarodnaya zhizn* (*International Affairs*) in 1988, Bessmertnykh expressed his views on Soviet foreign policy.

In any situation, he wrote, it is es-

sential to act from a position of realism, a balanced and sober account of one's own and other nations' interests. In this nuclear age, universal human values have acquired priority over other interests, notably class and national interests. The foreign policy of the USSR, changing in accordance with the concept of new thinking and contributing to positive developments in the international situation, is becoming an integral part of perestroika. There is a logical interconnection and interdependence between the two. The deeper the revolutionary changes in the economic and political structure of socialism, along the lines of democracy and moral self-improvement of the people, the more efficient diplomacy becomes. And vice versa. Soviet foreign policy yields benefits and profit, both direct and indirect, notably through the headway made in the negotiations on the reduction and limitation of arms—the production of which is a burden on the economy—and through ensuring a peaceful and tranquil atmosphere for perestroika in domestic affairs.

Bessmertnykh addressed the USSR Supreme Soviet, expressing his gratitude to the Soviet President for offering him the post of Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR. He went on to say that the offer evoked mixed feelings in him, because his appointment followed the resignation of the popular and brilliant Shevardnadze.

Bessmertnykh said that the policy of new thinking had broadened our country's horizons and had made it a power the entire world considered friendly. He stressed that the new policy was in complete consonance with the national interests of our country.

What will Soviet foreign policy be like in the future? There can be only one answer, the new minister said:

The policy of new thinking will remain the same, but it will continue and develop.

The diplomatic correspondent of the government newspaper *Izvestia* asked Shevardnadze what he thought about the man who succeeded him as foreign minister.

"All these years," Shevardnadze answered, "Alexander Bessmertnykh worked side by side with us. And I am not just referring to his physical presence, so to speak. We were proud to have with us a man who shared our views and ideals, a comrade, a generator of new ideas, a personality, and a brilliant diplomat. It was with him that we started and accomplished a veritable coup in Soviet-American relations, which not only led to the transition from confrontation to interaction and cooperation, but also predetermined profound changes in the world. Today, as I was leaving the Soviet Foreign Ministry and saying Good-bye to my colleagues, I thanked Alexander Bessmertnykh and, as I see it, our joint team, wished them every success, and expressed the conviction that under his guidance the country's main foreign policy department would carry on in a fitting manner with the policy of new thinking. It is gratifying that the very fact of Alexander Bessmertnykh's appointment clearly reflects the declared continuity of the Soviet Union's foreign policy. This choice is absolutely correct, and I think that in the near future we will see confirmation of that."

What about Shevardnadze's future plans? One of his assistants, Teimuraz Stepanov, said that Shevardnadze plans to found a Soviet foreign policy association, an independent public group to promote new political thinking. The association will include prominent diplomats and public figures, our best intellectual forces. ■

THE CITIZEN DRAIN: IS IT SERIOUS?

By Yuri Reshetov and Gennadi Pavlov
Humanitarian Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, USSR

Much has been said and written lately about an expected large-scale emigration of Soviet citizens from the USSR. Increasingly terrible scenarios, with the most arbitrary figures, are being suggested: Between 5 and 10 million people will supposedly leave the country soon, and between 30 and 40 million will do so over the long term.

It's time to dispel unwarranted fears and to separate reality from fiction. A bill that is being worked out in the USSR Supreme Soviet on Soviet policy for exit from and entry into the USSR is now nearing completion. With its passage, Soviet citizens will receive the explicitly stated right to leave their country freely, irrespective of the purpose of the trip—work, study, tourism, or private business—and also the right to return freely. Individual exceptions to this rule—for example, for people with knowledge of information that constitutes a state secret—will be clearly indicated in the law, as will the term of the appropriate restriction. All this fully conforms to international criteria.

When the law is passed, an appreciable number of Soviet citizens will wish to take advantage of their right to leave the country. The desire to emigrate has intensified as never before in our society. The reasons for this are well known: crisis conditions in the most diverse areas of life, a general feeling of unsettledness, widespread dissatisfaction with the results of one's work, and the intensifying of national conflicts.

At the same time, it's hard to trust many of the projected figures on the scale of the forthcoming migration. These data most likely represent the worst-case scenario. Besides, the figures ignore the fact that there's a direct relationship between citizens' readiness to leave and the willingness of other countries to receive them. And the immigration policies of most

European countries, the United States, Australia, and New Zealand have been getting increasingly tough.

These factors, complicated by the high degree of saturation of the Western labor market, give more plausibility to other projections. For instance, according to the Moscow Strategic Social Research Center, the outflow of Soviet citizens in the next 10 years may reach 2.5 million to 7 million at most, that is, between 250,000 and 700,000 a year. These figures by themselves seem very impressive. But in comparison with the indicators of current emigration they do not look so frightening. More than 400,000 people left the country in 1990.

We must also bear in mind that the reasons for emigration are also very significant. As a general rule, those who leave the country for reasons of nationality tend to leave for good. But departures under the future law will primarily bear the character of wage work. People leaving the country for economic reasons are much more likely to return to the Soviet Union in time.

The ultimate goal of the exit-and-entry bill is the establishment of universally accepted standards of a civilized society with regard to fundamental human rights and freedoms. The USSR, albeit belatedly, is beginning to appreciate the need to join the objective processes of economic development in the world. These presuppose the presence of labor markets and the migration of workers. Centers attractive to foreign workers and specialists have emerged and continue to emerge in various parts of the world. In fact, the Soviet Union is becoming one of these centers today. In the beginning of 1990 about 200,000 workers and specialists from other countries—Vietnam, Cuba, Bulgaria, China, Korea, and also Italy, Syria, and other states—were employed here.

As we overcome our own fears and

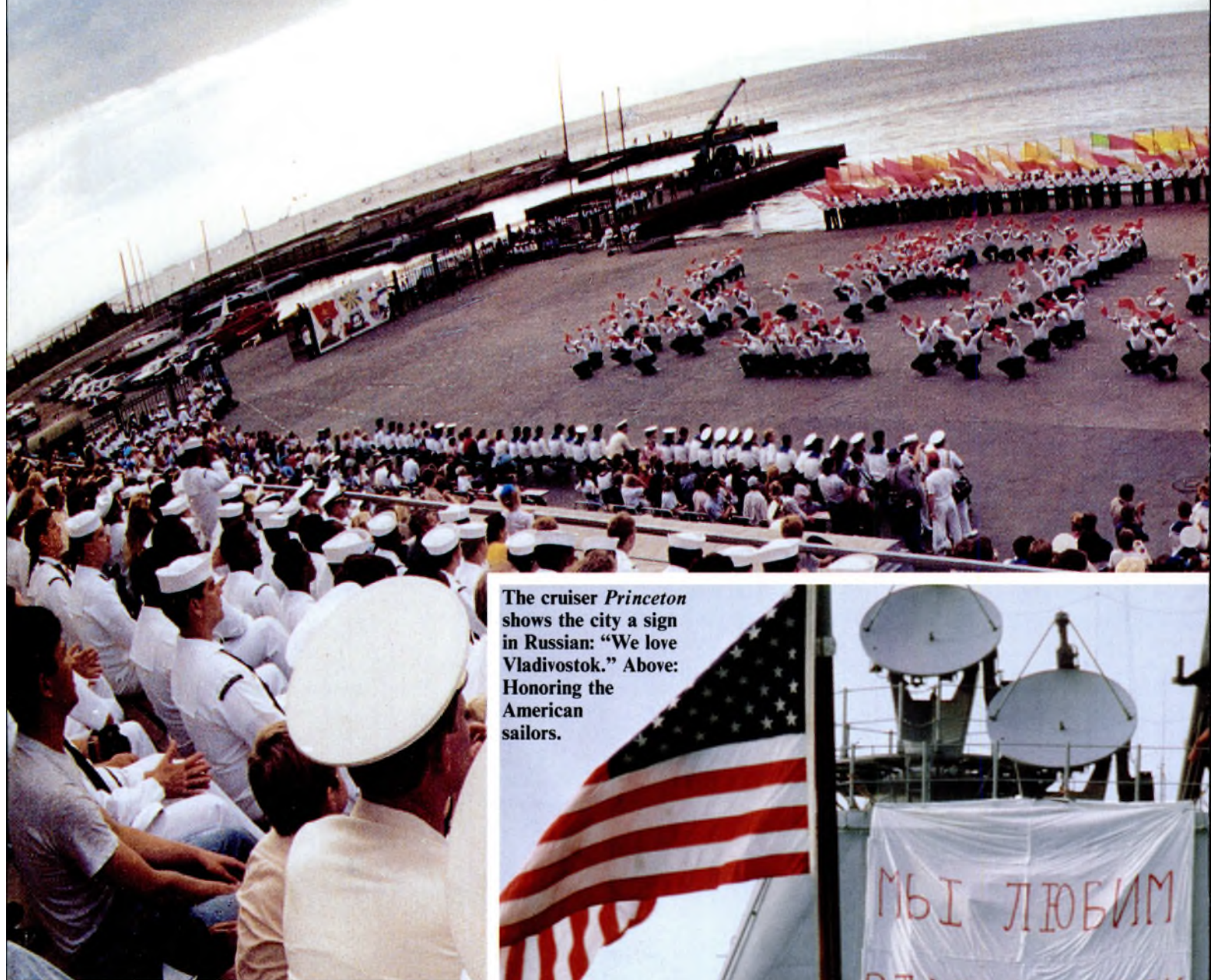
psychological restraint, we are gradually beginning to realize that the export of labor resources is not only inevitable but also, if approached rationally, a highly profitable business. A number of countries that actively encourage the exportation of labor—Turkey, Yugoslavia, and China, for example—have clearly demonstrated that, in addition to providing an influx of hard currency, many workers abroad return home with valuable labor skills acquired at high-tech enterprises.

Many Western countries have expressed a willingness to counter emigration sentiments in the USSR by helping to expand and update its production capacities and infrastructure, by training and retraining personnel, and so on.

One is also impressed by the stand of the top echelons of the European Communities, the Council of Europe, and a number of European countries. They do not think that the question of emigration from the USSR can be solved by fencing themselves off from the Soviet Union with visa, quota, and other barriers. Such methods could well appear discriminatory against Soviet citizens in light of the widespread practice of admitting workers from other countries.

We see a solution in the harmonization of the approaches of the two sides to the problem of migration and in the elaboration of mutually acceptable mechanisms for governing migrational flows. The signing of appropriate bilateral agreements, such as other countries have signed, will create for migrants the necessary legal and other guarantees, ensure them an acceptable level of social security, and lay down the preconditions for their subsequent return home.

It is such approaches, not the dropping of a new kind of "iron curtain," this time from the West against the Soviet Union, that would meet the spirit of constructive cooperation.



The cruiser *Princeton* shows the city a sign in Russian: "We love Vladivostok." Above: Honoring the American sailors.

Soviet warships peacefully moored in the port of San Diego; American sailors embraced by the citizens of the once-closed port city of Vladivostok—these are symbols of a new era.



SAILORS' DIPLOMACY IN THE PACIFIC



By Lieutenant Commander Gennadi Soldatov
Photographs by Vladimir Nemirovsky, Yuri Somov, and Alexander Lyskin

Admiral Gennadi Khvatov, commander of the Soviet Pacific Fleet, is a reserved man who is not very fond of lofty-sounding expressions. But Khvatov had some very warm words to say about last fall's exchange of visits by Soviet and American naval ships to ports belonging to the other side. "Such contacts between the two great naval powers," said Khvatov, "have confirmed that the new political thinking is winning over people's minds in our two countries."

The admiral made his remarks in the port of San Diego, California,

where he took the antisubmarine ship *Admiral Vinogradov*, the destroyer *Boyevoi*, and the tanker *Argun*. The American sailors involved in the exchange stayed in Vladivostok, a Soviet port on the Pacific coast.

It's not an exaggeration to refer to both visits as historic. They marked the beginning of the implementation of a two-year program of contacts between the military, as agreed upon by the USSR and the United States.

I was one of the Soviet officers who traveled to San Diego. Our schedule in the American city was rather busy and included points of professional interest as well as entertainment. We

visited the bases of marine and amphibious forces, and watched flights of aircraft carrier-based planes. The officers and men also saw how the instruction process was organized at one of the naval stations. We visited the San Diego Zoo and the oceanarium, watched a rodeo, and were welcome guests at picnics on the beach. The thing that impressed us most of all was not tables laden with exotic food and drink, but our hosts' warm and sincere hospitality.

We didn't talk much about politics. The Americans were much more interested in our families, service, and everyday life. I believe that such



Left: Gennadi Soldatov, the author of this article (left) with a resident of San Diego. Below: Meeting Soviet ships on the approach to San Diego Bay.

We didn't talk much about politics. The Americans were much more interested in our families, service, and everyday life.



Above: Maureen O'Connor, the mayor of San Diego, welcomes the Soviet warships that called at the port of the city.

Below: Soviet sailors have an opportunity to tour an American ship.





Above: Soviet sailors ate, drank beer, and talked about life with new American friends. Top: "Good-by, San Diego!"

meetings, which we now call people-to-people diplomacy, are no less important than summit contacts between our two countries. These meetings are big politics too, because they are accomplished by ordinary people. Symbols of a new era, which I would describe as an "era of new political thinking," don't have to be as grand as the Egyptian pyramids. More ordinary symbols are quite appropriate too, like the sight of U.S. naval ships in the bay of Zolotoi Rog in Vladivostok, only recently a city off limits not only for foreigners, but for most Soviet citizens as well.

The visit by a group of U.S. naval ships in Vladivostok turned into a five-day festival. Any member of the U.S. Navy who went ashore was soon surrounded by Vladivostok residents

in the city streets. Some wanted to talk, others to exchange souvenirs, and still others to be photographed with an American. The visitors stoically bore with the Vladivostok boys, who were sometimes rather insistent in their requests for a souvenir.

The Americans visited air and marine bases, took a sightseeing tour of the city, and attended various parties. Thousands of local residents visited the cruiser *Princeton* and the frigate *Reuben James*. We invited American sailors to visit the Soviet nuclear-powered guided missile cruiser *Frunze*.

A group of Soviet admirals and naval officers toured the American ships to see how their duties and everyday life were organized.

Returning home from San Diego, I

brought along copies of letters from a local citizens group, suggesting that San Diego and Vladivostok become sister cities. I talked to the mayor of Vladivostok, Yevgeni Blinov, about the idea, and he endorsed the proposal. "There are a lot of events in history that link San Diego and Vladivostok," he said.

This marks a new development in relations between the two Pacific cities. And it's gratifying that it was all made possible by the military. ■



Left: Two admirals—Charles Larson (left) and Gennadi Khvatov. Below: Three flags—Soviet, American, and that of the U.S. Pacific Fleet flew on the *Princeton*.



Left: Encounter on a Vladivostok street. Far left: Many American sailors were besieged by Vladivostok residents as soon as they stepped ashore.



Captain Dale Spring was slightly surprised by the usual souvenir given him by a little girl. Below: sharing a common language.



REFLECTIONS ON THE FOURTH CONGRESS

By Fyodor Burlatsky

The Fourth Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR took place in Moscow in December 1990. Alas, the Congress failed to live up to many of our hopes: Most of the Soviet people had expected more radical decisions than those taken by the USSR's top legislature.

In the necessarily brief remarks I made at the Fourth Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR with regard to the resignation of Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, I spoke about the fact that the crisis of power and of the political process in this country seems to be coming to a head. Mikhail Gorbachev acknowledged this point. But he rejected another, one that was expressed on behalf of 300 deputies—that the forces of reaction had gone on the offensive and that there was a danger of a coming dictatorship. I would be very happy to find out that our president was right, not the resigning minister.

Does Shevardnadze's withdrawal signify that the ship of perestroika is leaking and that efforts are being made to save it by jettisoning the "ballast" of liberalism? This is not the time or the place to sum up the period of perestroika, but what is obvious is that perestroika's best fruit has been in the area of foreign policy. For that achievement, all humanity will always be deeply grateful to President Gorbachev. Shevardnadze's personal contributions will likewise not be forgotten.

Where will we go from here? On the eve of the Nineteenth Party Conference, when the models of our democracy were being discussed, I suggested that direct general elections be held to the USSR Supreme Soviet, as well as to the posts of president and vice president. I also suggested that a constitutional court be formed and that a declaration of the rights of citizens be solemnly endorsed. Many other experts agreed.

But those who were close to the President advised him to adopt Lenin's 1924 model of power, which has little to do with a presidential republic. There is no doubt that Mikhail Gorbachev had a very real opportunity to become the first popularly elected president. The idea that was suggested three years ago is now being accepted, but under more difficult circumstances.

The same advisers talked Gorbachev out of starting perestroika with an agrarian reform, something that I and many others had proposed as long ago as 1985. We pointed to China, which achieved unprecedented results after it adopted family leasing schemes. We also brought up the fact that Nikita Khrushchev had initiated successful reforms in agriculture, but he subsequently undermined them when he began to destroy individual farming as an institution.

As a result of perestroika, people no longer expect new benefits; they expect basic order. They want fair distribution of foodstuffs. They want to feel safe in the streets and in their homes. They want ethnic conflicts to be smoothed out. The Congress was influenced by the drive for order. The problem is what kind of order, and in what areas.

We all remember the statements made by the colonels at the Congress. I mean it when I say "colonels," and not just people's deputies: Ours is the world's only parliament where deputies who are also members of the armed forces wear their uniform. Our parliament also has the world's largest percentage of military people. (Traditionally, members of the mili-

tary are more likely to be found in the executive branch.)

I was amused, for lack of a better word, by the colonels' astonishing friendliness toward Saddam Hussein. They went so far as to demand that the Congress adopt a declaration on noninterference in the Persian Gulf. They even brought up the subject of Afghanistan, obviously counting on the artless ignorance of many members of the audience.

Why is it that the same colonels are defending Iraq with so much fervor? There is nothing strange about it. Iraq was the largest importer of Soviet weapons, and it invited in more Soviet military advisers—paying them handsome salaries—than any other country. Saddam Hussein owes the Soviet Union 200 billion rubles, according to Western sources. Which agency will be held responsible for these losses?

As I sat in the first rows of the pompous auditorium that was the site of the Fourth Congress of People's Deputies, I looked at the faces of those at the head table. President Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin, Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, sat side by side, looking away from each other.

Leaving their personal relationship aside, what has put so much distance between these two leaders of perestroika, who have for 30 years professed the same communist ideals? What has put so much distance between two Russians who grew up in the bosom of a single country and shared politics and culture?

All of a sudden I recalled the lawn of the White House in Washington,

D.C., where Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan took turns at an elevated podium exchanging solemn and friendly statements. It was then that the cold war began to end between two nuclear monsters that had kept humanity in fear.

Could it be that Gorbachev, who demonstrated such force of will, persistence, and diplomatic tact during his talks with a man who had considered our country an evil empire—could it be that the same man is unable to find the right approach to cooperation with Boris Yeltsin and with other new leaders in the republics? I don't believe it.

And what about Yeltsin, who rose on the waves of perestroika that Gorbachev had launched? Isn't Yeltsin aware of the need for compromise? Compromise is the only realistic way to establish order in this country.

It is said that the President and the chairman are divided on the subject of the 500-Day Program. No one questions the idea of the market, but the market has become an ideological formula of the same sort as communism and full-fledged socialism. What are the problems of the transitional period? How should people be taught to work well? How should they be discouraged from shirking their responsibilities and from stealing? Where should society look for quality managers? What is to be done with state-owned property? There are thousands of questions, and there is just one answer: a market economy!

Privatization is yet another debatable point for the economic giants. The simple and economically effective solution is obvious. It is already being implemented. There are two segments of society that are ready to become owners. These are the bureaucrats in various ministries and government agencies (our only managers so far) and the workers in the shadow economy, people who have displayed remarkable viability in a totalitarian environment.

How are the people to be convinced that privatization will do them good? After all, the people joined the revolution because they wanted to own land and factories themselves. The state, that is, the bureaucracy, de-

ceived the people and appropriated everything. Are the people to lose once again?

There are solutions: the lease, joint-stock companies of work collectives, cooperatives. Of course, the private property of every individual should be protected, whether it is bonds or other securities, a house, or a plot of land. Privatization shouldn't come in the form of a hasty division of property, but as an incentive for freely productive activity. That is the fair way.

The culmination of the Congress was the statement by V. S. Pavlov on the state of the budget. Vital questions affecting the day-to-day lives of the people got bogged down in the quagmire of power plays and personal ambition, he said. It's become very clear that what we need to do is concentrate on the real issues at hand, instead of soaring off into the clouds of ideological schemes.

I was disgusted by the declaration made at the Congress that this country had enough food. Who has enough food, and where and when was that? How is that statement going to be received by the millions of people who line up for a kilo of meat or a bottle of milk? Who is to blame that there is no food in the stores? Some kind of mythical Mafia? No. The fault lies with the authorities. They are in charge of supplying provisions, and the shops and reserves (with only minor exceptions) belong to the powers that be. The people don't care which specific authorities are most to blame, those in the Kremlin, those in the White House on the Embankment [that is how the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation is referred to here—Ed.], or those on the Moscow City Soviet.

There is constant argument about sovereignty. The questions we should be asking are whether that means the sovereignty of the state or that of the people, and whether it is sovereignty for the authorities and bureaucrats or for ordinary folk. World experience provided an answer to these questions a long time ago. We are the only country that lags behind, tied up by the tenets of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Our group of deputies has pro-

posed a reasonable alternative. We want sovereignty, but sovereignty of the people—the people in Russia, Georgia, Estonia, in the union. We go by the principle of citizenship, not by that of ethnic background. That is the way it is done in the civilized world. The population of the United States is not an ethnic entity but is made up of people from all over the world. Indians living in England are English; Arabs living in France are French.

Our group also suggested something else—the most important thing. We suggested restoring the artificially destroyed economic ties. We suggested setting up an economic alliance. All of the republics and all of the ordinary people have an interest in such a bond. We suggested agreeing on foodstuffs, prices, pricing, free turnover, free labor, economic guarantees on how people will live and work, and finally, a common market. The building of a new union could be constructed on such a basis.

The situation isn't as bad as it may seem. We need to get down to work together properly, casting aside complacency and irritation at one another. The revolution of amateurs is over. Its results, positive and negative, are there for all to see. The time of reforms is coming, or it should come. Reforms should be prepared by sensible experts who will have the approval of society.

I believe and hope that President Gorbachev, together with the leaders of all the republics, will muster enough strength to launch a new stage in the life of this country. Then we will have order in our country, a stable economy, and we will see movement toward free economic activities by citizens and the beginning of general well-being. This is what has happened in other countries. It is possible in this country. I wish it had started simultaneously in the Kremlin, the White House on the Embankment, and all cities and villages of this country. ■

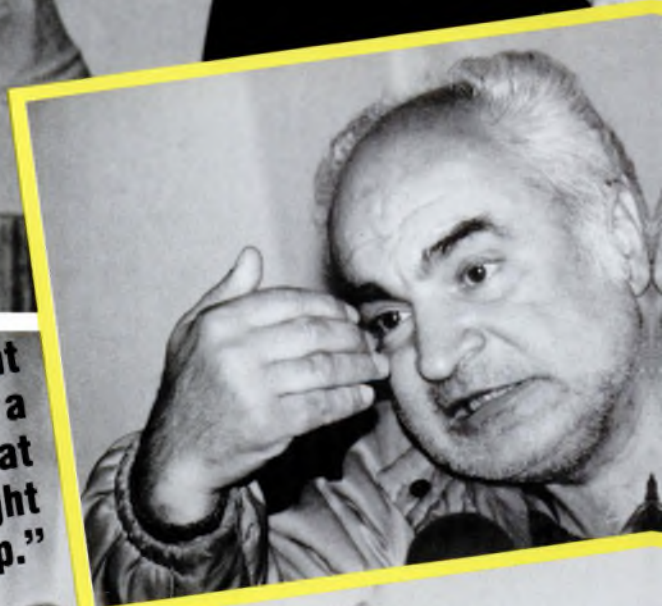
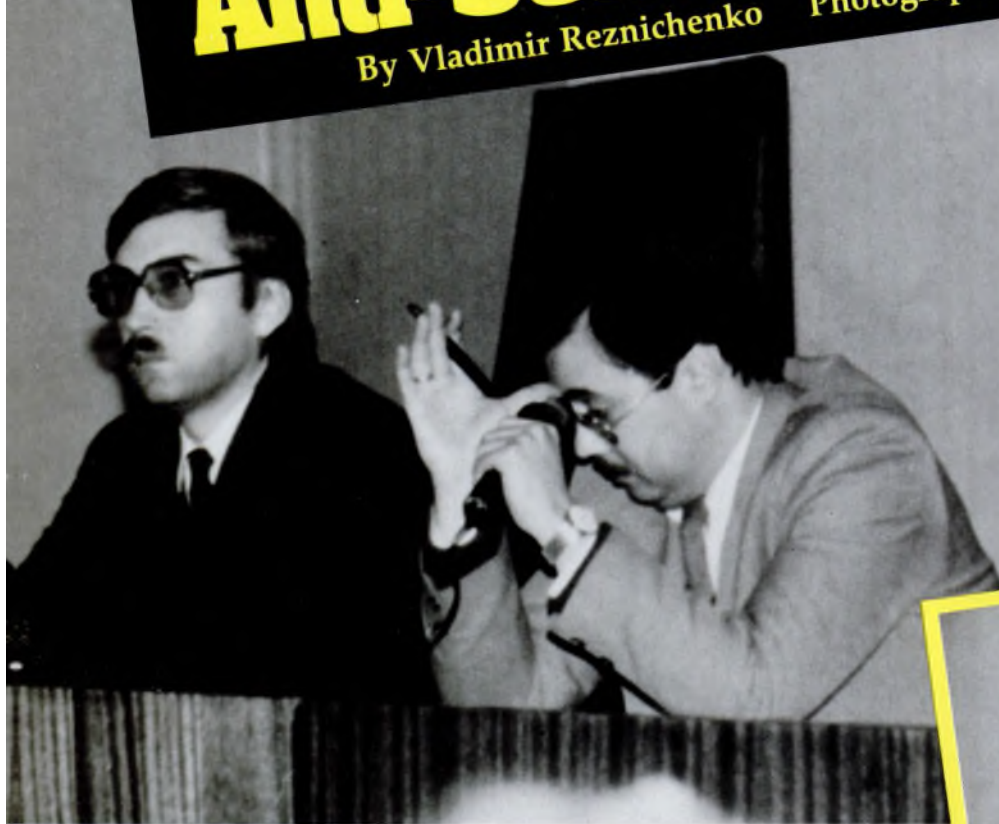
Fyodor Burlatsky is the editor of the newspaper Literaturnaya gazeta. He is also a people's deputy of the USSR and a prominent political scientist and analyst. This article is reprinted, slightly abridged, from Literaturnaya gazeta.

special report

Anti-Semitism on Trial

By Vladimir Reznichenko

Photographs by Anton Makarov



Defendant
Ostashvili: "I'm a
wily old polecat
who got caught
in a trap."



Of all the trials held in the Soviet Union in 1990, the case of Konstantin Smirnov-Ostashvili was the most publicized. The defendant was an activist of the right-wing extremist organization Pamyat. He was accused of instigating an anti-Semitic disturbance at the Moscow Writers Club at a meeting of a group of writers called April. The Moscow City Court sentenced Ostashvili to two years' imprisonment for stirring up national hatred. The sentence was unprecedented in the history of contemporary Soviet juridical practice.

The trial lasted two and a half months, from July 24, 1990, to October 12. It created a sensation in Mos-

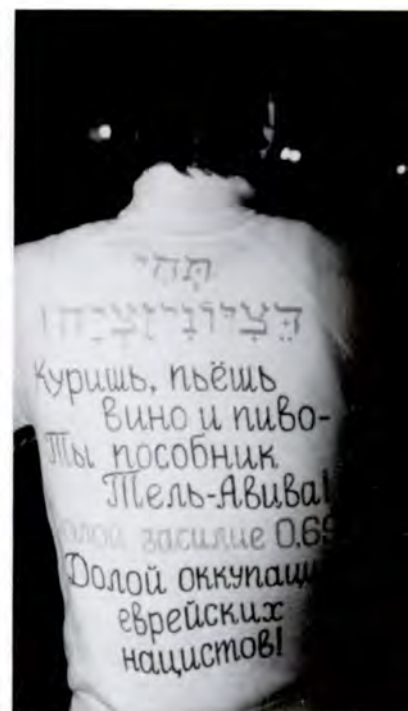
The central figure in the Ostashvili case may not be a terribly impressive character. But the trial was given extensive coverage in the media, and with good reason. The case focused public attention on a very disturbing problem. Anti-Semitism has reached such a scale in the Soviet Union that thousands of Jews, concerned for their own lives and the future of their children, have preferred to leave the country. The press frequently criticizes the authorities for not taking resolute action to prevent and punish acts of anti-Semitism.

But the problem does not involve Jews alone. The decline of totalitarian ideology and the disintegration of the rigidly centralized state have been accompanied by an upsurge of chau-

vinistic trends. At a time when the former social and political doctrine is growing increasingly unacceptable and authority and legality are slackening, certain segments of the population are trying to patch together the crumbling social foundation with the help of nationalistic ideas.

The drive for national revival has given rise to the notion that there are "good" nationalities and "bad" ones. The image of the enemy takes on various forms. For the Russians it may be the Jews, for the Azerbaijanis it may be the Armenians, for the Armenians the Azerbaijanis, for the peoples of the Baltic republics the Russians, and so on.

Communities that propagate ultra-nationalistic ideas exist in many So-



cow. Especially in the beginning, the courtroom was packed with reporters, photographers, and spectators. Sad to say, not a few supporters of the defendant were also present. At the center of all the excitement was a little man whose incoherent ravings made him difficult for many to take seriously. Describing himself as "a wily old polecat who got caught in a trap" and posing as a political martyr, Ostashvili dragged out the court proceedings in every way possible. He even escaped once.

Facing page, above:
Court in session.

Above left: An Ostashvili supporter with a poster accusing democrats of being influenced by Zionists. Above right: This sweater reads: "You smoke, you drink both wine and beer—then you're a Tel Aviv accomplice! Down with the domination of the 0.69 per cent [the percentage of the Soviet population that is Jewish!] Down with the occupation by the Jewish Nazis!"

viet republics in the form of movements, fronts, and other organizations. These various groups each espouse the superiority of their own nationality, but they are very similar in their assertion of the priority of nationalistic ideas over universal values and in championing the rights of nations at the expense of the rights of the individual.

Nationalistic and chauvinistic propaganda often coexists strangely with that of concepts that would seem quite contrary in spirit—liberalism ➞

In the first days of the trial the courtroom was packed. Some spectators came out of concern about the rise of anti-Semitism. But some (below right) came to support the defendant.



and democracy. The brand of socialism and nationalism that is now taking shape needs to be taken seriously. It's impossible not to notice that a cross of these two elements produces the term "national socialism." And it is not in name only that the new trend resembles nazism.

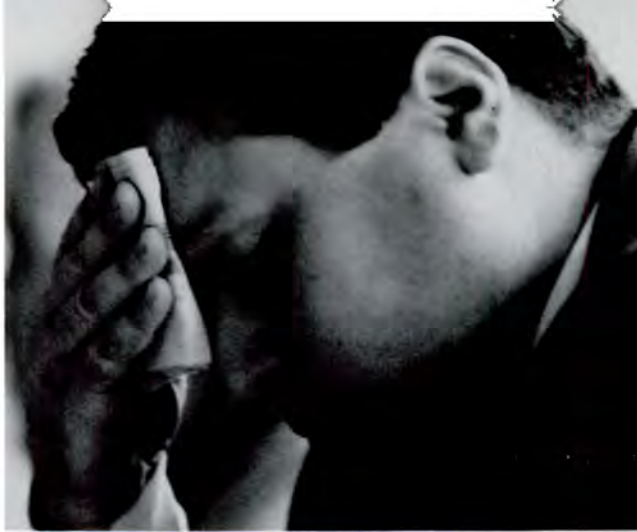
Yevgeni Proshechkin, leader of the All-Union Antifascist Center, which was founded in 1990, believes that reactionary conservatives have mounted

a struggle against democracy, against a return to world civilization in the economy, under the guise of a struggle against a "Zionist plot." Some groups within the party and government are attempting to use anti-Semitism and other kinds of chauvinism as a trump card—one of the few that they have left—in their risky political game.

On the one hand, by fanning ethnic hostility, the retrograde forces are try-

ing to lead the people away from the real problems of social readjustment. On the other hand, by using mythical "domestic and foreign enemies" as scapegoats for their own crimes and failures, they are trying to divert the people's wrath from themselves and, at the same time, to intimidate and discredit progressive intellectuals. The forces of stagnation are pushing the country toward chaos, which only a return to a "strong-man regime" will

Right: Writer Anatoli Makarov:
"Everything I see today reminds me of the birth of fascism in Germany in the 1930s." Below: This retired colonel showed up in support of Ostashvili at every session of the court, wearing all his medals.



Berdyayev maintained with good reason that "mediocrity lies at the root of anti-Semitism." But these littérateurs have not read Berdyayev. And that is a pity, because if they had, they would have found a piece of very good advice which, although it was written in the mid-thirties, sounds very current: "There is only one way to struggle against the fact that Jews have played a big part in science and philosophy—make great discoveries yourselves and you will become great scientists and philosophers. You can struggle against the domination of Jews in the area of culture only through your own cultural creativity."

The sentence that the Moscow City Court passed on Ostashvili shows that Soviet law enforcement agencies have finally begun to prosecute, in keeping with the law, specific instigators of ethnic hostility. But there is still cause for concern. It is clear that the convicted man is only a minor figure. The ideologists of anti-Semitism remain in the shadows.

Yuri Chernichenko, a well-known Soviet journalist and people's deputy of the USSR who acted as a prosecutor in the case, said in his speech: "It is a tradition in Russian literature to consider the mastermind of a crime a no lesser criminal, if not the greater, than the one who actually performed the deed. Usually such a perpetrator is cleverer and more cowardly than the tool. It is very difficult to catch him red-handed."

It is hard to say whether Ostashvili's supporters learned a lesson from the trial. Some spectators in the crowd threatened to avenge him. ■



be able to set right. And that is exactly the solution that they would like to see.

It is ironic that April, the writers organization at whose meeting the Pamyat thugs staged their disturbance, is neither Jewish nor Zionist. April was founded as a literary movement in support of perestroika. It stands for democratic reforms in society at large as well as inside the USSR Writers Union. The organization includes writers, poets, and critics of different nationalities. Among its members are people of letters who represent the best of modern Russian literature. So the use of nationalistic slogans against the "Aprilites" is a blatant provocation, just another attempt to artificially substitute a conflict between Jews and non-Jews—"cosmopolites without kith and kin" and "genuine Russian patriots"—for the conflict between the champions of democracy and the proponents of repression and totalitarianism.

And yet Pamyat seems to have targeted the Writers Club in Moscow with a special purpose in mind. Anti-Semitism affects not only the poorly

educated; it has also penetrated the ranks of the creative intelligentsia. Among the latter there are quite a few writers who gained esteem and prizes for their mediocre, conformist works during the period of stagnation. But today talent can compete freely, and they find themselves in the embarrassing position of naked emperors. So they try to shift the people's attention onto "Jewish intrigues."

The Russian philosopher Nikolai

Ostashvili is escorted back to court after having escaped and been recaptured.





Three years ago a complex for the development and production of microelectronics was set up in Ulyanovsk, a large city on the Volga River. The center produces computer chips and microelectronic components for the machine-building industry. It comprises several research institutes, some special design offices, and a pilot plant. Alexei Ryzhevsky, general director of the Ulyanovsk Microelectronics Center, recently talked to journalist Andrei Yefimov.

Q: Considering the Soviet Union's budget deficit, did it make sense to spend such vast sums of money on the construction of your center? Wouldn't it have been simpler to buy electronic equipment from the West, as was done before?

A: Why did we go abroad to buy electronic equipment? Because the West started building large training and research centers for microelectronic sensors a long time ago.

In the United States, for example,

Electronics from Ulyanovsk

Photographs by Anatoli Khrupov





The Ulyanovsk Microelectronics Center is on the cutting edge of electronics technology in the Soviet Union. Facing page, top left: Foreign guests of the center stay at Ulyanovsk's Venets Hotel.

in civilian industries, either in terms of cost or of technology.

Q: So you had no difficulty in persuading the government and your clients of the need to build your center?

A: Well, our idea had both its supporters and its detractors. I am sometimes asked: "What does an oxcart need an electronic sensor for?" The implication, of course, is that it doesn't make sense to install electronics in some of our plants. But without electronics, including electronic measurement instruments, there can be no up-to-date products.

Here are three major arguments in favor of our center:

First, scientific and technological progress demands that priority be given to systems of measurement and quality control. Many modern production processes are simply impossible without strict quality controls.

Second, microelectronics is the only technology today that can ensure mass production of sensors.

Third, microelectronics technology ensures that the requirements set for modern sensors are met: long-term stability, high reliability, precision, and sensitivity.

Q: It's hard for any new industry to find its own niche in the market. Aren't you afraid that potential clients will be too cautious in realizing its potential?

there is a center for integral sensors and microstructures at the University of Cincinnati, and a research center for microelectronic sensors at the University of Hawaii. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the University of Arizona, the University of California, and Stanford University are also active in microelectronic research. Then there are universities in European countries. These centers not only conduct theoretical and applied research, but they also train specialists in this very promising and complex area of technology.

The Soviet Union is behind in this field. The USSR produces practically no microelectronic sensors. Some types have been developed in the defense industry, but by and large there's not much application for them

A: We are confident that when a market economy is adopted here, the customer's problem of finding goods will be replaced by the producer's problem of finding clients to buy their products. We will test our instruments in shops for potential customers. A sensor will be allowed between six

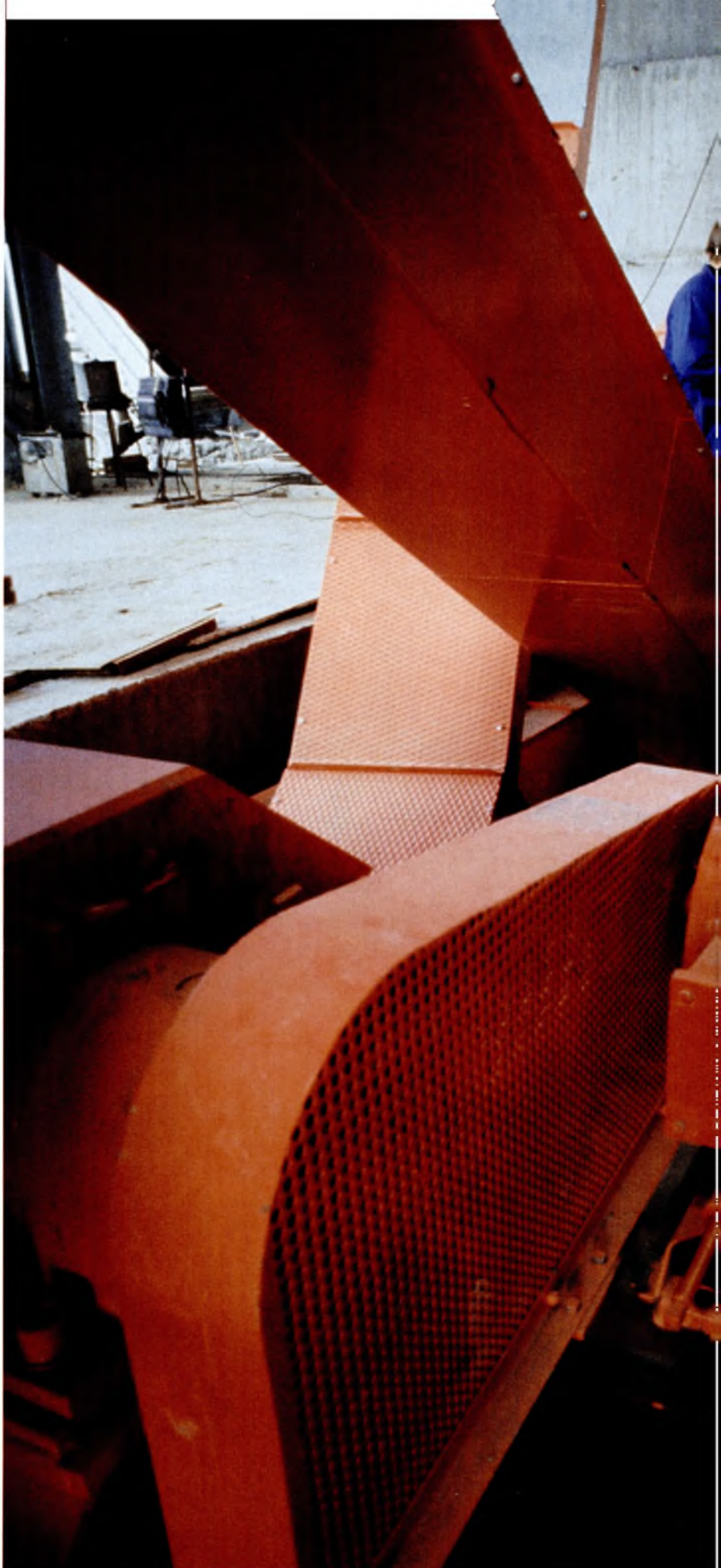


months' and a year's trial. During this time, our business partners will be able to evaluate the efficiency of our products. They'll decide whether the quality has improved or not, and they either will or will not place orders.

The center will maintain contact with almost all branches of the economy. We will carry out examinations at plants, develop technology that will reduce losses in manufacturing better products, and, of course, conduct basic research.

Q: But won't the state regulation of market relations interfere with your intentions? Surely your government order will be a big one.

A: A balance on the market, for both consumer goods and the means of production, is still the concern of government agencies. That's why the state is creating mechanisms to influence the market—tax incentives, pre-





"The center will maintain contact with almost all branches of the economy."



Alexei Ryzhevsky and his colleagues.

ferred credit rates, and budget subsidies. But, of course, no enterprise can switch to market relations without the right to sell its extra products freely in any part of the country and abroad.

Q: In time the Ulyanovsk complex will become the main center for providing the entire country with instruments of measurement. Will you be able to determine and follow an independent scientific, technological, and financial policy?

A: I hope so. We are now setting up a fund for the development of our capacities. Considerable sums are being contributed to it. We envision the center as a dynamic complex of re-

search institutes and pilot plants that will develop new technologies.

In a market economy, a consumer who is counting on her own money will be choosier. That means the manufacturer will be vitally interested in producing high-quality goods.

We have already signed agreements with the Urals Heavy Machine-Building Plant and have orders from other enterprises for our signal devices and sensors. Ecological organizations are ordering gas leak sensors. Nuclear power stations are buying sensors for monitoring hydrogen levels in reactors. We have orders worth several billion rubles. ■



More than 2,000 delegates gathered in Moscow to register their support for democracy.

RUSSIA'S DEMOCRATS JOIN HANDS

By Dmitri Marchenkov Photographs by Alexei Folumenov

The Democratic Russia movement held its inaugural congress in the Rossiya, Moscow's largest movie theater, on October 20 and 21. The purpose of the congress was to unite 9 political parties and 18 public organizations in opposition to the Communists.

More than 2,000 people gathered under Russia's tricolor flags to represent voters leagues, democratic parties, strike committees, and Afghan veterans groups.

According to questionnaires circulated among the delegates, 16 per cent belonged to the Democratic Party of Russia, 3 per cent to the Christian movement, and 8 per cent to the Social-Democratic Party of Russia.

Yevgeni Savostyanov of the Democratic Russia organizing committee says that the main goal of the new movement is to forge left-wing unity against the steered ranks of socialist hard-liners. The Social-Democratic Party of Russia, the Democratic Party

of Russia, various voters leagues, Memorial (a public movement dedicated to the memory of Stalin's victims), Shield (a union for the social protection of members of the armed services), and other young societies are increasing their political influence with every passing day. But if they are divided, they will fall and will have no impact on parliament, on its decisions and their implementation, or on Russia's political life as a whole. The movement is faced with a formidable



Facing page: The inaugural congress of the Democratic Russia movement took place at the Rossiya, a huge movie theater in Moscow. Above: Many of the demonstrators who surrounded the theater held posters demanding sovereignty for Russia. Left: This woman's soldier son died under mysterious circumstances in Armenia. She is protesting against the use of the armed forces in national conflicts and the brutal hazing that goes on in the barracks.

Former KGB general Oleg Kalugin, who openly broke with his powerful organization.



task—to reflect the interests of many social strata, with their motley diversity of opinions on how to reach the goals they share. The most important of these are a free market rich in commodities, a flexible, self-regulating economy, and social security.

Reformers differ greatly in style: Some are joiners, and some are not. On the one hand, there is the popular Nikolai Travkin, who promptly set up his Democratic Party of Russia after quitting the Communist Party. But many public leaders who have broken with the Communist Party, including Boris Yeltsin, Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation; Gavriil Popov, the mayor of Moscow; Anatoli Sobchak, the mayor of Leningrad; and many others, have opted not to join any opposition group.

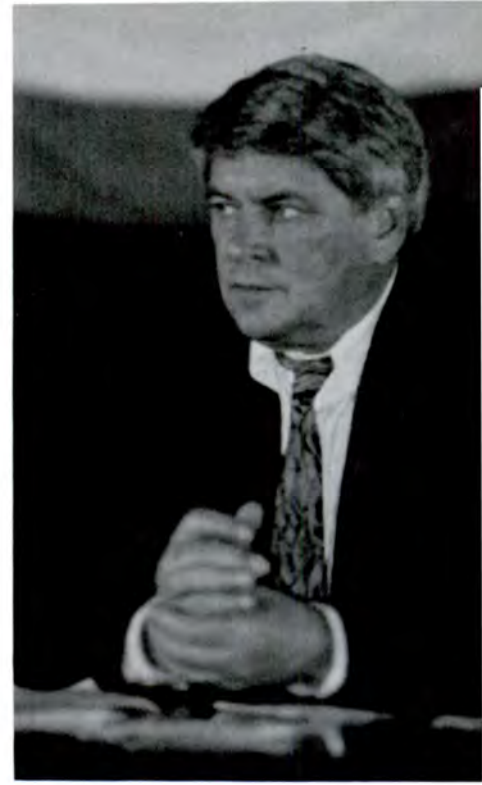
The mavericks never appeared at the inaugural congress. Yeltsin and Popov sent their greetings, and Sobchak kept away entirely.

The course of the congress was not smooth. One whole day was lost for business in petty squabbles. Several parties were unsure about their mission in the new movement. The Christian-democratic bloc boycotted the proposed statute (which was nev-





Right: Yuri Afanasyev, a prominent historian and radical ideologist of democratization. Left, clockwise from bottom: Letting their votes be counted. Telman Gdlyan (second from left), a famous investigator and battler of corruption in high places. Mikhail Shneider, chairman of the organizing committee of the congress. Yuri Boldyrev, one of the leaders of the left wing of parliament. Nikolai Ivanov (center), a close colleague of Telman Gdlyan.



ertheless adopted), while Anarcho-Syndicalists, Socialists, Greens, and members of some other organizations chose to remain observers.

But the democratic movement was not split. The gathering was unanimous on some key issues, reflecting the solidarity of the people who spontaneously rallied around the building in support of the congress. The congress officially declared the Democratic Russia movement established; adopted its statute, political resolution, and short-term program; and started the formation of its central body. This body, called the Representative Council, includes spokespersons for every party.

The political resolution says, in part: "State power is paralyzed. The center's stance is far removed from simple common sense. Such are the main features of the current situation. Russia's parliament and cabinet spare no effort to restore a solid statehood and radically reform the economy. The union rulers and all forces out to revive totalitarian structures meet the reforms with stubborn resistance. We appeal to Russia's public to support its parliament, discard bolshevist stereotypes, abstain from violence, and stand firm against all provocation." ■

THE CONSUMER GOODS CRISIS

Gennadi Kiselyov heads the parliamentary commission for consumer goods. Recently he spoke with Novosti correspondent Yevgeni Smirnov.

Q: How would you describe the consumer goods situation?

A: I'm afraid it is critical. Most kinds of foodstuffs and manufactured goods are no longer available from public sector outlets. And when these items do appear in the shops, people have to stand in line for hours for them. Unfortunately, this trend is likely to continue.

Q: To what do you attribute shortages in general?

A: To disrupted economic ties. Once factories and plants were allowed to sell a certain portion of their output on their own at negotiated prices, many of them began to neglect official targets for centrally distributed output. The republics' determination to achieve sovereignty added to this adverse trend.

Other factors aggravated the situation. The freedom given to producers in matters of pay and incentives led to great growth in personal incomes, which outpaced the growth of productivity and of consumer goods production. During the first eight months of 1990, the output of consumer goods in the country rose only 7 per cent, while wages and salaries were up 14.9 per cent. The excess money supply served to increase the pressure on what was already an unbalanced consumer goods market, resulting in panic buying "for a rainy day."

Q: What is the government doing about the situation?

A: I think it would be unfair at this point to say that the executive branch has done nothing to turn the consumer goods market around. The government has been at pains to boost the production of just about all types of goods. Purchases abroad are also on the increase.

Food imports alone are up 8 per cent this year. Imports of light industry goods are up 21 per cent. As a result, the over-all quantity of con-

sumer goods supplied to the distribution network in the first eight months of the year rose 10 per cent over the corresponding period of the previous year. But unfortunately, this has failed to bring about an improvement.

Q: Many people think that the shortages have been generated to some extent by the so-called shadow economy. Black marketeers are said to be hoarding goods to sell at a profit after the completion of market reforms.

A: We can't afford to dismiss the importance of that aspect of the problem, any more than we can ignore the effects of panic buying, which has also been very much at issue.

The effects of panic buying can be quite severe. I'm sure you remember the drastic detergent shortages of 1989. During the first eight months of 1990, deliveries of plain soap to retailers were up 8 per cent, toilet soap up 60 per cent, and detergents up 50 per cent from 1989. And even so, supply still falls short of demand.

There's every indication that it will be a long time before we see the end of panic buying. That won't happen until there's a dramatic increase in the supply of commodities, and that will be extremely difficult to achieve anytime in the near future. The reason is that many business enterprises are badly in need of modernization and refurbishing at a time when severe shortages of resources are strongly in evidence everywhere.

So for some time industry will be able to produce only a necessary minimum of consumer goods. It's even possible that the country will have to resort to rationing.

The consumer goods market is very likely to deteriorate further within the next few months, as the country tries to embrace free market reforms. The process is sure to send prices up in an uneven progression.

The problem is that, against a background of dire shortages of food and

basic necessities like clothing, footwear, and linen, additional difficulties with consumer goods may trigger massive social upheaval. Our main job at this point is to think of ways to prevent this from happening.

Q: How can that be done?

A: The emphasis must be placed on improving the performance of light industry. Hundreds of factories and shops are in danger of grinding to a halt because of an inadequate supply of resources.

Given the high degree of specialization in the economy, both in terms of industry and geographically, the republics would do well to frame a common policy with respect to the production of consumer goods. What needs to be coordinated first and foremost is the volume of output, supplies among republics, and supplies to centralized funds, plus a program for the provision of raw materials.

We also need to coordinate efforts to promote advanced technology in light industry. It would be best to deal with this matter in concert, drawing on the full industrial capability of the country as a whole.

There are fairly good conditions in place for the full-scale production of state-of-the-art technology in the Soviet Union, chiefly in the defense sector establishments that are switching to civilian production. This work is of vital importance to the country as a whole and currently involves dozens of factories and plants, design offices, and research units with great capabilities in science and technology. The first results have been extremely promising. But it will take massive investments to sustain this process—an estimated eight billion rubles over the next five years. But the effort is worthwhile—the goal is to develop some 1,700 types of new technology for 32 systems that could quite literally revolutionize the consumer goods industry.



where wood and dale are full of visions

By Oleg Torchinsky

Reproductions by Oleg and Svetlana Chekhonin

The home of Leningrad artist Nikolai Sazhin would be a perfect set for a film about prerevolutionary bohemian life. The mansard of the old St. Petersburg building where he lives is filled with objects that must seem strange and absurd to the outsider's eye: A broken statuette, several horses' skulls, and a *Playboy* centerfold lie among some glass balls, armfuls of dried grasses, and fragments of a pottery jug. Every spare inch of wall space is covered with pictures.

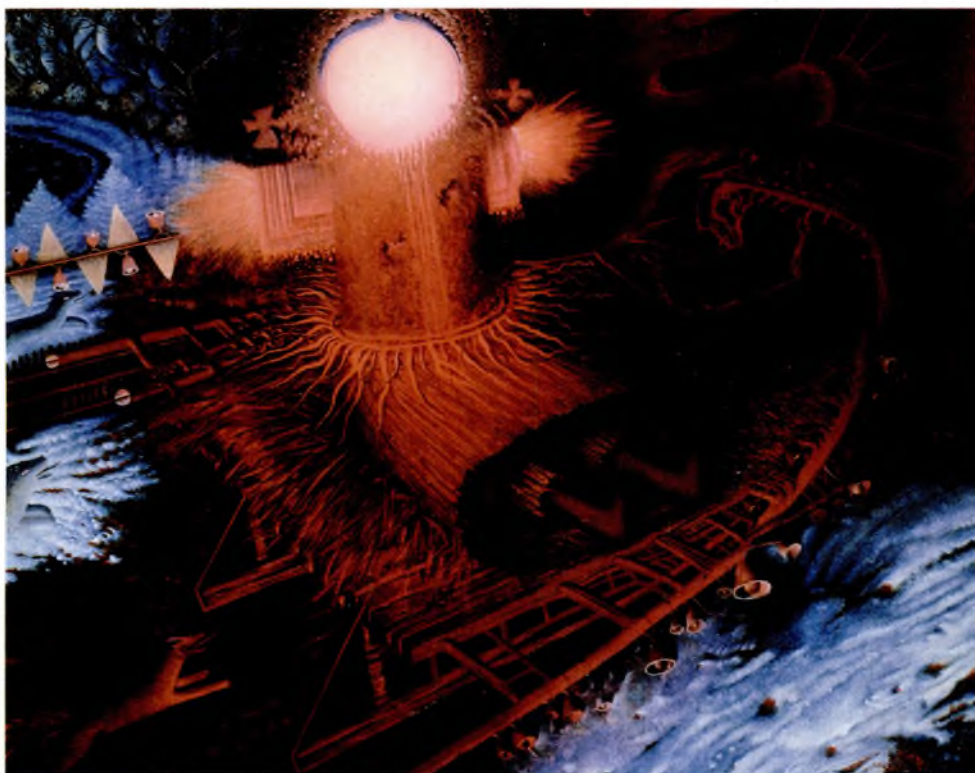
But the bulk of the treasure is hidden in the depths of the apartment. Having seated his guests—one on a sagging couch, one on an upturned log—the host dives into the darkness of the corridor and begins to bring out his works. He props everything against the walls.

Our eyes can't begin to take in all the wealth of these colors, and our minds can't begin to follow the artist's violent fantasy. The artist himself, a bearded man who is chuckling gleefully, brings more and more paintings into the room. We are reminded that Sazhin's friend and pupil Alexei Isakov once described him as a sly, jolly gnome in a red pointed cap, a mischief maker. His pieces are absurd, cleverly naughty, but never malicious.

Nikolai Sazhin was born in 1948, in the town of Troitsk. In 1978 he graduated from the I. E. Repin Institute of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture in Leningrad. For many years he has taught painting and drawing in Len-



Clockwise from top left:
Self-Portrait after a Bath.
1982. Marc Chagall. 1988.
Landscape with Blind Guide.
1983. Christmas.
1983. All painted in oil on
particle board.



ingrad art schools. In 1974 he participated in the legendary first show of the Leningrad avant-garde, which was closed down four days after its opening.

Sazhin's paintings and drawings earned him a reputation as one of the most original masters of contemporary Leningrad art. His work is deceptively simple-seeming, but in fact it is extremely complicated and paradoxical. On the one hand his works are

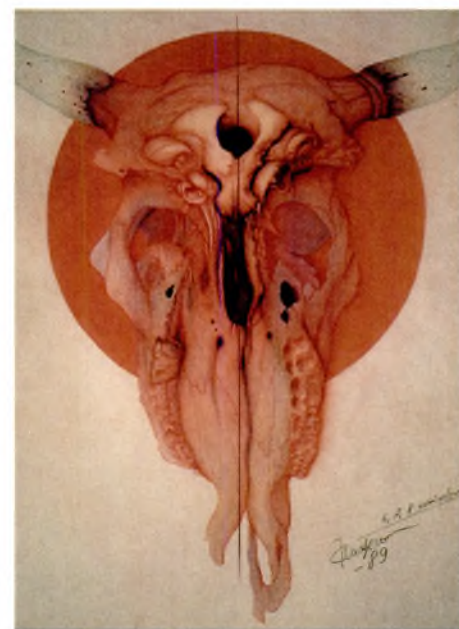
From top to bottom:
Green House-Spirit.
1983. Oil on particle
board. *Shrovetide.*
1984. Oil on particle
board. From the *Yoricks*
series. 1989-1990.
Colored pencil on paper.

the philosophic meditations of an erudite connoisseur of world art; they represent a quest for the meaning of life, an attempt to find our place and function in the world. On the other hand there is blatant buffoonery, irony, and a carnival-like abandon. The refinement of the turn-of-the-century Russian retro art association World of Art combines with the healthy naiveté of the primitive and the unpredictability of the avant-garde experiment.

Sazhin talked to us about the paradoxical nature of his work: "I am a true Leningrader, a 'Petersburger.' I live in this precise, geometrically correct, coldly rational city, the symbol of the modern European half of the Russian soul. But in spirit I am closer to old Muscovite Russia, with its alogical nature, with its irrepressible paganism. This contradiction is probably what accounts for the eclectic spirit of my pictures. Yes, I consider myself an eclectic. I am inconsistent. I went through periods of fascination with various schools and styles, until I came to the conclusion that they were meaningless. The only thing that matters is the concrete task at hand, and the means you use to resolve it are entirely up to you.

"When you work on a painting, eternal prototypes of life swim out of your subconscious—archetypes,

Continued on page 36





Summer Solstice (left panel of diptych). 1984. Oil on particle board.

TORZHOK

By Olga Afanasyeva
Photographs by Igor Zotin

The millennial birthday of the old Russian city of Torzhok, a few hours' drive from Moscow, came much earlier than historians had expected. Although the first mention of the town appeared in 1139, archeologists have recently determined that this fortress city, with its population of traders and craftspeople, had already been founded by the 980s. Its history is filled with twists of fortune.

When, in February 1238, the marauding Mongol Tatars reached Torzhok (then known as Novy Torg, or New Marketplace), they ran up against a solid wall of ice. Earlier in the winter, the vigilant townspeople had sealed the gates and walls with

Innumerable invaders laid siege to, conquered, and burned Torzhok.

an impenetrable ice shell. Assault ladders skidded down it. The stratagem made the city impregnable for two weeks. For the sake of comparison, the city of Ryazan was able to hold out against the Mongols for six days, and Moscow for only five. Unfortunately, early March was unusually warm that year, and on March 5 the Tatars took Novy Torg, putting most of its people to the sword. But the city rose from the ashes.

In Novy Torg merchant routes con-

verged. Merchandise arrived in the Novgorod-Pskov lands from other countries by sleigh in winter and via the Tvertsa River in summer. The city was not an ordinary crossroads. It was also home to excellent jewelers, bonecarvers and gold embroiderers.

Novy Torg became a holy place under Prince Vladimir, who baptized Rus. Many beautiful churches, monasteries, and convents were built. These acted as savings banks for the townspeople and villagers, who entrusted their valuables to them, and they lent money to merchants for the promotion of trade. The Church did much for Torzhok's prosperity.

The riches of others can dazzle the eyes of the envious. Innumerable invaders laid siege to, conquered, and





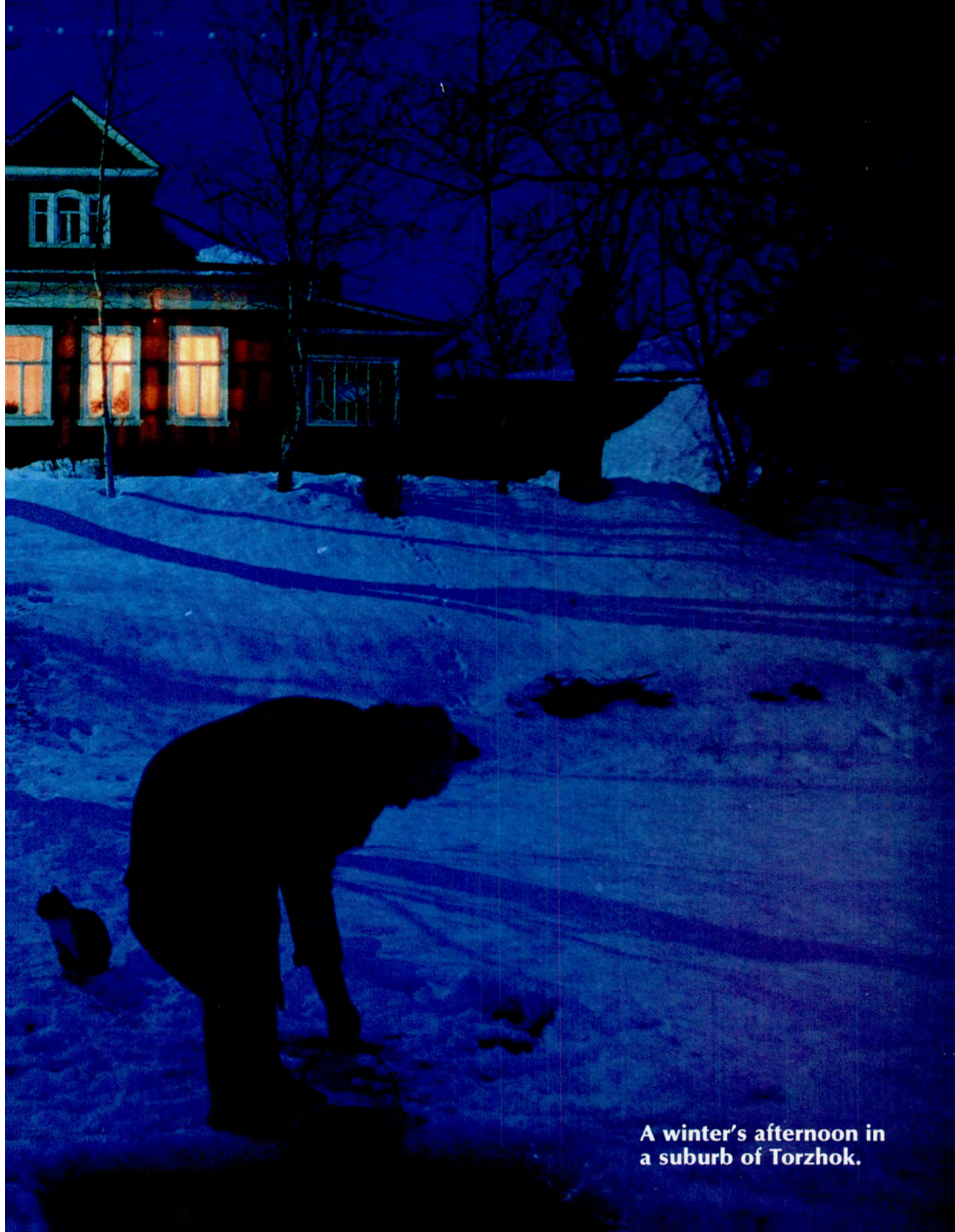
Valentina Kashkova is the author of many books on the history of Torzhok. Top: A modern version of the Torzhok emblem. The six gold and silver doves under the lettering are the ancient symbol of the city.



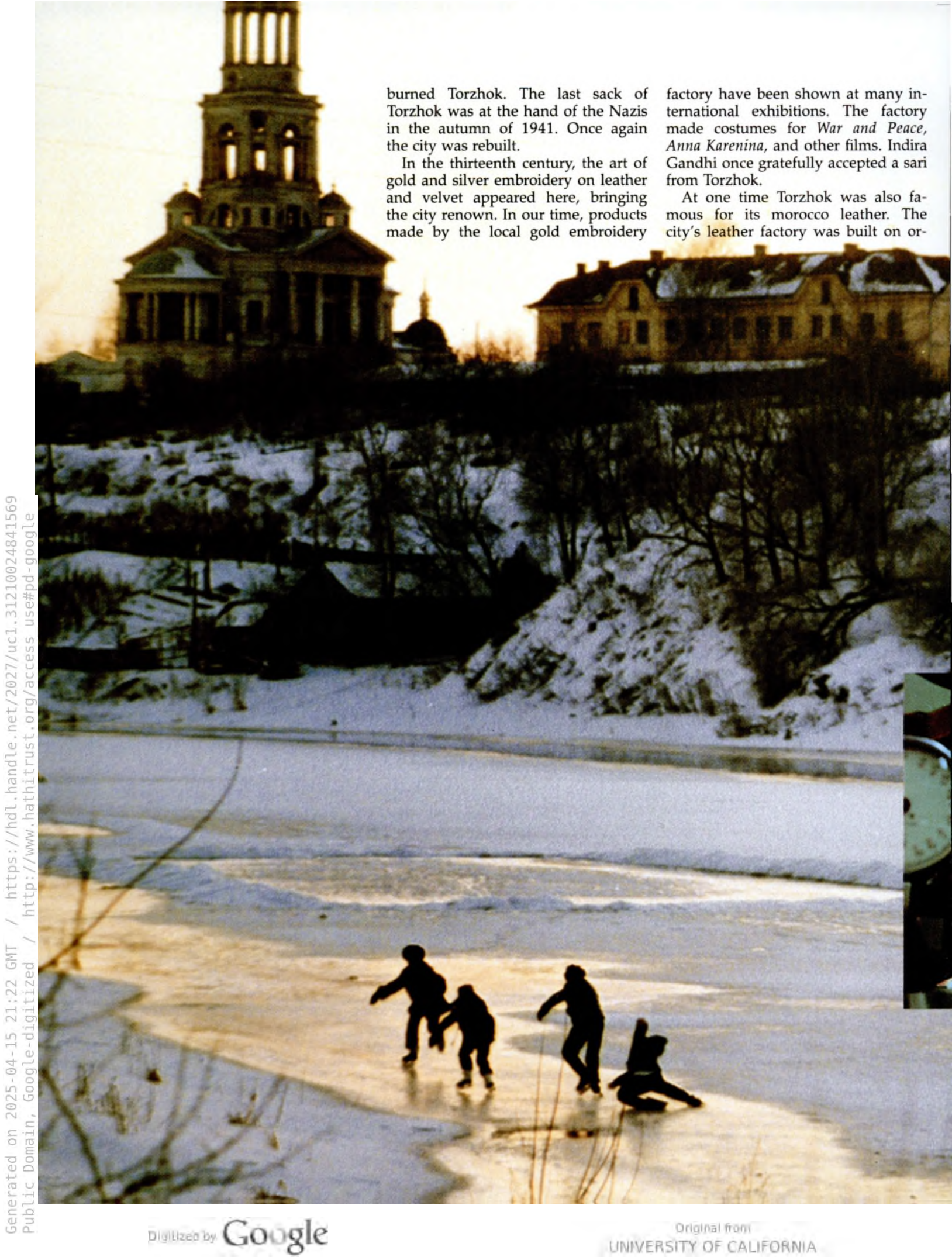
Left: Ethnographer Mikhail Kostin collects materials on Torzhok's history and restores valuable Church relics. Above: The Spaso-Preobrazhensky Cathedral.







**A winter's afternoon in
a suburb of Torzhok.**



burned Torzhok. The last sack of Torzhok was at the hand of the Nazis in the autumn of 1941. Once again the city was rebuilt.

In the thirteenth century, the art of gold and silver embroidery on leather and velvet appeared here, bringing the city renown. In our time, products made by the local gold embroidery

factory have been shown at many international exhibitions. The factory made costumes for *War and Peace*, *Anna Karenina*, and other films. Indira Gandhi once gratefully accepted a sari from Torzhok.

At one time Torzhok was also famous for its morocco leather. The city's leather factory was built on or-

ders from Peter the Great, and soon thereafter it became widely known for its superb leather articles, embroidered with gold and silver. These items were exported worldwide. But gradually, morocco leather making was forgotten, and the factory was closed. Only one pair of golden boots has remained. It is now exhibited at

the Russian Museum in Leningrad.

Until the beginning of this century Torzhok and its environs were known as a nest of Russian intellectualism. The city knew many outstanding names: Alexander Pushkin came here more than 20 times to visit friends. There is now a museum in a house on Yamskaya Street, where he stayed.

The Pozharsky Hotel, where he tasted the delicious Pozharsky cutlets, has also been preserved.

The writers Nikolai Gogol, Sergei Aksakov, Ivan Turgenev, Alexander Ostrovsky, Leo Tolstoy, Alexander Radishchev, Vasili Zhukovsky, and others visited here as well.

In the church graveyard near the



Clockwise from above left: The Elma Plant, where the locking device of the Emiks artificial cardiac valve is tested. In a good mood. In the museum of gold embroidery.

village of Prutnya, under a modest granite slab, is buried Anna Kern, a woman whom Pushkin immortalized in a famous poem:

A magic moment I remember:
I raised my eyes and saw you there,
A fleeting vision, the quintessence
Of all that's beautiful and rare.

A steep path leads from the grave down to the river. You just can't help stopping here to admire the scenic beauty. The banks are high over the river, which is too rapid for flatlands. In the forest stand a wooden chapel and a windmill. Cupolas rise from the nearby hills, looking like golden helmets of giant sentries. "Wonderful," a Russian would sigh at the sight.

Old Russian cities are often a disillusionment. Dilapidated old houses are overshadowed by drab new housing developments. One inevitably leaves these cities with mixed feelings of sorrow over our inability to rectify mistakes and anger at crimes committed in the recent past.

Torzhok has also suffered. After the Revolution, churches were closed down and destroyed. Mansions that were once cozy and luxurious were abandoned and not restored for decades. But still the city has preserved

its image. Visitors love its architectural warmth and charm. Many working churches are in good condition. Former cathedrals and monasteries are under repair, and most of those that have been restored have been returned to believers. The restoration work has gone slowly, because funds are scarce. But now ordinary citizens have joined in the work.

Torzhok is a city of 50,000 people. It has research institutions and factories. All of the country's newspapers are printed with ink that is produced by the factory in Torzhok. The city also produces railroad cars, fire engines, building materials, leather, and footwear. The only Soviet institute of flax, one of our oldest institutions, is an indication of the local crop-growing traditions. Paradoxically, however, modern Torzhok takes up the rear in district trade.

But what is so magnetic about Torzhok? What is the mystery that surrounds it for visitors? I think it is the Russian history that permeates the city's center. Nature, churches, and old buildings make up an organic whole that can be taken in at a glance from the steep bank of the Tvertsa River. The old Russian rule was, "Do as measure and harmony suggest."

And it was according to this rule that Torzhok was built. In the year 1779 the job of city planning was taken up by a local man, Ilya Kanishchev, who considered the city's terrain above all. Subsequent city planners followed Kanishchev's lead, and the medieval city nucleus has been preserved.

Many old structures in Torzhok are unique: the Boris and Gleb Monastery, founded in 1015; the wooden Starovozeneskaya Church of the early seventeenth century; and the eighteenth century Transfiguration of Our Savior (Spaso-Preobrazhensky) Cathedral. Torzhok, with its 221 registered historical monuments, is one of Russia's 116 museum cities, pearls of Russian history. In 1988 a museum of local history and ethnography was established.

Today Torzhok is quiet, without high-rises or traffic congestion. Tiny streets end at the river. Golden, light blue, and lilac cupolas rise high above the city's gardens, under often gloomy Russian skies.

Fortunately, the old attitude that provincial Russian cities are unimportant is changing. People are beginning to appreciate Torzhok as a former center of Russia's cultural and spiritual traditions. ■

visions

Continued from page 28

myths, legends from distant times. It's just these things that dictate the choice of subject and its realization. The images of Slavonic paganism—echoes of our ancient ancestors' outlook on life—are very important in my work. The triumph of Christianity didn't destroy the ancient gods; it just forced them down from the heavens to earth and to the underworld, in the form of 'evil powers.' Those natural powers, which the Slavonic pagans worshiped—spirits of the rivers, trees, and swamps—never died. They've survived in folk beliefs."

Sazhin is an expert of this native demonology. In his world the Orthodox Christian God and saints coexist with pagan gods, especially the sun god Yarilo. The forest, rivers, and

houses teem with spirits—both good and evil ones, happy and sad ones—domestic spirits, wood goblins, mermaids, and nightmares. People quarrel with them and are reconciled with them, but in general they get along. For Sazhin, Easter is juxtaposed with stormy Maslenitsa (Shrovetide), which comes from antiquity. Even Christmas reminds him of some pagan rite, at the same time naive and wise.

But sometimes a warning note bursts into the wild joy that rules in Sazhin's world. Then this world shows you another, gloomy—even evil—side. It's as if a crater had gaped open in front of you. And you begin to think that when following along in a merry dance with the joyful, reckless spirits of earth and water, you must always be on your guard. Otherwise the smooth surface of the swamp might accidentally suck you

down, or some unfamiliar creature might lure you into a dark, otherworldly thicket, from which there is no exit.

Sazhin portrays the familiar from an unusual point of view, making it look new again. Often he simply parodies existing canons, as in his series of colored lithographs, *Mythology both Famous and Obscure*. Playing on ancient myth, Biblical legend, and Russian fairy tales, and inventing his own myths, the artist rejects conventional treatment of the subjects and intentionally confuses the connections among the characters. As a result, we approach these old stories with lively interest and observe new and often completely unexpected nuances and meanings in them. I find that one has to study Sazhin's work longer than that of most artists in order to discover the message within them. But it's worth the effort. ■

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SABP

Every social system has its own social basis and its own ideologists. Where there are slaves or serfs, there are also slave owners or feudal lords. But there are the spiritually maimed as well—slaves who bewail newly acquired freedom that saves them from the whip.

Neo-Stalinists call us to repent our ingratitude as we wipe out Stalinolatry. Opponents of the market economy appeal to us to repent the betrayal of Stalinist planning patterns, which supposedly would have made our country affluent long ago if only we had been true to them. Of course, these people never look to Cuba or North Korea, which put an end to the free market and now lead a beggarly existence with even bare necessities strictly rationed.

Russian chauvinists, who call themselves patriots, blame past and present blunders and outrages on the Jews, who allegedly made up the majority of revolutionary leaders. But then, if the Great Russian people were led astray by a handful of Jews, do they deserve their reputation for greatness? No, dear patriots, our people are paying for their desire to be led astray. They wanted to violate the laws of history and to put an end to their age-old backwardness in a matter of a few years. And they wanted to play a global messianic role. Hence the Soviet revolutionary fanaticism and plans to export socialism.

Our patriots are famous for their inconsistency. They worship the patriarchal peasantry and Russia's piety even as they join hands with communist and government bosses—the last people that could be called keepers of the old Russian values. On the surface, this friendship seems baffling, but on closer examination it appears that there is a good reason for it. Both forces share imperialist ambitions, and they are brothers in chauvinism.

The democrats, in turn, want to see the Communists in sackcloth and ashes. The Communists, as heirs to bolshevism, must answer for the atrocities of the Civil War, War Communism, and later, Stalinism.

Personally I think that the whole Soviet community must repent. Many people agree with me, but more say:

Do We Need to Repent?

By Alexei Kiva
Doctor of Science (History)

The Soviet community is now going through the painful process of reevaluating our history. Many bitter questions are being raised in the most mainstream of publications. This article was published in the government newspaper Izvestia.

"How can you hold us, workers, farmers, and intellectuals, responsible for the secret services' sway in Stalin's cruel time? Surely the party bosses are solely to blame, along with our ideology! Its basic principle—making everyone happy through coercion—is wrong and vicious." By way of an answer, I remind them of our Afghan aggression and how we approved it, aloud or by docile silence as the case might be.

We all have something to repent. An individual's repentance starts as a guilty feeling after a wrongdoing. What then is a community's repentance? This is a puzzling question. Perhaps we should start with an honest reappraisal of our country's past and present—and be shocked at the part we have played, whether willingly or unwillingly. This is how conscience and the civic spirit awaken, bringing

with them free thought and love of freedom.

I'm an atheist, even though I have been baptized and have the greatest respect for the Christian roots of our culture. But I can't help feeling that the plight of my nation is the Lord's punishment for our sins against humanity. An episode from the Bible haunts me: Unable to overcome his envy, Cain rose up against his brother Abel, when both were in the field, and slew him. The blood of the first victim fell on the soil, crying out for justice.

The authors of the Bible knew that one person's well-being can't rest on another's suffering. We Soviet people started an avalanche of violence to get the property of the rich. Millions perished as a result—the most gifted, dynamic, enterprising, and socially active. But the massacre did not bring us wealth.

Our community overstepped the limits of morality when it gave up the universal ideas of good and evil for the conviction that everything was good that promoted proletarian interests and goals. Most of us were enticed by two thoroughly aberrant ideas: that of world revolution and the notion that a dictatorship of an uncultured, politically ignorant, and impoverished working class could make our country affluent.

We rejected the global humanist heritage, usurping the right to divide the community into good and bad social classes—the former to be exalted, and the latter politically neutralized and exterminated. We clung to the harebrained idea that we could destroy the social arrangement that had taken shape over the centuries without destroying the community itself, without leaving unhealable wounds on its body.

Is the average citizen to be held responsible for the crimes of the powers that be? We answered this question in the affirmative when it applied to the Germans and the Japanese and their criminal regimes. But then, wasn't Stalinism criminal? To a greater or lesser extent, a nation is always responsible for what its ruling elite is doing. The conduct of rulers depends on the elbowroom the community gives them. Erroneous ideas, utopian

and otherwise, can crop up anywhere; but these ideas can dominate public opinion only under specific cultural, social, and moral conditions.

Marxism has had a tremendous impact on world history. But then, most of the working people, especially in Europe, haven't been ensnared by the ideas of world revolution, militant atheism, and the abolition of private property. Social democracy, the immediate successor to Marxism, rejected these ideas upon closer examination. Only bolshevism clung to them. Sooner or later, the most progressive communist parties were disappointed in coercion as an instrument of social change, and they gave up political extremism for economic and political pluralism and the sovereign right of every nation—not its proletarian vanguard!—to decide which political party to put at the helm. These Communists have long warned against moth-eaten dogmas, which inevitably lead the nations that succumb to them to bureaucratic dictatorships and social decline.

The Soviet Union started with the expropriation of the richer classes' property. From there it was just a step to robbing people whom it was madness to describe as exploiters and who had earned their possessions by the sweat of their brow. Next came mass confiscations of the miserable property of peasants and industrial workers who had been framed as "enemies of the people," and a bit later of the property of entire ethnic groups that Stalin had declared criminal. And who was to blame for these outrages? True, the orders came from the top, but the actual atrocities were perpetrated by the rank and file—our parents and grandparents.

The process ended with the total alienation of the Soviet people from property. The nation lived from hand to mouth, while the bureaucracy, the new ruling class, lived in affluence with the privileges it had usurped in the redistribution process.

We blatantly misinterpreted our country's history. We killed off the best representatives of the old ruling classes. In our haste to suppress them we forgot how much they had done for our country's strength, prosperity, and renown. And we got our just

deserts—the country never came back to the harmonious progress it had made before the First World War. We uprooted religion, robbed and desecrated churches, insulted faith. Those who stood firm in their piety were put behind bars or fired from their jobs.

Every act of cruelty had a sound theoretical basis. And many of the apologists of legal bloodshed and robbery are still among us—universally respected social scientists with letters after their names. No one calls grasping party officials, secret police thugs, and *Gulag* jailers to account for their acts.

Now we are imploring the Church, which we abused and victimized not so long ago: "Help us revive our culture and ideals!" But this is not repentance. Repentance means a harsh reappraisal of the past; renunciation of one's own errors and wrongdoings; a new philosophy and new values, which can only be reached through agony. Otherwise, you can sin and repent, and sin again, without end or limit.

To really repent, we must delve to the roots of our past crimes and errors. We must ask ourselves: How could I inform on my colleagues? Why did I do it? Why did I betray the ones I loved? Why did I demand the firing squad for the innocent? Why did I toady to my superiors? Why did I tell lies? Why did I stay calm while witch-hunters were persecuting a man of genius and integrity? Why did I approve of violence and sing the praises of nonentities and downright criminals, just because they had gotten to the top?

Just think, and you will find hundreds of these whys. This analysis will probably bring you to the realization that you behaved like millions around you. We contemporary Soviet people share the responsibility for everything that has happened in our country ever since the Revolution. We must pay tribute to those who worked honestly and selflessly for their country, and assume the guilt for the unsavory and sometimes horrible things in which we took part.

No one but we, average Soviet citizens, are responsible for Stalinolatry. We were halfway to a cult of Khrushchev.

We put up with the rules of Brezhnev and Chernenko. We tolerated crying injustice and lawless ways. Many of us willingly opposed freedom-fighters. Or we informed on them. We blindly supported the imperial policies of our regime.

Despite everything, I am optimistic. I believe that our nation is still resourceful and can quickly restore its strength and stamina. But first we must give up our utopian plans for social modeling and changing human nature; no longer engage in economic competition to catch up with and outstrip anyone; and forget our global ambitions.

There are many formidable obstacles in perestroika's way—not only political reaction, Marxian fundamentalism, chauvinism, and ultraradicalism, but also the mass mentality. Too many people in our community have become accustomed to social utopias and lies. Now they are afraid to look the truth in the face. A sober judgment of themselves and life around them is more than they can stand.

Too many Soviet people shudder at the word "liberty." The very possibility of independence sends them into a panic. Afraid to lose the old stick and carrot, they cling to their illusory world, with its dead dogma.

What we need is the repentance of the Communist Party—not another rhetorical declaration that Stalin and his henchmen, or Brezhnev and his menials, are guilty before the nation. No, we must tell the whole truth, however bitter. We must say out loud that the very idea of life arranged according to a theory is wrong through and through.

Before it is too late, we must come to realize that perfect social patterns are unattainable, that paradise cannot be built on earth. That's why the heavenly paradise has drawn our minds for millennia.

These past 70 years, we were told again and again that capitalism was a terrible evil. These 70 years have left a nation that possesses the world's richest resources on the verge of starvation. If capitalism is an evil, our barrack-room socialism is a far greater evil—and right now we are incapable of a better kind of socialism. ■

Fred Grinberg's Mellowing Eye

By Robert Tsfasman

I've known photographer Fred Grinberg for about 25 years. In the 1960s he made a name for himself as a young firebrand who refused to compromise his artistic principles during a time when pomp and pageantry reigned in the field.

Now times have changed. Fred's pictures have changed too—but they aren't much more in tune with those of his contemporaries than his early works were. Now that everyone can say whatever they want and restraint is not necessarily the order of the day, Fred's pictures are permeated with a wise gentleness and a melancholy irony.

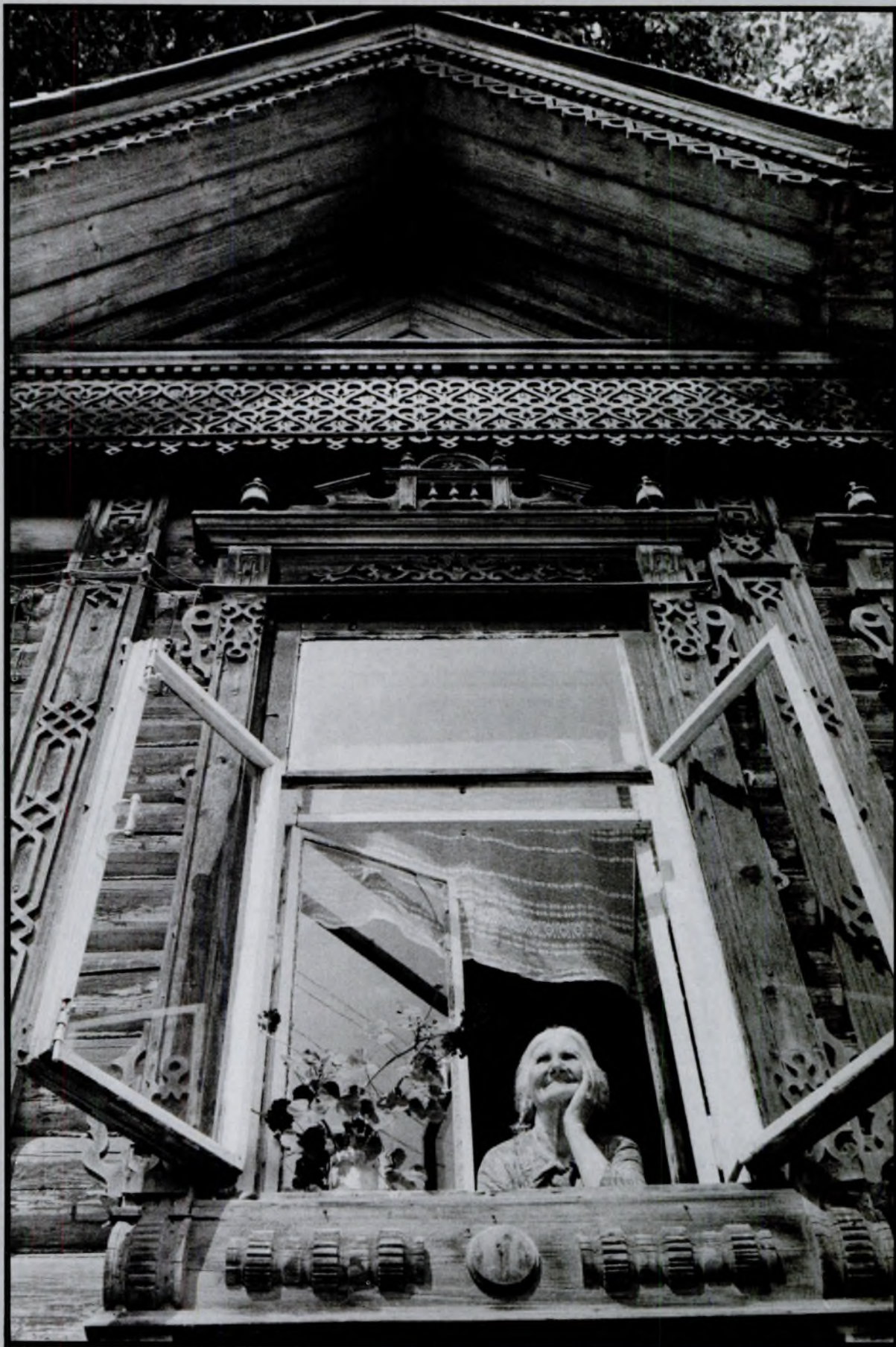
Right:
Gymnast. 1983.
Below left: A
Little Actress.
1984.



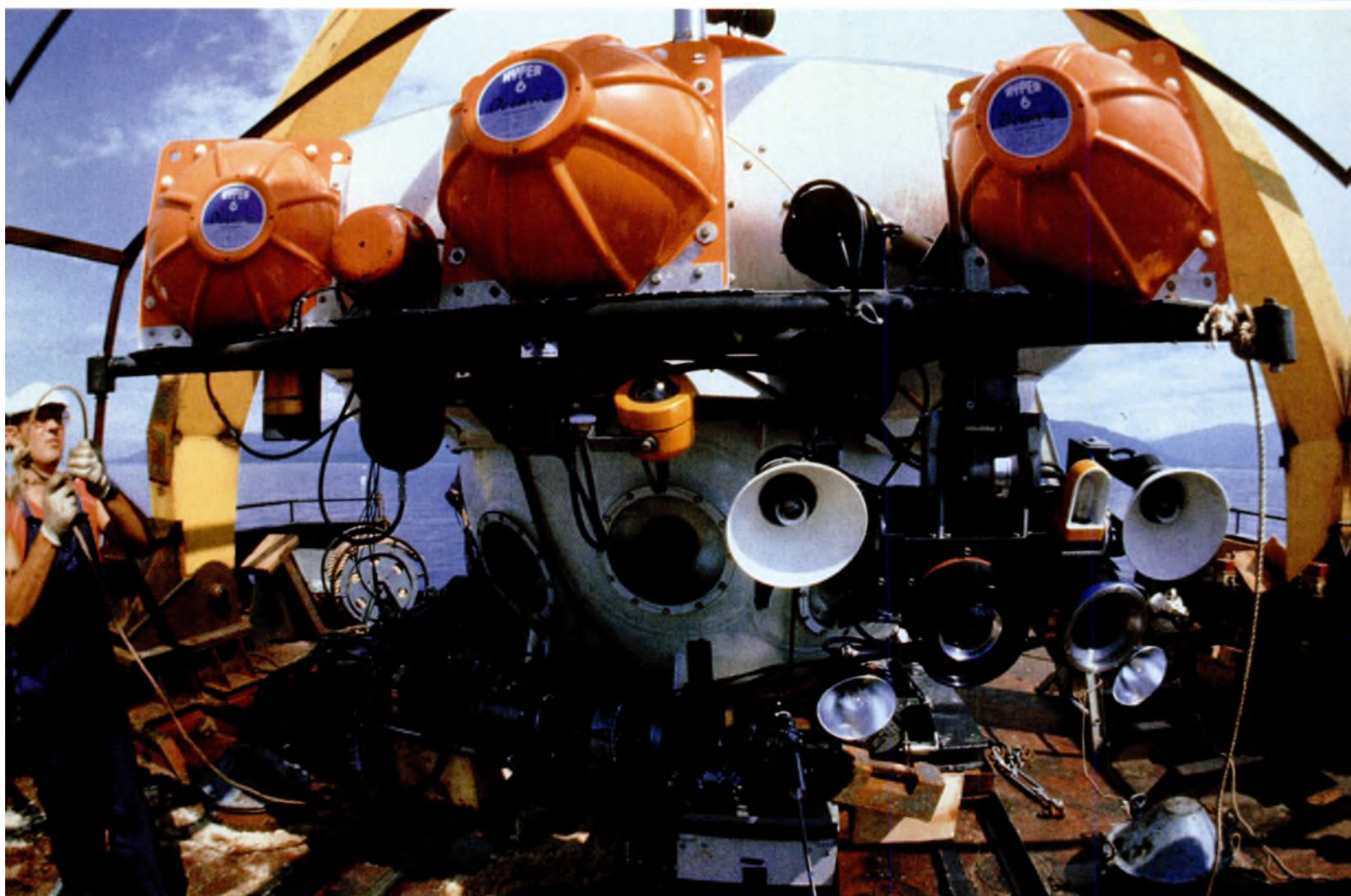
“The photographer’s job has changed—now we are expected primarily to convey information. But a lot of people working in the field now don’t know how to do that and still reveal what really matters underneath.”







The Years
Have Passed.
1986. Facing
page, top to
bottom: The
Dance. 1987.
The Old Vine
Dresser. 1978.



Together to the Bottom of Baikal

By Alexander Batalin
Photographs by Roman Denisov

Lake Baikal—a unique lake in Eastern Siberia that contains one-fifth of the world's freshwater reserves—was thought until recently to be 20 million years old. But an examination of clay samples taken near the village of Posolskoye has revealed that the lake is at least 30 million years old.

Many geologists suspect that the lake is even older, and they are continuing their research. Every year brings something new to light, and the chances of making more impor-

tant discoveries grow as the scope of research widens and Soviet and foreign scientists combine their efforts. This process is being promoted by perestroika, which has made our society more open and removed political and bureaucratic obstacles to scientific contacts.

In 1990 alone, more than 20 international expeditions worked at Lake Baikal. Scientists from Irkutsk, Moscow, Leningrad, and other Soviet cities conducted joint research with colleagues from the United States, Great Britain, Germany, Belgium, Czecho-



The Soviet-American team explored the depths of Lake Baikal with the *Pisces* submersible, shown on the facing page on board the expedition vessel and at right as it prepares to dive. Inset, left to right: Soviet specialist Yevgeni Pavlyuchenko, Soviet engineer Vladimir Kuzin, and American biologist Charlie Goldman.





Below: American biologist Shirley Pompany and Vladimir Fialkov, her Soviet colleague, watch as the *Pisces* gets a final check before submersion (above). Facing page: In the cabin of the *Pisces*.

slovakia, Finland, Sweden, Israel, and China.

"We're cooperating quite productively with American scientists," said Mikhail Grachev, director of the Limnological Institute of the Siberian Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences, of which he is a corresponding member. "For three years in a row experts from the Great Lakes Center have come to work here. Many American expeditions to Lake Baikal are financed by the American National Geographic Society.

"One of the most interesting things we did in 1990 was our research on hydrovents—hot springs in the lake. Soviet scientists collected a large body of evidence to suggest the presence of hydrovents in Baikal in the late

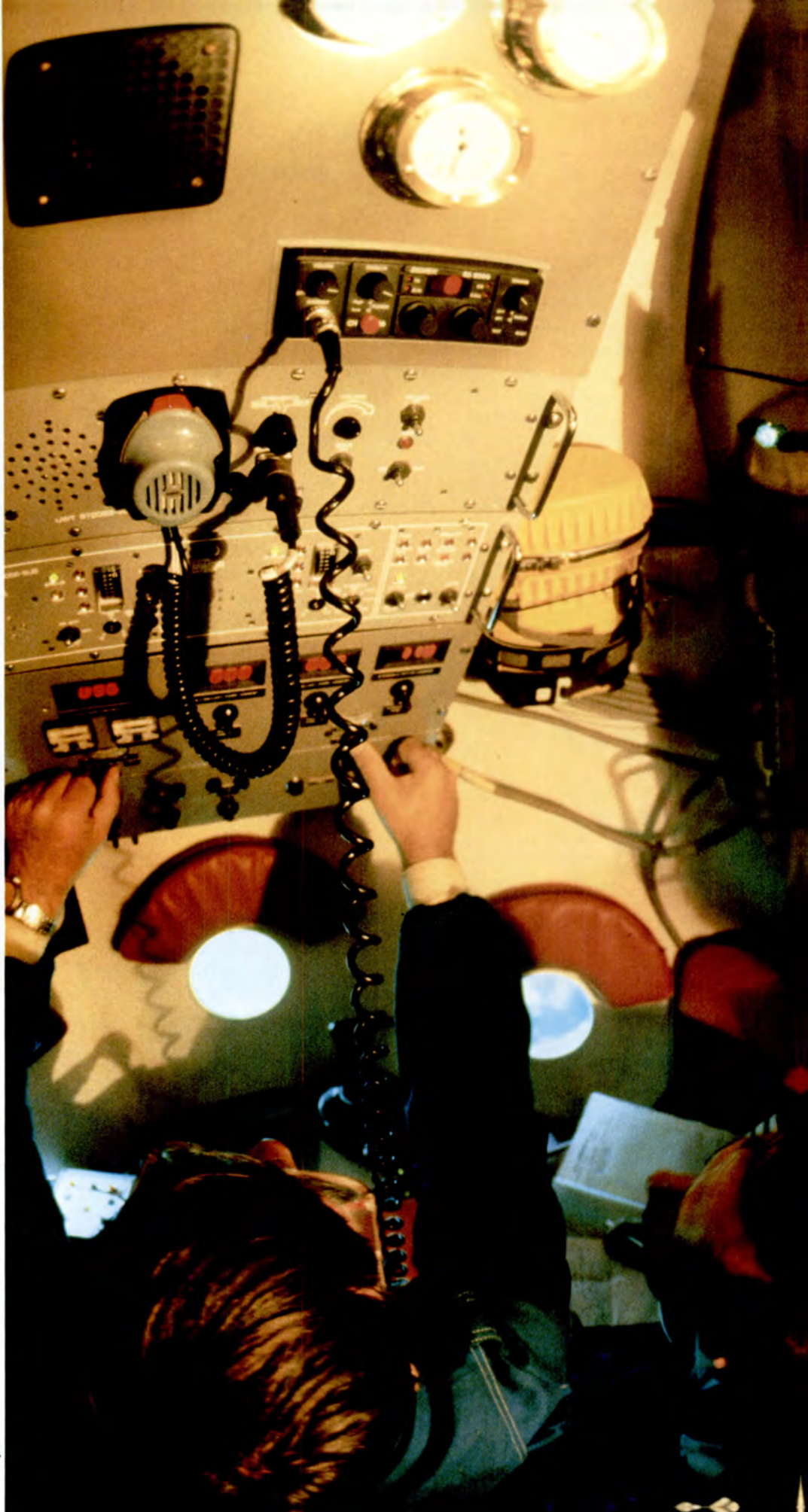




1970s. This summer we discovered a hot vent field in Frolikh Bay, in the northeastern corner of the lake.

"Navigating from the American global positioning satellite system, we guided the Soviet submersible *Pisces* to a certain spot. About 500 meters down, we encountered an area with a very high concentration and activity level of submarine life that had never been observed before at such a depth. The water was full of fish, bacterial mats, snails, and nematodes."

Kathleen Crane of Hunter College and Columbia University's Lamont-Doherty Geological Observatory played a large role in the definitive discovery of the hydrothermal vents this summer. "The fact that these vents exist may indicate that the



earth's crust is spreading apart. Baikal is a unique place, geologically speaking, and it can tell us some very important things about the transition between continents and oceans."

Baikal remains unconquered by the Siberian cold for a long time; waves crash against the shore until December or even January. But this expedition season is over. Frigid winds now blow across a frozen Baikal.

The year 1990 was significant in the life of the lake in other ways. The Soviet Government decided to establish an international ecological center on its shores. All interested parties are to send their representatives to the organizing committee, which will form a Board of Directors and a Learned Council of the center. These two bodies will choose projects for implementation. Already, the projects proposed are so numerous and so diversified that it would be impossible to carry out all of them. The most interesting ones have to be chosen.

A UNESCO commission went to Baikal last year to consider the possibility of including the lake on the list of world natural treasures. The main conclusion of this authoritative commission was that Lake Baikal meets every criterion necessary to recognize it as the property of the planet as a whole and to place it under the control and protection of the international community. At the same time, the UNESCO commission recommended that Lake Baikal be given a solid legal status. That means that a special law on Baikal must be adopted. These findings echo Soviet public opinion. The people in our country have long been concerned over the slow pace of protecting the lake from industrial pollution.

More than three years ago the government decided that the Baikal Paper-and-Pulp Mill would be transformed into an environmentally clean business by 1993. But the question of what kind of business it will be remains unresolved. The Ministry of the Timber Industry of the USSR, which owns the mill, recently submitted its sixth proposal for the transformation. But even this proposal doesn't completely remove the ecological threat to Baikal.

"Factory managers and officials

from the ministry ask us researchers to determine the maximum quantity and concentration of harmful substances that can be dumped into Baikal," said Professor Grachev. "That's like asking how many times you can spit in your well and still be able to say the water's clean. Of course, you shouldn't spit in a well at all, but not everybody seems to realize that. If the industrial bosses can't see the moral imperative for ecological thinking, then we need a special law to stop this pollution once and for all."

Similar sentiments are expressed more and more often in the Siberian press and at meetings of the Greens. It looks as if a new tide of public protest will soon rise in defense of Baikal, since the government's decision is not being adequately fulfilled.

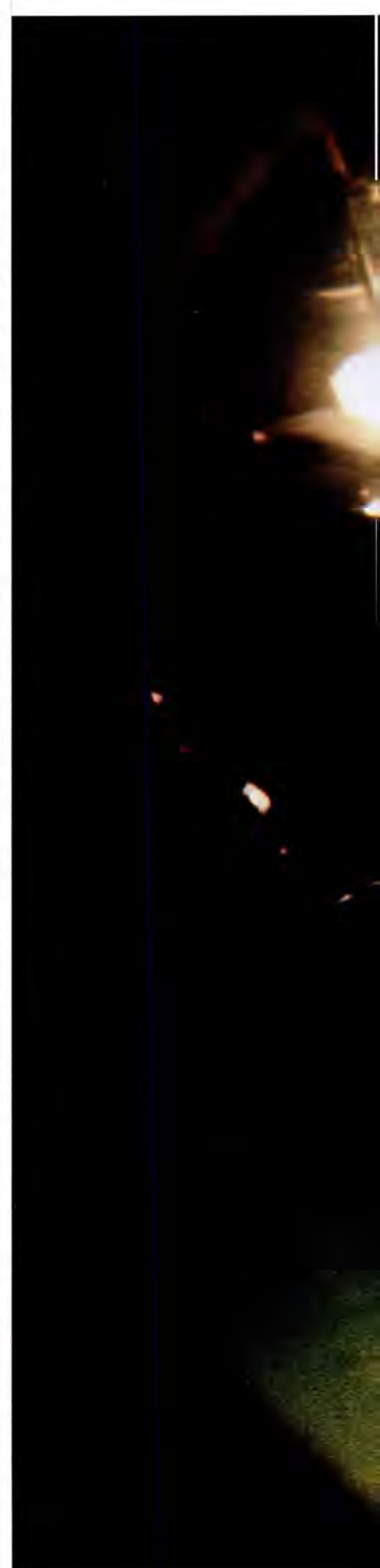
Like the scientific community, artists and activists of the ecological movement have begun to pool their efforts with their foreign counterparts. The first Soviet-American theater-ecological festival, named "Baikal-Michigan: Save the Lakes," took place last autumn in Ulan-Ude, the capital of Buryatia. The festival was attended by scholars, writers, actors, directors, and American and Soviet business people. Participants discussed ecological problems, staged theater productions, established direct cultural contacts, and considered possibilities for setting up ecologically clean joint ventures.

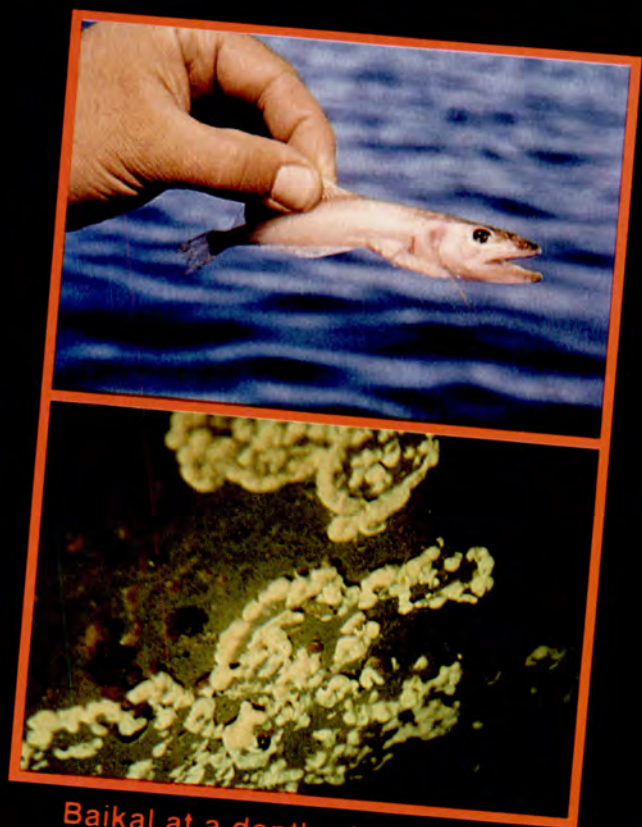
American writer William McKeven called the festival an exciting and joyful event.

"Today we and the Soviets," he said, "need a new, ecological language of communication. This language will help save the world around and inside us."

Dorgi Budayev, Lama at the Buddhist *datsan* in Ulan-Ude, said: "According to our religion, people should not kill trees or stir up the water. They should preserve nature. It is our sacred duty to help them establish contacts and revive their culture with our prayers. Lake Baikal has inspired us in all times."

No wonder Russians and Buryats call Lake Baikal "Sacred Baikal," and Americans call their lakes "Great Lakes." Surely we can do our utmost to prevent the lakes' age-old history from ending in this century. ■





Baikal at a depth of 500 meters.
Bottom inset: A colony of sponges
was found near a hot vent on the
bottom of the lake. Top inset: The
golomyanka lives at a depth
of 150 meters.

Talk of overhauling the Soviet economy began during the very first days of perestroika. In 1985 General Secretary Gorbachev told us: "At the first stage, while we boost research and technology, we must make the most of the best possible organizational methods and the workers' responsible and honest attitudes."

This meant that responsible workers should tighten their belts, roll up their sleeves, and get down to work for the sake of scientific and technological progress. In the future, when a scientific and technological paradise has been established and we have an abundance of everything, the General Secretary told us, we will fully remunerate the workers for their conscientious work.

But our conscientious workers knew what was behind these words. Stalin, in his day, had told them: "Brothers and sisters, let us tighten our belts and build huge industrial plants and a socialized agriculture saturated with machinery, so that tomorrow we can live prosperously as befits a great and civilized state." Well, now that Stalin's "tomorrow" is here, how do we live? The state, like a serf owner, fleeces the workers, paying them a beggarly subsistence wage and allocating pitiful—and dwindling—funds for social amenities, housing, and recreation.

Mikhail Gorbachev set forth virtually the same concept, but adjusted to take into account scientific and technological progress. No, the conscientious workers said, this won't do any more. First give us what is due us and we'll discuss tomorrow's concerns tomorrow. And if you want us to be efficient, let us decide for ourselves how to plan and how to do our work.

What happened then can only be described as an economic Chernobyl. The government and all the administrative structures pretended that they were willing to satisfy any and all public demands. You want higher pay? There you go. Social problems? We'll take care of them. Private apartments for every family by the year 2000? It's only fair.

In recent years ordinary Soviet citizens have been showered with promises of social boons. The government



in search of an Economic Strategy

By Yuri Graftsky
Drawing by Igor Smirnov

decided to raise pensions. Physicians, teachers, and librarians got wage hikes. Students' stipends were increased. Communist Party officials have not been left without pay raises either.

Where did the money for all this come from? From a high-speed printing press. The Soviet economy swelled with inflation. The sudden influx of paper money absorbed the commodity surplus, leaving empty shop shelves. The printing press continues to work, and experts estimate that in 1990 the issue of paper money will add another 30 billion rubles to today's budget deficit of 70 billion rubles. At one time people were inefficient because they were underpaid. Now that their pay is soaring, people are reluctant to work hard because they can't buy anything with their money. "That was the biggest miscalculation the country's leaders have made," Gorbachev recently acknowledged. Then he immediately tried to justify himself: "It was an unavoidable miscalculation; we wanted to overcome poverty quickly."

A satisfactory way out of this situation has thus far eluded our country's leadership. Only a year ago, Nikolai Ryzhkov, who was then prime minister (chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers), proposed to parliament that the solution lay in such familiar tactics as comprehensive national programs, the regulation of prices and tariffs, factory-level planning, and so forth. The prime minister referred to the market in general terms: "The market, in conjunction with state regulation, should be the main instrument of coordinating the efforts of participants in social production." As before, the emphasis was on improving state regulation.

What is going on? informed people asked. Maybe the prime minister and his cabinet can't predict the consequences of their actions or don't want to grasp the essence of the process under way in this country? Maybe they've deliberately been confusing the picture? I think the government sees only what it wants to see, or that it pretends not to notice certain trends or deliberately blurs the picture. And all this is connected with the peculiarities of the Soviet economic system.

These days in our country, "the market" is being touted on every street corner as the panacea for all our society's ills. It's as if we had never had anything to do with it. The facts, of course, are somewhat different.

When, in 1917, the economy was consolidated under the aegis of the government, did we reject the market or create something completely new? Of course not. It is common knowledge that the market spontaneously regulates supply and demand. We in the USSR tried to regiment the natural market processes with the help of centralized state interference. For instance, the State Planning Committee commands the manufacture of thousands of kinds of commodities and sees that producers have all the necessary raw materials, power, and

In recent years ordinary Soviet citizens have been showered with promises of social boons.

other resources. The committee determines the suppliers of goods and their final consumers. Specific methods are used to fix commodity prices, to distribute the profits, and so forth.

So the instruments of state organization are used to reproduce a market model that would theoretically be free from the spontaneity of the Western free market and its attendant overproduction problems. But we forgot one thing—that planning must rest on the foundation of socially necessary labor. Otherwise, according to Marx, the most lazy and inefficient workers will be the most successful. The socially necessary input of time should also govern the exchange of values in the market. Unless there is equivalent exchange, any model, however good, will collapse sooner or later.

The Soviet economy is a case in point. In our country, meeting plan targets has been the exception rather than the rule. This is because the components of the planned Soviet economy conflicted with one another for decades. While the manufacturer was producing goods, the state was failing to fulfill its functions. Instead of fairly evaluating labor and pay, or the quality and value of a product, the state took the path of least resistance and concentrated heavily on quantity indicators. As a result, we are surrounded by evidence that Marx was right when he predicted that the most lazy and inefficient worker could be the most successful.

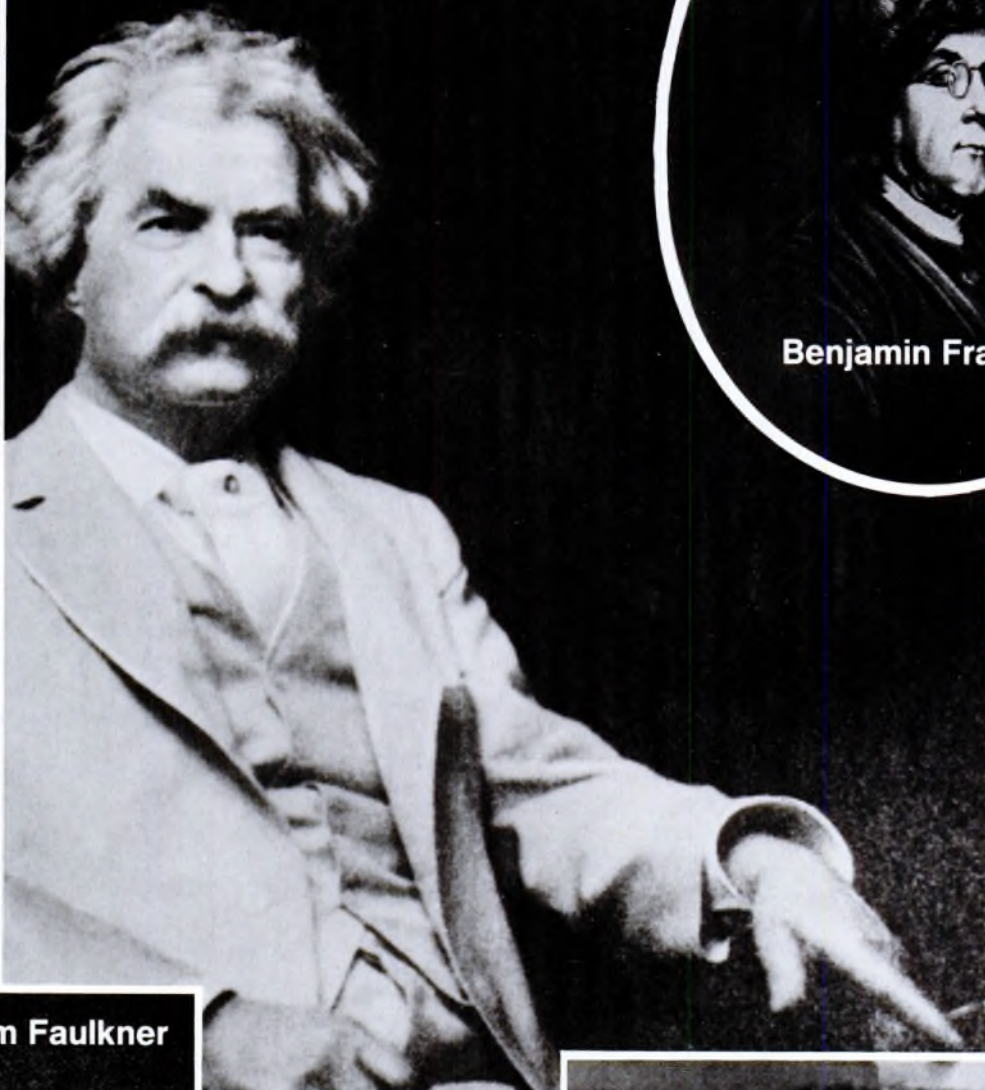
Ryzhkov changed his stand about six months ago. The old economic model, according to him, was no longer viable, and we should develop a new one. That is, we should proceed toward a real market, with its own spontaneous regulators. This meant giving free rein to producers and introducing new pricing principles. It also called for competition among the producers. Production levels should change with demand. We should begin, Ryzhkov said, by balancing the economy in terms of resources and money, curbing the amount of paper money in circulation, and reinforcing the ruble. From there we should raise the prices of certain major products. In other words, of the issues connected with the transition to a real market, the prime minister took only those intended to curb the stock of paper money. Who was to handle this job? The state, of course, as the sole wielder of the "curbing" function.

But what does all this have to do with the market? When experts and lay people—especially the deputies whom the prime minister addressed—examined the matter closely, they realized they were being offered the old state command management practices, albeit slightly camouflaged, and that a planned market economy made as much sense as dry water. The totalitarian bureaucratic system is simply continuing to protect itself by patching up the budget at public expense. And this cannot be otherwise—a real market, where pro-

Continued on page 62

USSR-USA

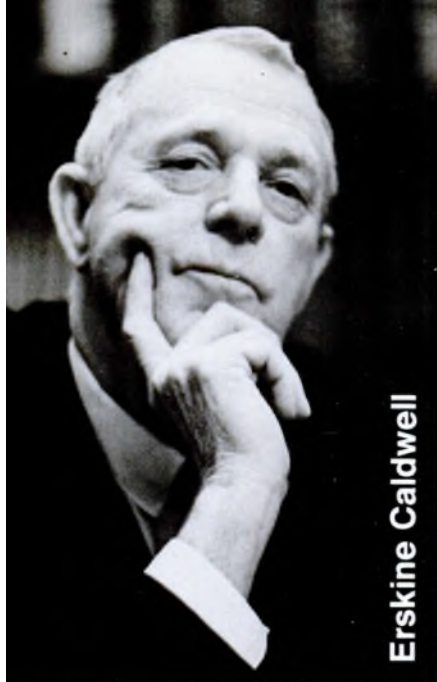
Mark Twain



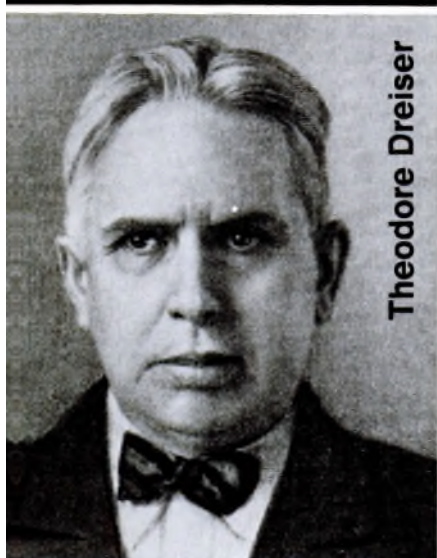
Benjamin Franklin



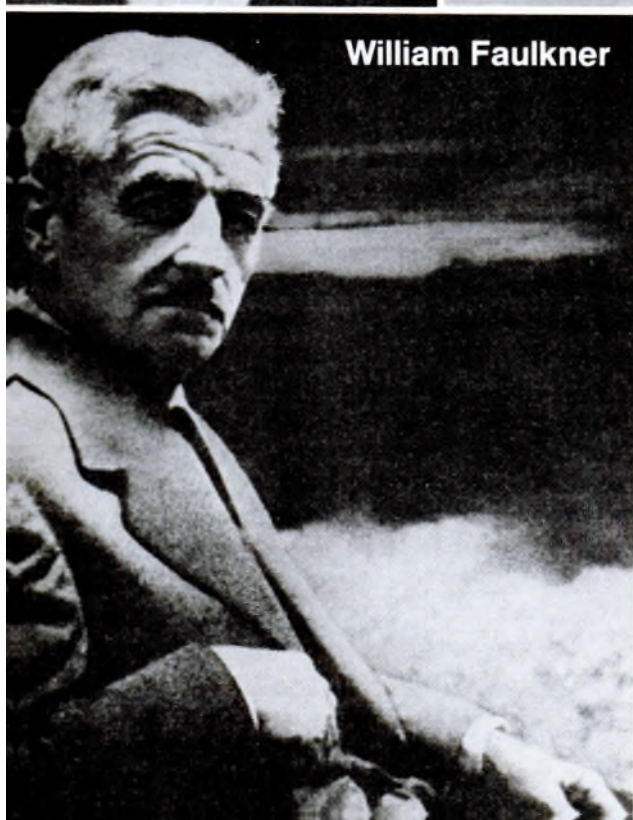
Erskine Caldwell



Theodore Dreiser



William Faulkner



James Baldwin



F. Scott Fitzgerald



from franklin to faulkner

By Georgi Ilyushko

Everyone in Moscow who loves a good adventure story is hunting for *The Caine Mutiny*, by Herman Wouk, these days. Two editions of the novel, of 15,000 and 50,000 copies respectively, were printed in the Soviet capital within a short time. Still, not everyone who wants to read the American classic can find a copy.

The Caine Mutiny was the first book in a new series called What They Read in the USA, which was started jointly by Knizhnaya Palata Publishers and the U.S. Information Agency.

At the presentation of the book, Jack Matlock, United States Ambassador to the Soviet Union, said that he was sure that the works of Herman Wouk, hitherto unknown in the USSR, would attract the attention of the average Soviet reader. That is precisely what happened.

American fiction is the most popular of all foreign literature on the Soviet book market. American works have been translated into many of the different languages that are spoken in the Soviet Union. At one time, the works of American authors were published chiefly in Moscow and Leningrad, and later in the capitals of the constituent republics. Today American literature is available in the provincial towns as well. Nathaniel Hawthorne, Henry James, and many other American writers have become well known in the most remote corners of the country. A collection of the works of William Faulkner in six volumes and the collected works of John Steinbeck have just come off the press in Moscow. Theodore Dreiser is also popular in the USSR. His novels have been issued once again in Moscow, Tbilisi, and Elista, the capital of Kalmykia. Leningrad Publishers has beaten all records with another collection of Dreiser's novels, including *The Stoic* and *The Bulwark*, in 2.5 million copies.

Jack London is no less popular in our country. The total number of his books published in this country has

long exceeded 50 million copies. In 1980 a large-scale experiment was begun: a 45-volume Library of American Fiction, which has no parallel either in Soviet or foreign publishing. The collection includes the finest examples of American literature, from the writings of Benjamin Franklin and Washington Irving to authors of the present day, like Joseph Heller and Joyce Carol Oates. Many of Ralph Waldo Emerson's works were published in full within the framework of the series.

Soviet publishers continue to expand their range of American classics. Henry James's *The Ambassadors*, a number of books by William Faulkner, a book of short stories by Jack London, and a book of F. Scott Fitzgerald's fiction and letters are due to be published in 1991.

Soviet readers are getting as much modern American fiction as classical literature. Many novels and stories are first published in *Inostrannaya literatura* (Foreign Literature) magazine and come out later as separate books, anthologies, collected works, and series. The magazine also issues a Library of Foreign Literature.

Irwin Shaw's *Rich Man, Poor Man*, which had already been published in Russian, recently appeared almost simultaneously in Georgian in Tbilisi and in Uzbek in Tashkent. It aroused considerable interest.

American poetry is also available to the Soviet reader. *Inostrannaya literatura* magazine has printed a number of poems by T. S. Eliot from *Old Possum's Book of Practical Cats*. The publishing house Khudozhestvennaya Literatura has begun to print a complete works of this great poet.

Arthur Hailey and Stephen King are published extensively in the USSR. A new collection of Hailey's novels has just come off the press in Byelorussian in Minsk. King's *The Dead Zone* has been issued in Vilnius, Lithuania. Raduga Publishers in Moscow has published a large anthology of American short stories that in-

cludes works by John Updike, Saul Bellow, E. L. Doctorow, and others.

Kurt Vonnegut is especially popular with Soviet intellectuals. According to *Knizhnoye obozreniye* (Book Review) weekly, by January 1, 1989, Vonnegut's work had been published in the USSR 12 times, the number of copies totaling 1,149,000. The weekly also printed an interview with the American author, who talked about the great influence that the Russian classics—Pushkin, Gogol, Turgenev, and Tolstoy—had had on his work.

The International Book Fair in Moscow takes place every two years. The motto of the event is "Books Serve Peace and Progress." The fair has become the chief meeting place of American and Soviet publishers and book dealers.

These meetings are often extremely fruitful. They have resulted in plans for the publication in the Soviet Union of a collection of short stories entitled *American Stories* and of E. L. Doctorow's novel *World's Fair* in the Library of American Literature series.

American publishers signed contracts at the last fair to publish new works by Soviet authors. Ardis Publishers, for example, is to issue a book of stories by Soviet women writers. Random House Publishers will offer their readers Vladimir Gubarev's *The Sarcophagus*, a book about the Chernobyl tragedy.

Both sides agree that there are good prospects for joint publications. For instance, Molodaya Gvardia Publishers has published a collection of works by Soviet and American poets in Russian and English. Here you can find Arseni Tarkovsky side by side with John Ashbery, Allen Ginsberg with Andrei Voznesensky, Alexander Yermenko with Robert Bly. The collection, called *Double Rainbow*, is to be marketed in the Soviet Union, the United States, and other countries. Detskaya Literatura Publishers has put out a collection of Soviet and American children's stories entitled *To My Faraway Friend*. ■

poetry at mayakovsky's place

By Alexei Zverev, Literary Critic
Photographs by Alexander Kurbatov

One warm May evening I visited the Vladimir Mayakovsky Museum, in the center of Moscow. The museum is housed in the apartment where the great poet and innovator, who rebelled against old poetic foundations, once lived. For some time after Mayakovsky's suicide, the apartment remained empty. Then it was converted into a memo-

Today the situation is different. I doubt that even the most distinguished and talented poet could attract enough listeners to fill a large auditorium. In this sense we have become more like the American public. Soviet audiences today would rather go to hear a popular journalist, economist, or historian than listen to even

clearly on many occasions, particularly at recitations at the Mayakovsky Museum. Even if the semicircular rows of seats in the comfortable hall are less than half-filled, the atmosphere there is always intense.

Mayakovsky's presence is palpable in the hall. He looks at the reciting poets with narrowed, distrustful eyes,



An evening of American poetry at the Mayakovsky Museum in Moscow. Clockwise from left: The famous Soviet poet Andrei Voznesensky has contributed much to Soviet-American literary exchanges. American poet Margaret Barringer speaks to the audience. American poet Richard Wilbur mingles with the crowd.



rial study, which gradually became a center that brought together people who create poetry and those who love it.

Today popular poets can no longer attract thousands of listeners the way they did 20 or 30 years ago. I remember the crowds that once filled sports stadiums to hear poets like Andrei Voznesensky, Yevgeni Yevtushenko, Bella Akhmadulina, and others who began their careers in the late 1950s. I also remember the tense, defiant atmosphere at literary evenings that freed us from the fetters of Stalinism, if only for a little while.

Artistic value was not what mattered most then. Poets were easily forgiven stylistic errors or careless rhymes. The message of their poetry was the most important thing—their listeners expected them to be frank about problems confronting society.

the finest poet. This is understandable: Poetry, strictly speaking, has always been an art appreciated by a few, and the periods when it dominates public life are rare.

Still, society cannot do without poetry—our very existence and cultural and intellectual development are unthinkable without it. I have seen this

from a portrait on a crepe-covered wall. I've always thought it would be impossible to imagine a more impressive image of a poet—any poet who knows the great happiness and bitterness of devoting the whole of one's life to one's vocation.

That evening two American poets, Richard Wilbur and John Ashbery,



Left to right:
Margaret Barringer
also heads the
American Poetry
Center in Philadelphia.
John Ashbery, master of
parody, irony, and the
grotesque. Alexei Zverev,
the author of this article,
introduced the American
guests to the
Moscow audience.



read their works at the Mayakovsky Museum for the first time. I got the impression that the two also felt an involuntary closeness to the great Soviet poet.

Their verses were translated into Russian by the Soviet poets Andrei Voznesensky, Yunna Morits, Alexander Tkachenko, Oleg Khlebnikov, and Yevgeni Khramov.

I had been asked to introduce Wilbur and Ashbery to our readers. The famous Soviet poet Andrei Voznesensky, who was to open the evening, hadn't yet made his appearance, and I was asked to make my speech as long as possible to divert the public until he arrived. I kept looking at the door, ready to pass the baton to Voznesensky at any moment. But soon I forgot everything and talked and talked until I finally saw him sitting on the stage beside me. I was sorry to give up my place to him. For several decades I had been reading the poetry of Wilbur and Ashbery, and I wanted to tell the audience everything I knew about it.

I have worked for many years to make American poetry accessible to the Russian-speaking public. Although I have never translated poetry

myself, I have written a great deal about American poets as a critic and compiled two anthologies. I am not the first to devote myself to such poetic mediation; a good anthology of American poetry was published in the Soviet Union in 1940.

This kind of mediation is a noble but very difficult task, primarily because the American and Russian poetic traditions are so dissimilar. It has also been complicated by circumstances that have to do with political climate, not with poetry. The pressure of these circumstances was so strong until recently that the two sides have lost a great deal.

Meanwhile, both Wilbur and Ashbery are new and unknown to us.

This is especially true of Ashbery, who until now had never been translated into Russian. As sure as I was of their talent, I was still nervous when they took the floor at the Mayakovsky Museum. But my fears soon disappeared. Even though Ashbery's verse, full as it is of paradox, irony, the grotesque, and at times surrealism, is very unusual for us, it is genuine, precise, and harmonious. And the translations convey Ashbery's original style, which is so unlike that of other American and foreign poets.

Wilbur is closer to the world of Russian poetry. Since the 1960s he has been translated by Soviet poets who have managed to preserve even the minutest details, making his meaning clear. Some American critics think that for all his virtuosity, Wilbur is a little old-fashioned in his poetic views. But his adherence to the traditions of the golden nineteenth century particularly appealed to the Russian audience.

I think that if Mayakovsky had been among us at the museum, he would have preferred Ashbery's experimental style, as he himself rejected established rules and traditions.

In the 1920s Mayakovsky toured America and created a large cycle of verse inspired by his travels. All his life he was interested in Walt Whitman and did a great deal, perhaps without particularly trying, to broaden and strengthen bridges between Russian and American culture. I have no doubt whatever that the Soviet visit by Wilbur and Ashbery has also strengthened these bridges. ■

PANORAMA



NO SECRETS LEFT

The Soviet Union and the United States have signed an agreement on the termination of chemical arms production and the reduction of chemical weapons stocks by 80 to 90 per cent. The new political thinking has done what was only recently considered impossible.

The main task U.S. and Soviet experts face today is guaranteed human and ecological safety during the destruction of chemical weapons. Only recently, U.S. and Soviet scientists and generals regarded each other as potential enemies, and they carefully concealed their production secrets. But now the two sides are working

together in an atmosphere of openness and cooperation.

A special plant has been built in the USSR to test the technologies for destroying nerve gases. The plant is located 12 kilometers from the city of Chapayevsk, on the Volga River.

A U.S. delegation has visited Chapayevsk for an exchange of experience in the destruction of chemical weapons. One of the U.S. specialists reported, "We discussed a wide range of issues and inspected all of the technological sites. We worked in an atmosphere of impressive openness."

NATURE FOR SALE



Drawing by Boris Dolya

Many articles have appeared in the Soviet press recently about the plunder of nature. People are calling for an end to the uncontrolled export of our national wealth. In the chase for quick profits, state and cooperative agencies annually conclude multimillion-ruble deals and take out millions of tons of minerals, timber, valuable animals and plants, and even fertile topsoil.

The performance of Dalso-Pacific, a joint venture set up in the Far East, can be cited as an example of the barbaric destruction of nature. The company's commercial interests include mysterious "prod-

ucts of Tibetan medicine." In 1989, Dalso applied for licenses to export ginseng, deer musk, and antlers of the spotted deer, totaling about eight million rubles. This "Tibetan medicine" is nothing but a fraud. But more important than that, ginseng, the Sakhalin musk deer, and the spotted deer have all been entered in the Red Data Book of the USSR as endangered species.

Many large and even more minor thieves have been able to poach our national wealth. Why is this possible at all? Because our natural resources are not properly protected by legislation.



THE END OF THE TENT CITY

For several months, one of the most impressive sights in the Soviet capital was the tent city pitched in front of the Rossiya Hotel, by the walls of the Kremlin. The camp sprang up in early July, when protesters from all over the USSR went to Moscow to meet with delegates to the Twenty-eighth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which was being held at that time.

One of the residents of the tent city, Nikolai Kravtsov, recalls: "We waited for delegates near the entrance to the hotel, hoping they would listen to our appeals and complaints. But it was all in vain. Nobody helped us. Still, we refused to leave."

Late at night on December 29 the tent city was pulled down. Says Lev Shemayev, a member of the coordinating committee of the Democratic Russia movement, who witnessed the destruction of the tent town:

"At eight o'clock in the evening, Vladimir Zakharov came to the residents of the tent city from the legal department of the Executive Committee of the Moscow City Soviet. He showed them the appropriate papers. The protesters were asked to take down their tents and move to a hostel. They refused.

"In my opinion, the Moscow Soviet Executive Committee should have passed the decision to eliminate the camp much earlier. The tent city had become a den for black marketeers and other criminals. All sorts of crooks found refuge there."



A GLASS MASTER

The name of Moscow artist Alexei Zelya became widely known after a small exhibition of his works last year. The master craftsman had often filled government orders—his glass pieces have been presented to a number of foreign dignitaries. But it was only after last year's show that his works finally reached the Soviet public.

Zelya was born in 1944 into a family of Moscow intellectuals. From childhood he dreamed of becoming a biologist. After his term with the army, he enrolled in the biology department of Moscow State University, but for family reasons he did not graduate. He left the university and became a glass blower at the light bulb plant in Moscow.

At the age of 27 he made his first glass figure—a goat. That work began his animal series, which he continues to expand to this day. These days, Zelya does not blow his pieces; he molds them from molten glass. The artist has his own technique for coloring the glass. Sometimes he embeds particles of mosaic enamel in his patterns.

Zelya does a lot of traveling. The impressions he brings home from each trip serve as the inspiration for future compositions. The range of his subjects gets broader and broader: Airy still lifes and romantic variations on nautical themes are his favorites. His miragelike galleys, frigates, and corvettes are the pinnacle of his art.

A combination of fashion and drama, with a heavy ethnic flavor, this show is unique.


CREDO

By Natalya Buldyk

The Minsk Theater of Fashion is not the only fashion theater in the Soviet Union, but it is considered one of the most innovative. Like those of other theaters of this kind, its shows go beyond the traditional walk down the runway—they include tableaux vivants, performances, mimes, and readings of poetry.

Credo, the new show at the Minsk Theater of Fashion, is sure to delight some people and put others off. But one thing is undeniable: this work is out of the ordinary. The show pays tribute to the Byelorussian humanist and enlightener Frantsisk Skorina on the occasion of his 500th birthday. The show's directors, Yuri Troyan and Alexander Varlamov, coordinated the costumes, the movements, the music, and the poetry. The fascinations themselves are the work of Inna Bulgakova, the famous Byelorussian designer. She designed the unique collection in only a few months.

Photographs by Yevgeni Koktysh



And the collection really is unique: Bulgakova succeeds in combining elements of the present day with those of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. She reproduces styles of the Middle Ages in contemporary fabrics and patterns, carefully preserving the esthetic peculiarities of the Byelorussian national costume.

There are no professional models in the Minsk Theater of Fashion. Actresses and students play the roles of women from a long-ago era very naturally, avoiding the trained movements, the stylized gait, and the cold professionalism that models usually display onstage.

**The hunting scene.
Facing page: A
scene from "The
Ball of Portraits."**



**Frantsisk Skorina's
500th jubilee
occasioned a plethora
of commemorative
events, but Credo was
perhaps the most
original.**

**Natalya Lisovskaya, a leading
model for the Minsk Theater
of Fashion. Facing page:
"Weavers from Artisans
Town."**



Economy

Continued from page 51

ducers transact business among themselves without the help of government intermediaries, would not need the prime minister and his team in their present role.

Bureaucratic officials are reluctant to give up any of their functions. They don't want to admit that an economic overhaul presupposes a restructuring of both levels of the Soviet economy: the lower (composed of the country's producers) and the higher (the ministries, the state committees for planning and supply, not to mention Communist Party structures). Paying lip service to the market, today's higher echelon is resisting the advent of a market model that it fears will liquidate it.

Parliament, naturally, rejected the prime minister's program. The Council of Ministers was given three months to prepare a market transition package and submit it to the autumn parliamentary session. But it became clear that Ryzhkov's team was lacking new ideas and that an alternate scenario was needed.

The job went to a group of economists headed by Academician Stanislav Shatalin. Shatalin began by saying that it was possible to switch over to a market economy without centralized price hikes. For this, all property must be returned to the people, its creators. That meant privatization. "This will be not an act of revenge but a restoration of social justice. . . . Privatization should be absolutely voluntary, in order to avoid becoming a kind of inverted collectivization," the authors of the new program stated.

The Shatalin Plan, otherwise known as the 500-Day Program, called for arrangements whereby enterprises could be leased or bought out by work collectives, and smaller businesses in the goods and services sectors could be bought by individuals. According to the authors, the plan had a dual advantage: The public would receive more goods and services, and the state would collect more in taxes from new entrepreneurs

interested in expansion.

At the same time, investments in industry were to be curtailed, spending on defense and the KGB reduced, subsidies withdrawn from inefficient producers, and administrative expenditures minimized.

Only in the event that all these measures failed, Shatalin said, would it be proper to talk about price rises and cuts in social programs.

Shatalin's proposal met with sharp criticism on the part of the Council of Ministers, which is emphatically against privatization. In turn, the supporters of Shatalin's plan, which was endorsed with reservations as the main economic prospect by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, attacked the Council of Ministers and demanded its resignation. The

The Soviet economy moves according to the principle, "One step forward, two steps back."

idea of an economic consensus emerged. Some proposed that a program be drawn up that would incorporate the best features of Ryzhkov's and Shatalin's variants.

Academician Abel Aganbegyan took up the challenge. His central idea was to soak up excessive money in the economy. Aganbegyan wanted to change the pattern of personal spending. Today Soviets spend nearly 80 per cent of their money on goods and services (Westerners spend 30 per cent). This could be changed by channeling money into private housing, garden plots, securities, raw materials, and so forth. Aganbegyan thought that would tie up between 150 billion and 200 billion rubles. He also advocated the increased sale of imported goods. Aganbegyan believed that his moves would eliminate our country's

surplus of paper money and make it possible to alter the general level of prices. Some prices would go up and some would fall, but the over-all increase should not exceed 25 to 30 per cent.

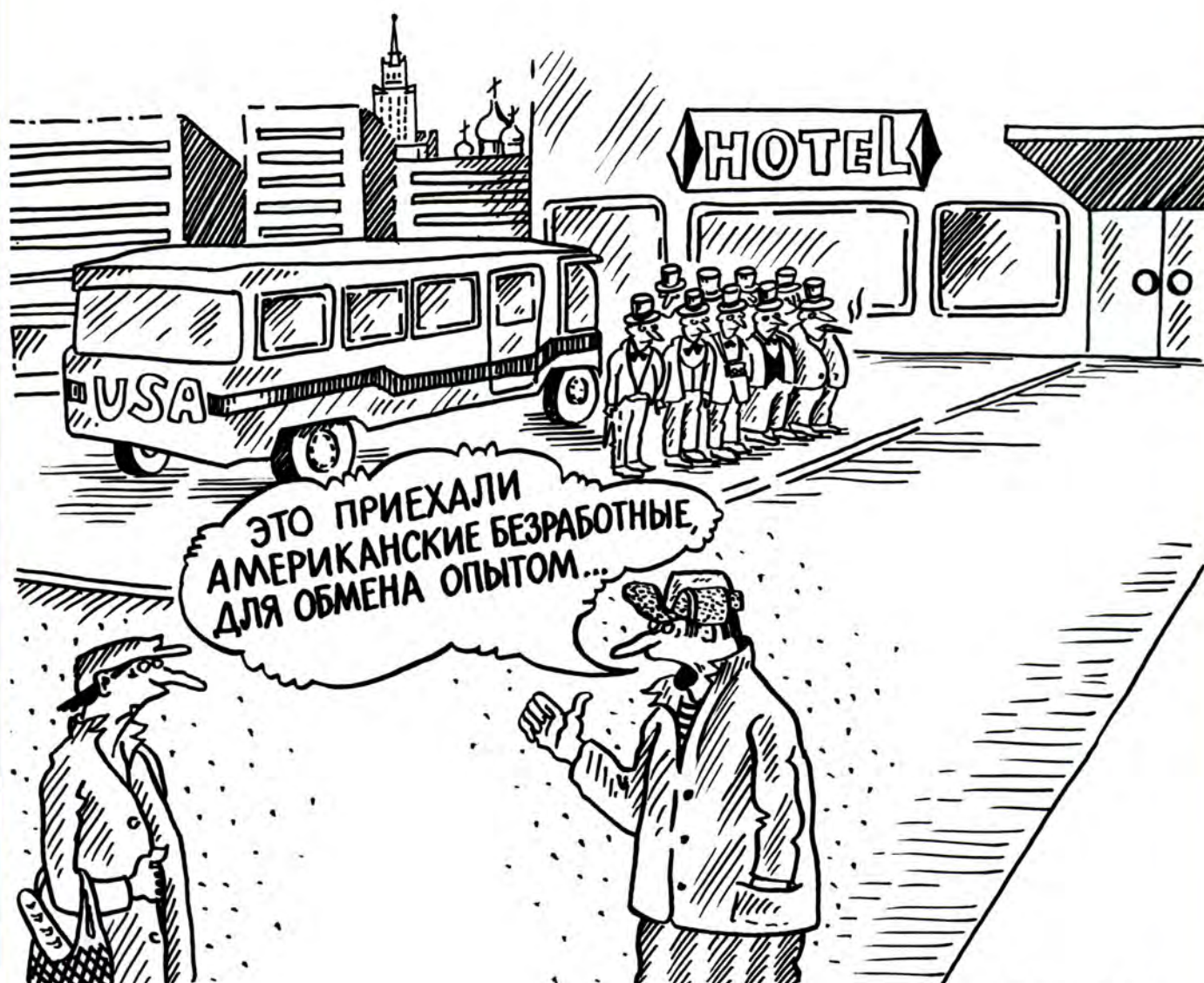
Last fall the USSR Supreme Soviet discussed all three plans. It refused to opt for any one. As a result, we passed a package of good intentions that we'd already seen before, "Main Guidelines for the Stabilization of the Economy and a Transition to a Market Economy."

Under the "Basic Guidelines," the state will not directly interfere in economic activities (with certain specified exceptions), and market relations will apply to all sectors where they are effective. The Soviet economy will be open and reintegrated into the world economy. All citizens will have an equal chance to earn a decent living. The state will support the disabled and socially vulnerable groups.

All this is fine, but, like many earlier declarations, "Basic Guidelines" does not specify how these objectives will be achieved. It is impossible to use this document for practical purposes. True, "Basic Guidelines" states: "Every sovereign republic may elaborate and implement market transition measures, proceeding from its own social, economic, ethnic, and historic features." This means that every union republic and even autonomous republic may take its own path to a common objective. For example, the Russian Federation embarked on its own 500-day program in November.

The central authorities have not yet decided where they stand. For instance, President Gorbachev has signed a decree to protect ownership rights. The decree says that stable property relations and an inviolable right to ownership are indispensable for modern economic strategy. This is a major step toward a market economy. However, by a different decree, the President has reaffirmed the existing economic links until the end of 1991, freezing the progress of market relations for the same period.

The Soviet economy moves according to the principle, "One step forward, two steps back." Our only hope is that the steps forward will get bigger and the steps back, smaller. ■



By Vasili Dubov

"Them? That's a delegation of the American unemployed. They're here for an exchange of expertise."

MICHAEL WISE'S LEAP TO MOSCOW

This American dancer has worked with the Moscow State Ballet Theater for two seasons.



Interview conducted by Larisa Lobova
Photographs by Vladimir Fedorenko



*Top: Michael Wise in rehearsal.
Above: With his Moscow colleague, Nikolai Tikhomirov.*

Q: Tell me, please, a little about your background and how your dancing career got started.

A: I was born in 1969 in Charleston, South Carolina. Both my parents are doctors. I also have a brother. When I was seven, I saw an American production of Pyotr Tchaikovsky's *Nutcracker*, and I wanted to be able to do what the dancers were doing. And of course, there was the music. My mother took me to the Charleston Ballet School, and because of my ability, I was one of the few students who were offered the chance to study free of charge.

When I turned 15, I was accepted into the North Carolina School of the Arts in Winston-Salem. I spent four years there under the guidance of Duncan Noble. Then Imre Doza, the head of the Budapest Dance School, invited me and my partner to finish our education in Budapest. I accepted.

During my studies in the United States and Hungary, I saw many ballets, including some staged by the Bolshoi Theater. My favorite productions were *Giselle* with Mikhail Lavrovsky and *Don Quixote* with Vladimir Vasilyev. I must say that Russian ballet played the deciding role in my choice to specialize in classical dance. Your country has the world's best school of classical dance.

When I graduated from the Budapest school, I went to a prestigious ballet competition in Moscow with the first act from *Giselle*. I didn't even get past the second round. That was when I realized that what I'd learned in the United States and Budapest fell far short of what is called the classical male dance school. I had to study in Moscow, and with a good teacher.

Q: What were your impressions of Moscow?

A: Frankly, my first impressions weren't too favorable. The streets were very dirty, and I didn't see a single smiling face. The things I'd heard about Moscow were completely different. But that wasn't so important. What I wanted was to meet Moscow Ballet School teacher Alexei Prokofyev, who is famous for having trained many world ballet stars, including Andris Liepa and Alexei Fadeychev. Thanks to my Moscow friends, I did manage to become Prokofyev's pupil—not at the school, but at Victor Smirnov-Golovanov's troupe, New Classical Ballet. I worked with the troupe six months. Once I mastered the secrets of male classical dance, I dreamed of dancing with a big company.

At my first Moscow competition I'd made friends with Bolshoi soloists

Vladimir Malakhov and Ilgiz Galimullin, who helped me with my Moscow career. They introduced me to Natalya Kasatkina and Vladimir Vasilyov, directors of the Moscow State Ballet Theater. I was admitted to the troupe, and two months later I got my first role.

Q: You made your debut as the Jester in *Swan Lake*. What are you doing now?

A: I was a little surprised when they gave me that role. But it seems that Kasatkina and Vasilyov knew me better than I knew myself. I like to have fun, and I played the Jester as an embodiment of cheerfulness and optimism, a contrast to the evil spirit of Rothbart.

In the same production but with a different cast, I appear in the Venetian dance. In *Don Quixote*, I do the Spanish dance and the role of Gamache, a nobleman.

I like the atmosphere and the peo-



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

I enjoy SOVIET LIFE tremendously and save all issues, especially articles concerning the Christian activities in the Soviet Union. I could answer another reader's question. No, Christianity in the Soviet Union, here in the United States, and elsewhere, not being myth but reality, will continue strongly. Many do not know this, but during the time of repression and imprisonment of many Christians in the Soviet Union, Christians in the United States (myself included) and in many other countries kept in touch by letters and prayers. These were not only for Christians but also for Soviet leaders, especially Gorbachev. Censors may have stopped the letters, but love and prayers cannot be stopped by anything. We will continue that for your fine country. So keep on informing us about anything concerning the Soviet Union.

Dorothy Gilstrap
Branson, Colorado

What happened to socialist renewal in your pages? SOVIET LIFE reads more like Forbes, Moscow Edition. More important: Not a dissenting voice is to be found there. Anywhere. Is that glasnost? Did all species of Soviet socialist suddenly expire or refuse your phone calls? Surely the idea of editorial glasnost is not to merely replace one opinion monopoly with another. Yet precisely that appears to be happening. Has yesterday's unquestioned wisdom really become today's unquestioned foolishness? Judging from your photogenic but unquestioning pages, apparently so. Class emergence is celebrated, imperialism ignored, workers forgotten, and capital resorted. Let's have a broader spectrum of opinion and real renewal.

F. Doepke
Claremont, California



ple at the theater. I feel comfortable with them. The routine is smooth, and we all know what to do and work well together.

Q: What is the difference between the American and Soviet schools of dance?

A: Our ballet is freer and more democratic. That's why we have so many different schools and trends. That enriches art. You give preference to classical canons, to strictly systematized movements. But now, with all the changes going on in the USSR, the impact of American and European ballet fashions is really starting to be felt.

Moscow audiences are very good-natured and well informed. Maybe one reason ballet is so popular here is that tickets only cost three to five rubles. In America, most people can't afford tickets to see, say, Mikhail Baryshnikov. And I've noticed that

many people who go to the ballet in the Soviet Union are very young—at the age when a lot of kids in my country would rather listen to rock music.

Q: Do you have any problems, financial or otherwise? How do you live?

A: I earn 220 rubles a month. I pay 100 rubles in rent for my one-room apartment, which isn't far from work—25 minutes by trolley bus. So I have 120 rubles left, which I spend on food. I shop at the market.

Moscow's state-owned shops have virtually no food or clothes at all. Americans don't know what food shortages are, and when I first got here, I didn't understand anything about the situation in your country. But now I know more or less how the system works. The transition to a free society, to new economic relations, has turned out to be very painful. But I'm sure things will be all right. ■

**NEXT
ISSUE**



GETTING READY FOR EASTER

Not far from the town of Mukachevo, nestled in one of the picturesque valleys of the Carpathian Mountains, is a Russian Orthodox convent dating back to the Middle Ages. Our correspondent Yuri Kaver visited this tranquil place to see how the nuns prepare for Easter, one of the holiest days of the Russian Orthodox Church. The beautiful Easter eggs that the nuns paint with love and devotion are known throughout the entire world.



WINNERS IN WHEELCHAIRS

Sports and sporting events for the disabled have recently been introduced in the USSR, and the response has been overwhelming. Many people now see the personal benefits, such as enhanced self-esteem and greater confidence, that the disabled gain from being involved in special athletic events.

COMING SOON

**The Crimea—
Crossroads of History**



“I consider
myself an
eclectic.”



Paintings by Nikolai Sazhin.
Top: *Easter*. 1977. Oil on
particle board. Above: *The
Rape of Europa*. 1985-1989.
Color lithograph. Story
begins on page 27.

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Front Cover: Lovely Lyudmila Pukito is a captain in the Soviet Air Force. She is profiled in the block of articles starting on p. 16 that are presented to mark International Women's Day, March 8th. Photograph by Vladimir Perventsev.

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the challenge of big-city governing.



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gave up the single life.



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Chekhov's Three Sisters.



Last spring a hopeful breeze
blew through Leningrad as
Leningraders voted in new people
with new ideas for their City
Soviet. Also, there was Anatoli
Sobchak, Leningrad's new mayor.
During the past year, however,
things haven't run as smoothly
as people had expected.

An aerial view of
Leningrad, the city
on the Neva River.
Inset: A session of
the Leningrad
City Soviet.



LENINGRAD: FACING A CHALLENGE

By Alla Manilova
All Photographs on Leningrad
by Mikhail Dmitriyev

The euphoria that followed the landslide victory of opposition candidates in the elections last spring has given way to disappointment and

concern. Even Leningrad's left-wing press, sympathetic as it is to the newly elected City Soviet, has described Leningrad as facing a crisis of authority, or as teetering on the brink of anarchy.

For the first time in its lifetime the postwar generation is experiencing all kinds of shortages, from cigarettes to

gasoline, and everything in between.

Another problem is that the shelves in the state-run vegetable stores are almost empty, while the stalls at the local farmers markets are full, but the prices are absolutely out of reach for the average family.

Some people say that the situation is so critical here, that in fact the fu-



ture of democracy in the city is at stake. Will the Leningrad City Soviet muster sufficient resolve and wisdom to wrench itself from the quagmire of controversy before people's patience runs out? That seems to be the question of the day.

The controversy has three facets. The first is the ongoing feud between

the City Soviet and the Executive Committee, i.e., between the legislative and the executive branches of municipal government. The second involves the sharp clashes among the various District Soviets and the City Soviet. And the third concerns the power struggle that exists between

Continued on page 12



A group of concerned constituents wait outside the City Soviet building to talk with their deputy. Inset: A man corners his prey.

leningrad city soviet: round table

Anatoli Sobchak has held the office of chairman of the Leningrad City Soviet since the spring of 1990. In other words, Sobchak is the mayor of Leningrad. A lawyer specializing in economic law, he gave up the secure academic life for the high demands of elected office. Cursed by some and adored by others, this controversial city leader leaves no one indifferent.

The situation in Leningrad is rooted in the general social and economic crisis in the whole country. It encompasses the national and state setup, the administrative command system, ideology, and culture. Leningrad is all the worse for its overdeveloped military-industrial complex and heavy industry, for its depreciated urban infrastructure, and for its reliance on a crumbling centralized food distribution system.

Disintegration of economic contacts has to do with the municipality's stalled administrative structures and the lack of coordination between the local Soviets. For stability, we need radical steps that will strengthen executive authority and step up the transition to a market economy. One such step is to create a "free economic zone" in Leningrad Region.

What is a free economic zone and who needs it? Leningraders and Leningrad's industry, to answer the second part of the question first. The free economic zone concept will enable businesses to become free commodity producers, to work for the city, and to greatly increase our city revenues.

As soon as the zone is created, we have to work out the chief premarket mechanisms and give all businesses economic and legal freedom. For example, the Baltic Shipping Company was the first to be given the status of an independent shipping company. The possibility of an independent airline is also being explored. Actually, a free economic zone, I believe, will provide a strong impetus for stepped up development of the entire region.

Anatoli Sobchak

What Is A Free Economic Zone?



"For stability, we need radical steps that will strengthen executive authority and step up the transition to a market economy. One such step is to create a 'free economic zone' in Leningrad Region."

Leningrad has vast untapped reserves of material wealth. For instance, the city has thousands of tons of scrap metal at its disposal, which are not presently being used. The municipal authorities have asked the President of the USSR and the Russian Government for a general license to sell these reserves in order to purchase food.

Though creating a free economic zone in Leningrad Region will necessitate a special regime, that doesn't mean isolation from the rest of the country. We are going in the same direction with the rest of the Russian Federation, but we will probably be at the head of the parade and our pace will be quicker. We are going to test the mechanism for transition to a market economy on our "economic testing ground." Leningrad will interact with other Soviet regions and remain a major scientific, technological, and cultural center.

To ensure that the interests of Leningraders are protected, we plan to introduce credit-card and personal bank accounts into which the paychecks of the city's work force will be directly deposited. Workers will be able to draw from these accounts as they need to.

Housing is another area that we hope will reap the benefits of a free economic zone. The housing situation is especially critical here in the historical part of the city.

For example, Leningrad leads the country in the number of people who share apartments. Also, we estimate that 45 per cent of our families still live in substandard housing. So you see, housing construction must be a priority in a free economic zone.

For the smooth operation of a free economic zone in Leningrad Region, we must acquire a broad range of rights from the national and republican governments. We must review everything, including taxes, customs duties, and labor relations.

Contract work will be a major issue of concern to practically every Leningrader. Measures to protect the social welfare of our residents are high on our agenda. ■

leningrad city soviet: round table

Pyotr Filippov, an economist and journalist by profession, is a deputy to the Supreme Soviet of Russia and a member of the Leningrad City Soviet, where he is chairman of its Standing Commission on Industry. Filippov is a leader of the Democratic Russia movement. At the Second Session of the City Soviet, he voted against creating a free economic zone in the city.

Let me explain why I'm opposed to the concept of a free economic zone in Leningrad. I feel that all of us deputies to the Leningrad City Soviet have fallen prey to circumstances.

The idea of a free economic zone, which was put forward by Anatoli Sobchak, chairman of the Leningrad City Soviet, intrigued many of Leningrad's economists. And they began working it out on the conceptual level. That was early last summer. We later discovered that Academician Stanislav Shatalin's group in Moscow had already begun drawing up a draft for an economic program encompassing the entire Russian Federation. As we deputies became familiar with the work done by people in Shatalin's group, we realized that they were far ahead of us.

Also, I had played a direct role in drafting an agreement between Russia's territories and regions, creating the mechanism for a single all-Russia market. This agreement envisages the elimination of all barriers, of all separate monetary units, and of all other things that could wreck an all-Russia market. Moreover, our project for a single all-Russia market had already been approved by the governing body of the Leningrad City Soviet.

Therefore, I don't see why the city cannot carry out its economic reforms together with Russia. I've nothing against Sobchak personally. I think we have one of two choices. Either we fence off Leningrad and enact our own legislation—you realize, of course, this will mean that the Leningrad City Soviet will have to be-

Pyotr Filippov

Working Together With Russia



"Most Leningraders don't have a clear idea of what a free economic zone is. Most people think that the introduction of a free zone will mean a windfall of millions of dollars for no apparent reason. But that's not true."

come a permanently functioning parliament—and secede from the Russian Federation, or we work together with Russia to overcome the economic crisis.

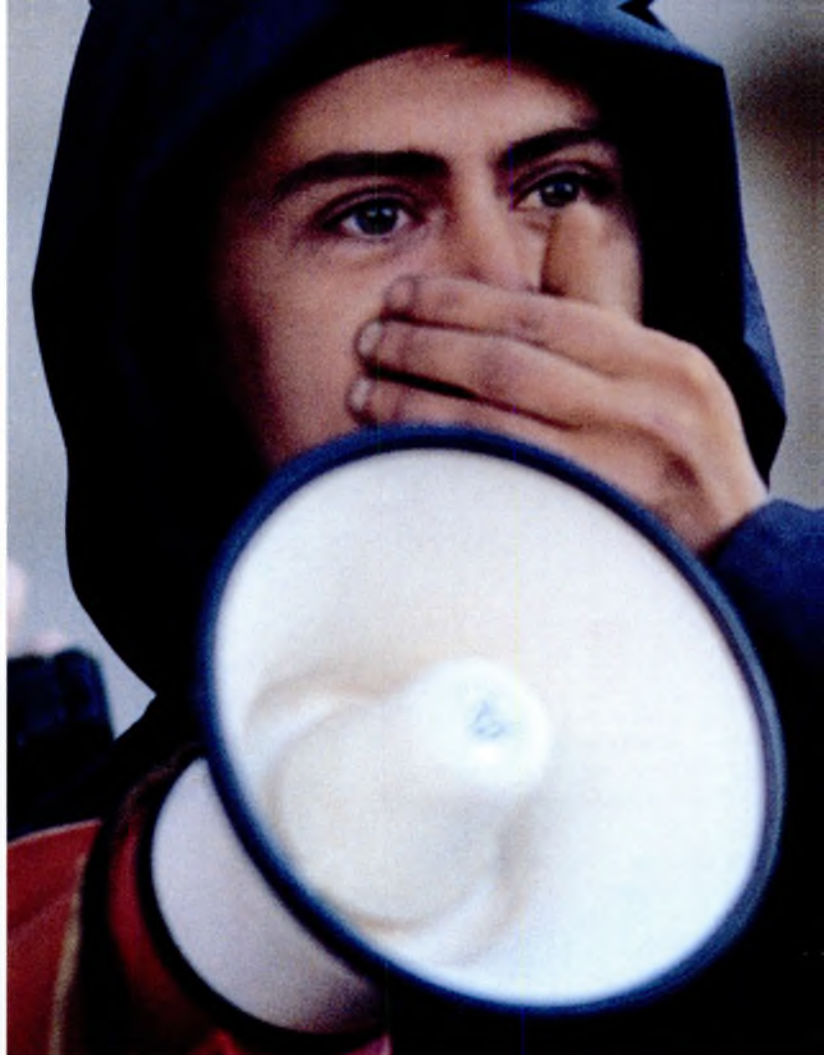
Unfortunately, most Leningraders don't have a clear idea of what a free economic zone is. Most people think that the introduction of a free zone will mean a windfall of millions of dollars for no apparent reason. But that's not true. Capital, as one German political leader put it, is as skittish as a deer; it needs solid legislative backing and sound finances. Is it possible to develop a market in Leningrad now that the central government is issuing money unbacked by goods? What kind of market can there be when there's a general shortage of goods?

By advocating a free economic zone with its own monetary rules and customs regulations, however, we run the risk of losing contact with the rest of Russia.

Another aspect causes anxiety. In seeking status as a free economic zone for Leningrad, a number of deputies on the City Soviet have called for the city's having a special type of administration with one person in charge of it. This new administration, they propose, should assume a number of the major functions that are presently carried out by the governments of the republic and the country. However, this proposal would mean totally replacing the City Soviet and its Executive Committee. We've already seen a similar thing in history: In czarist Russia, the governor general administered the city. He was responsible for both drawing up laws and enforcing compliance with them. Obviously, under those circumstances, people would have no control over authority.

The transition to a market economy should be based on law. What we need is a package of legislation that defines both the rights of entrepreneurs and the terms for economic activity. The all-Russia economic program meets those requirements. We need to work together with Russia to overcome the economic crisis. ■

Clockwise from below: Street musicians. A protest rally leader. A rally in support of changing the city's name back to St. Petersburg. A line of Leningraders waiting at a butcher shop. A group of residents gathered to show their support for an issue.





No one would call Leningraders apathetic. Perestroika and glasnost have infused the city's residents with a renewed sense of interest in what's going on, as these snapshots of Leningraders in action show.



leningrad city soviet: round table

Vatanyar Yagya is a well-known specialist in Oriental studies. He has written a number of scholarly books on the subject. On the Leningrad City Soviet, Yagya chairs the Standing Commission on International and Foreign Economic Relations, which is looking to expand trade and business relations.

Shortly after taking office in the spring of 1990, we deputies of the Leningrad City Soviet expressed our determination to turn our city into a world economic, scientific, cultural, and tourist center. Since then, we've made some headway. Let me explain.

Many foreign concerns, companies, and business people have shown an interest in helping us achieve our goal. Little Woods, a renowned British company, offered to open a store with an annual turnover of 60 million rubles. What makes this an especially attractive arrangement is that the store will do business for rubles only.

Plans for building a major business center in the city have also begun, with U.S. investors backing the project. Lenexpo, a local company, and the Leningrad Building Committee have concluded an arrangement with the Hamburg-based company Kommanditgesellschaft to build an international trade and convention center. The Germans are contributing 700 million DM to the project. Several Argentine and Turkish companies have expressed an interest in opening trade outlets in Leningrad too.

There are also plans for Holsten, a German brewery, and a local distillery to build a factory producing beer using a German method. And McDonald's, which has done so well in Moscow, is planning to open 20 fast-food outlets here.

The Leningrad City Soviet has passed resolutions to create several large research and technological centers in our beautiful city. Some Western companies have informed us that they'd consider it an attractive and a worthwhile investment.

Vatanyar Yagya

New Vistas For Economic Cooperation



"Many foreign concerns, companies, and business people have shown an interest in helping us achieve our goal."

To enhance tourism in Leningrad, we badly need some top-class hotels. A British intermediary recently proposed setting up an international consortium to build several hotels at Pulkovo Airport and in the historical part of the city. And we're currently negotiating a hotel-building project with some German companies.

In addition, several French firms have informed us that they are ready to cooperate with Aerobaltservice, a local state-owned concern, in building new hotels and renovating older ones in our famous suburbs, including Petrodvorets, Pushkin, and Pavlovsk. As part of the deal, Aerobusinesscenter will set up offices on Nevsky Prospect and offer space to the major world airlines that fly direct routes to Leningrad. I wouldn't rule out the possibility that sometime in the near future a Leningrad airline, independent of the state-owned Aeroflot, would emerge.

Right now we are waiting for official approval to establish a free enterprise zone in the city. No one knows exactly what impact that will have on trade. But if it goes through, we'll be in a position to license import-export transactions on our own and to cut duty fees. That surely will encourage trade.

The Leningrad City Soviet has already resolved to privatize trade outlets and public-catering establishments. Even now, foreign investors can buy a store or a café and set up a private business in the city.

What we must do, however, to facilitate things is to acquire the right to financial registering of joint ventures. Western business people, who are used to efficiency and quick responses, are often perplexed when they hear that they must apply to agencies in Moscow for permission before engaging in even some trifling matter.

But, let's be clear, Leningrad isn't going to pursue a separate course different from the overall policy for the entire country.

We also intend to revive Leningrad's former role as the center of political and economic links with Northern Europe. ■

leningrad city soviet: round table

Dmitri Greis, a factory worker by trade, was an active participant in the Democratic Platform movement of reform-oriented Communists. He is currently the executive secretary of the Leningrad City Soviet's Standing Commission on Voluntary, Public, and Political Organizations.

On January 1, 1991, the Law on Public Organizations came into force, introducing new things into the political affairs of the country. For example, a public organization or political party can now be founded by as few as 10 Soviet citizens. Also, the registration procedure has been simplified. People wishing to start an organization must convene a founding convention or general meeting to adopt a charter and bylaws—statutes or any other basic rules—and to set up the governing bodies.

Membership in a public organization is open to all USSR citizens and, if its bylaws so stipulate, to foreign nationals and stateless persons. Political parties are the exception, with their membership restricted to Soviet citizens.

In Leningrad freedom of action has been granted to the most diverse political forces—from the left radical movements and anticommunist parties to the traditionalist United Workers Front, which opposes democratic reforms and the country's transition to a market economy. There are also the Yedinstvo (Unity) Society, which is Stalinist in spirit, and the St. Petersburg Monarchial Center.

Last year our commission recommended about 150 unofficial organizations and parties for registration. In the past, some of those organizations would never have received official recognition. For instance, representatives of societies promoting religious education spent years trying to secure recognition from the authorities, but until recently they remained outside the law.

In 1990 major religious organiza-

Dmitri Greis

Democrats Should Join Forces



"I agree with the political leaders who urge all the democratic parties, organizations, and forces to pool their efforts in the nationwide Democratic Russia movement."

tions, such as Open Christianity, the Protestant Mission of Spiritual Revival, and the Bible for All, operated openly for the first time. The Society of Religious and Moral Education in a Spirit of the Russian Orthodox Church, which virtually vanished without a trace in 1918, is also being revived. Before the October 1917 Revolution, the society maintained two temperance centers for workers, its own orphanages, and a printing house.

Our standing commission considers itself duty bound to assist in promoting the work of charitable organizations, such as associations helping the blind, the disabled, and the sick, among others.

Last spring, during the election campaign to fill the seats on the Leningrad City Soviet and the District Soviets, the democratic forces joined efforts in spite of differences. This unity brought us electoral victory. Afterward, however, the forces decided to part company, each seeking their own path.

In Leningrad, there are a multitude of new organizations, such as the Democratic Party of Russia, the Free Democratic Party, the Social-Democratic Party, and the Socialist Party. Although the parties aren't large—for instance, the Social Democrats number slightly more than 100 in the city—it doesn't mean that they have no future. Right now people are comparing programs, aims, and goals of each of the parties before making a commitment. And they're not in a hurry to make a choice.

We are beginning to realize that the process of attaining economic and social maturity is a long one, and it cannot be expedited. Similarly, it would be impossible to mechanically merge all democratic forces into one party with a common platform and discipline. What's the way out? I agree with the political leaders who urge all the democratic parties, organizations, and forces to pool their efforts in the nationwide Democratic Russia movement. Democratic groups already existing in the Soviets of People's Deputies are bound to be a major part. ■

CHALLENGE

Continued from page 5

Mayor Sobchak and a large number of deputies who have united into an anti-Sobchak opposition.

Let's look at how the situation developed. Even during the 1990 election campaign a tough rivalry emerged in the city. The two forces could conventionally be termed conservatives and democrats. The democrats advocated a multiparty system, a market-type economy, open borders, integrating the country into the world economy, and turning the USSR into a confederation of independent states. In a nutshell, the democrats favored a Western-style model for development.

The conservatives supported strong one-party rule (naturally, the Communist Party), a planned economy, the rallying of the Soviet republics around the Russian Federation, a stronger USSR, and their own path of development.

From the outset, the conservatives comprised the party bureaucracy and the party members who supported the policies of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). These were joined by the people belonging to several nationalistic groups and the United Workers Front, which claimed to uphold the class interests of the workers.

The democrats incorporated the Popular Front; the Democratic Elections-90 bloc; the Association of Electors; the Democratic Platform, i.e., the reform wing of the CPSU; and members of Memorial, a group made up of former victims of Stalinist purges. Several so-called independent leaders have emerged, most of whom profess democratic views.

None of the conservative or democratic groups has had any substantial experience in conducting a political campaign. For instance, the Communists, who for decades have been at the helm of power in this country, have forgotten the very notion of political opposition and have lost what little experience in political rivalry was amassed by their predecessors, the Bolsheviks.

The democrats have spent decades sitting around kitchen tables, quietly

voicing their resentment to the system among trusted friends. As recently as three years ago, not one of these people could have imagined in their wildest dreams that they'd be vying for power against the ruling party.

One survey shows that most Leningraders formed their opinion of a particular candidate depending on whether or not the candidate was endorsed by the Democratic Elections-90 group. Sociologist Leonid Kesselman estimated on the eve of the election that 65 per cent of the Soviet's 400 seats would be won by candidates endorsed by Democratic Elections-90, 20 per cent would go to independents, and 15 per cent would be taken by conservatives.

The election returns proved Kesselman's predictions. Democrats won around 70 per cent of the seats. Conservatives and the military took about 20 per cent, and the national-Communists and nationalists lost throughout. The main result of the election, though, was that an altogether new group of people would be sitting on the City Soviet. Seats usually assumed by older party bureaucrats were now filled with relatively young (the average age is 45) economists, engineers, mathematicians, physicists, geologists, and physicians—people from all walks of life.

Leningraders looked to this newly elected municipal body for leadership and direction, but it was not to be. The lack of experience in holding public office caused the deputies to get bogged down with points of order and procedural matters. Though the first session of the City Soviet took over eight weeks, it failed to form an executive committee. While the city council was able to appoint Alexander Shchelkanov, a member of the national parliament and a radical politician, chairman of the Executive Committee, it prevented him from putting together a team of qualified managers from among the new wave of politicians. Shchelkanov found himself surrounded by party bureaucrats.

The executive branch was virtually paralyzed. While the bureaucrats still had the real power in Leningrad, the responsibility for the city's headaches was being shouldered by deputies lacking the expertise in dealing with

them. The results: hastily passed decisions, endless procedural discussions, and factions. Incidentally, the factions don't split along party lines; the elections in Leningrad were held before a multiparty system took shape in the country. The deputies simply represent themselves and their own points of view. As Mayor Sobchak aptly puts it, "We've got as many parties represented on our City Soviet as we have deputies."

Size is one factor that has slowed down the work of the City Soviet. There are 21 District Soviets, each with up to 200 deputies. That's almost as many people as there are in the national parliaments of Sweden, Denmark, or France. Cost is another. For example, the cost of its first session ran to 240,000 rubles, more than 10 times the budgeted amount.

This past year's track record had dashed all hopes of the local Soviets emerging as an efficient component of a smoothly run democratic power structure. Mayor Sobchak was among the first to state that publicly—first in the press, and then at a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Sobchak spoke in favor of bolstering the executive branch at all levels and of the subsequent reduction of the number of seats on the Soviets.

Many deputies are beginning to see the benefits of having a compact-sized municipal authority with a strong Executive Committee running the municipal economy in a free market situation. There have also been suggestions that mayors be elected in general elections rather than by the City Soviets.

Sobchak's uncompromising statements have given rise to stormy debates among the Leningrad deputies, some of whom have started to campaign for the mayor's resignation.

Sobchak's answer to this criticism has been in the form of a statement that appeared in the national daily, *Komsomolskaya pravda*. He is firmly convinced that if Leningrad is granted the status of a free economic zone, the city will be able to form the optimal power structure, even before a new national constitution comes into being. Sobchak reiterated his determination to work for the zone by promoting a referendum on the issue. ■

RIGA REVISITED

**Novosti Information Agency
special correspondent
Vladimir Ostrovsky
investigated the events in
Riga on January 20, 1991.**

As I stood in the corridor of the procurator's office," Captain Czeslaw Mlynnik, commander of Riga's OMON force, told me, "I heard shots fired outside in the street. I ran outside and saw that shots were coming from Bastion Hill, which towers over Rainis Boulevard, the street running alongside the building that houses the Ministry of the Interior of Latvia. I also heard shots coming from the opposite side, from the direction of the Ministry of Construction, which is next to the Interior Ministry across an alley."

After speaking with Captain Mlynnik and others, I managed to piece together the events of that night. Sometime before, several members of Riga's OMON force (the OMON is a special militia unit) stopped a suspicious-looking car with five men. Inside the vehicle were found several rounds of ammunition, cold steel, gasoline bombs, hand grenades, and a gun. The five men were arrested, transported to the procurator's office on Rainis Boulevard next to the Interior Ministry, and put in OMON custody.

On the evening of January 20, an OMON detail was dispatched to the procurator's office to relieve the men on duty and to transport the detainees to another location if necessary. As the three OMON cars neared the Interior Ministry, they came under fire.

"I ran to one of the cars, which had to swerve near the ministry, into Communards Street," Captain Mlynnik continued. "Exactly at that moment I clearly saw shots being fired from the second and fifth floors of the

Interior Ministry. The gunfire was rather intense. Next, I noticed some people running from Bastion Hill across a footbridge on the boulevard. Some of our men, who had jumped out of the cars, hid themselves behind trees close to the pavement. I shouted to them over a walkie-talkie and out loud: 'Men, watch your backs!' When I ran across the street, I heard shots from behind.

"It all started about nine o'clock in the evening, give or take a few minutes. In about 10 minutes, we came under fire from the Ritzan Hotel. The hotel sits on a side street facing the Interior Ministry. I issued the following command: 'Take up defensive positions opposite the Construction Ministry.' Then I realized that we were blocked in from the side of Communards Street. The members of the OMON detail were wearing their usual gear—berets but no helmets, bulletproof jackets, assault guns, and two to four ammo clips. We saw all sorts of people in helmets, civilian clothes, and militia uniforms. No one could tell friend from foe.

"To save our men, we had to take shelter in the ministry. I gave the command to hold fire and not to shoot to kill. I dashed to the door of the next building—the city's military office—but it was closed. I needed to find a telephone to summon backup support. But nobody opened the door for me. What was I supposed to do? You could clearly see the tracer bullets being fired from the Ministry of the Interior and from Bastion Hill. We weren't prepared for such a situation. I told the men to use their ammunition sparingly and to fire only if fired upon. Some people on the second floor of the Interior Ministry opened windows, thrust out an assault rifle, and began firing at us at random.

"At about midnight Father Alexei Zotov, a deputy of the Supreme Soviet of Latvia, arrived. By that time, we had already made it into the Ministry of the Interior. All the shooting had stopped, and the wounded had been transported to the hospital.

"Just about then, a prominent film director from Latvian television arrived. He talked with our men and told them that though he supported the other side, he had to admit that

his cameraman had been shot in the back, killed, by somebody else. It seems some people had been shooting at them from behind. It appears that some other people also were firing.

"As likely as not, the firing was done to aggravate the situation. By the way, the video footage clearly shows tracer bullets in our direction and from the point behind the television cameramen."

After talking with Captain Mlynnik, I spent the next many hours going over and over the television footage to get at the facts. Film clips were aired that same evening on the "Panorama" program.

The film clips, which were shown raw, that is, without editing, provide important evidence of the events. According to the film, it is unequivocal that the three individuals who died on Rainis Boulevard, including the Latvian TV cameraman, were not killed by shots fired by OMON men. At the time, the OMON unit was blasting its way into the Ministry of the Interior to take refuge from the gunfire.

Why did the mass media seek to blame OMON for the deaths?

Captain Mlynnik provides perhaps the fullest explanation. "After January 20," he said, "Riga's militia saw where it was ultimately being led and what it would have to do if it were to remain loyal to the government. Since then, the Riga militia garrison has given Latvia's Minister of the Interior Alois Vansis, a unanimous vote of no confidence. People are beginning to realize that more reactionary forces than the Popular Front are coming to power.

"There are plans for power to be vested in civic committees. After that all present members of the militia will be put on a nonstaff status. Later, only citizens of Latvia will be allowed to join the Latvian police, while only people who have lived on the territory of the republic before August 23, 1940, or their descendants, will be granted Latvian citizenship. The plans also call for expelling all stateless persons later this year. That's almost 1.1 million people. This, in my view, contradicts the idea of the law-based state and humane and democratic society that we want to build." ■

Expanding the Scope Of Good Relations

Correspondents Vitali Gan of *Pravda* and Vladimir Matyash of TASS spoke with Alexander Bessmertnykh, the recently appointed USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs, about the issues that his ministry is currently dealing with. Presented on these pages is a slightly abridged version of that interview, which was published in *Pravda*.

Q: How do you assess the current state of Soviet-American relations?

A: I have believed and still believe that we must regard relations between the Soviet Union and the United States as critically important for several reasons. The United States is a superpower on which the nature of the international situation depends. To a certain extent—but, of course, not completely—our relations with the USA determine the approach of Soviet diplomacy toward other countries. Undoubtedly, the United States should be central to our foreign policy, but it should not eclipse all the rest. I believe that the Americans view us similarly, understanding that we too are a central figure in world politics. My conception is that while acknowledging the key role that the United States plays in our relations, we shouldn't allow that to overshadow everything else. All other regions also must play their part, must have their importance. We have now reached a level of trust and frankness with the United States so that we can definitely speak of the things that we don't like or that we oppose. The very tone of the dialogue now predisposes us toward openly sharing our mutual concerns and speaking out on even the most delicate questions.

Q: But lately you can hear talk about a downturn in Soviet-American relations, about the possibility of a rollback to the positions of the second half of the 1970s when, as it is known, our two countries abandoned the policy of détente. Please elaborate.

A: Let me explain. I believe that we've already attained such a level of relations with the United States and the West as a whole that it is possible for us to really make the twenty-first century a century of an entirely different world community.

A very short time has elapsed since the end of the cold war and the beginning of the present qualitatively new stage. People with a very strong "cold war" mentality are still around. In my opinion, it's wrong to speak about the end of the cold war and the beginning of a period of large-scale, active, and even absolute partnership. I think there's a transitional period between the cold war period and the period of developed partnership. It's natural because it's necessary to abandon the cold war stereotypes.

Other dangers also exist, especially if the other side confines itself to purely emotional reaction and yields to the considerations of immediate political gain, while overlooking the real risk of undermining the historical tendency toward the positive development of the world. Regrettably, all this is taking place. That's why Soviet diplomacy and foreign policy must be a dynamic force because, for one reason, there are no guarantees in this world. Everything must be protected, and that is exactly what we are doing now.

Q: At the talks in Washington at the end of January, you discussed

questions of completing the work on the treaty to limit strategic offensive arms. There have been some reports that both sides are almost in despair because of the lack of progress in this area. What were the results of the discussion?

A: Despair is out of the question. On the contrary, I'm deeply satisfied with what really took place. It's better to postpone the summit meeting than to attempt to hurry such an important event. The circumstances—the Persian Gulf conflict and the outstanding issues relating to the strategic offensive arms limitation treaty—clearly made it necessary to postpone the summit. I want to note that when we—both sides—stated the necessity for additional work on the treaty, it was by no means a sign of a crisis in our efforts to complete it. There are still quite a few issues that have to be resolved. But when the number of days that remained before the Moscow meeting was counted and when the immense volume of the treaty—the text of which hadn't been finalized—was taken into consideration, it became clear that, though we can resolve problems, we were in no position to cope with all of them by the beginning of the summit. In other words, there's progress, but there are also delays caused by purely technical factors.

Q: What do you think of regional conflicts? The Persian Gulf war is only one of the hot spots on the globe. Is there a possibility for Soviet-American joint action in extinguishing the flames of these regional conflicts?

A: In my view, it would be wrong to set all hopes on the USSR and the USA. Conflicts should be settled by

the conflicting states, but our two countries are willing to help whenever they can play a positive role. However, it's more important to strengthen the United Nations, to give preference to that organization in settling regional conflicts rather than to get involved in them.

Q: You've assumed your position during an exceptionally responsible period. Would you share your vision of the processes now occurring in the world?

A: Much of Soviet foreign policy after the end of World War II was determined by what I call "the nuclear paradox." Security requirements induced by the nuclear factor somewhat distorted the traditional focus of policy. Therefore, great attention was paid to relations with countries having nuclear arsenals. All this was absolutely indispensable, but simultaneously, in my view, traditional relations with neighbors somewhat took a back seat. Now that we've entered a new stage, the stage of arms control, of strategic power balance, and of parity, we need—without downplaying the importance of our relations with the United States and other great powers—to pay more attention to countries adjoining the Soviet Union.

In other words, it's necessary to expand the scope of good relations, stressing the solution of economic, social, and cultural tasks. That's one line. There's another: It involves relations not only with adjacent states but also with other leading countries of the world. Many people argue that because of our internal problems it has become more difficult for us to pursue an active foreign policy, and that in such areas as Latin America, Africa, and the Pacific Ocean basin we should wind it down. I don't agree. In my opinion, we should maintain the same active, dynamic thrust in Soviet foreign policy as we do now.

I think that foreign policy greatly helps domestic policy by creating favorable conditions for perestroika and all the reforms that we're carrying out. Domestic policy, too, may either help foreign policy by very actively promoting it and being a strong, de-

pendable home front, or complicate it significantly. And, unfortunately, this last circumstance does exist. Obviously, all complexities that weaken the country have external repercussions. Take, for example, the Baltic republics. It's easy to get swept up by emotions. But it's important to try to understand what is really going on there and how the Soviet leadership truly feels about it. Why are the republics that are striving for independence not following the constitutional path? Nobody has ever said that the path to independence is impossible. Messing things up is quite easy in politics. One should, however, correlate everything with the changes in Europe, with qualitative shifts on the

The world is becoming multipolar—and that's an extremely positive phenomenon. Stability and a certain level of mutual understanding have been attained in Soviet-American relations. Regrettably, our interaction has no, so to speak, ironclad foundation. But it does have a basis that is relatively strong.

international scene. It's dangerous and unforgivable to waste efforts articulating emotions over what is happening, especially since everything is possible in these republics within the framework of the USSR Constitution.

In our foreign policy we should remember, above all, security considerations, that is, our relations with nuclear powers having potent military structures, and the economic factor—interest in making sure that our country is surrounded with partners, not with enemies. The world is mutually dependent. Political contacts and amicableness ought to develop. By the de-ideologization of relations we do not mean that there should be no po-

litical ties at all. We simply must not look at relations between states through the prism of stereotyped, ideological perceptions as was the case before.

For example, some countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America were considered close to us only because their leaders said things that sounded ideologically agreeable to us. Later we discovered that we had formed a distorted view of the real situation. Important, large states wishing to develop relations with us remained somewhat aloof. And other countries—also, by the way, respected—suddenly acquired special status only because their leaders made statements more pleasant from an ideological point of view. We've removed all that from our diplomacy. Our relations with states bear the broadest character.

Q: The world is on the threshold of the twenty-first century. What is your vision of the future?

A: Forecasting doesn't pay, but I believe that the bipolar world is coming to an end. The world is becoming multipolar—and that's an extremely positive phenomenon. Stability and a certain level of mutual understanding have been attained in Soviet-American relations. Regrettably, our interaction has no, so to speak, ironclad foundation. But it does have a basis that is relatively strong.

Furthermore, I want to note that we're giving up the idea of the need for excessive armaments. The world is beginning to pay greater attention to resolving social, economic, and ecological problems. The guidelines in politics are changing. Thank goodness! Our diplomacy is already reflecting this, and we are beginning to pay greater attention to these issues in our work.

Will conflicts take place in the future? Sure. But we're now doing a very important job by laying the groundwork for ways to cope with them. Right now, with the war raging in the Persian Gulf, a precedent for ways to deal with aggression is being created. The fact that the international community has united against this aggression shows that there's promise in this line of action. ■

POLITICS AND BUSINESS

Any Chance for Women?

By Nina Vaneyeva

Not only Soviet women but all members of Soviet society can benefit from a women's movement. Though the women's movement may appear different in the different republics, by and large the goal is the same—to do away with the vestiges of patriarchal thinking.

Recently, Soviet newspapers have been full of headlines, such as "Women in Politics," "Careers and Women," "Men and Women—The Equality Factor," "Independent Woman," and the like. As a rule, the articles are written by women and deal with issues relating to women and their role in society.

At first glance women are evident in all bodies of power in the USSR. Special quotas were set for women in the Soviets at all levels, a percentage of new members to the Communist Party were to be women, and so on and so forth. With perestroika, however, these artificial mechanisms for equality were discarded. The result? Almost immediately women's representation in the bodies of power drastically decreased. Very few women participated in the latest election campaigns, and the role of women in politics has shrunk.

Women comprise almost 50 per cent of the country's gainfully employed population, concentrated, however, in industries that are traditionally considered the domain of women. Wages in these industries are 25 to 30 per cent below the national average. The Soviet Constitution does formally grant women equality with men, but there has been no real equality thus far. According to statistics, 48 per cent of the men with a secondary and higher education hold positions of responsibility at different levels. While more women than men graduate from high school and college, only seven per cent of the female graduates hold similar positions.

Of course, there are objective reasons for this: shouldering a double burden at home and at work, taking leaves from professional careers in order to have a child, and so forth. The most important reason concerns the conservative vision of the woman's role and her abilities and the opportunities that are open to her. According to antiquated notions, which, unfortunately, still abound in the USSR, the woman is a homemaker first and foremost. Surveys of women, however, show that the number of them who would willingly quit their jobs altogether is rather small, even if they don't have to rely on their salary to live comfortably. What's more, the number decreases as the level of education of the woman increases.

Life shows that women executives cope with their duties as well as men. Of course, there are differences in style. Though many more men than women hold managerial positions, not one man has yet proved that his style is better than a woman's.

As their political awareness grows, Soviet women become less and less tolerant of injustice. Women are actively participating in rallies, demonstrations, and election campaigns. Soviet women may not be as organized and as experienced as their sisters in the West and their problems may be very different—in the West, the women's movement began almost two centuries ago, while ours is relatively young—but the Soviet women's movement has won its first victories.

For a long time, the idea of forming a political party of and for women has been circulating among women's groups. Women in Leningrad and in Perm have translated this idea into reality. Moscow has a political club for women headed by Larisa Kuznetsova, a journalist, and Tatyana Ivanova, a political scientist.

The Moscow club has announced the following goals: to work to prepare women for political action, to help women with leadership qualities attain positions of power, and to work for guarantees of minimum representation of women in elective office and public organizations. It's true that some women do not share the goals of this club. They see no reason to conduct a special "pro-women" policy. To them, it doesn't matter if a certain position is occupied by a man or a woman as long as the person holding it is an able and efficient professional.

Kuznetsova and other members of the club think differently. In a society marching toward democracy, all sections of the population must be duly represented in all bodies of power, they maintain. If women, who comprise the greater share of voters, are not interested in politics, it could have a negative effect on the results of any election. Therefore, the women's issue is primarily an issue of political power, and no political issue can be resolved without political structures in which women are represented.

The members of Kuznetsova's club say that such practices are widely known around the world. In the parliaments and, for that matter, in a majority of the ruling parties of foreign countries,

women are entitled to a guaranteed number of seats. "These are the roots of the feminization of global politics and a subject of burning envy for us," admitted Kuznetsova. "For Soviet women, it's still to come. Male politicians refuse to consider women as a real political force in society. The command-and-control bureaucratic system of management is one drama of Soviet society. The other, in my opinion, is that all the structures of society are a man's world, while the family is a woman's."

It's hard to argue against that. Men in general have a somewhat negative attitude toward women politicians. Yet women are the "uncrowned queens," the symbols of the new forces that have emerged on the Soviet political scene: For example, Nina Andreyeva, a die-hard Stalinist from Leningrad, represents the conservative side, and Valeria Novodvorskaya, the leader of the Democratic Alliance (DA), the radical side. Both women are the recipients of sharp criticism.

Who speaks for the majority of Soviet women? Neither. A recent survey shows that the overwhelming majority of women fall somewhere in the center. They prefer evolution without extremes, neither right wing nor left wing.

A large number of women throw their political support behind the Memorial society, which honors the memory of the victims of massive repression, the Green Party, and the Social Protection Committee. Unlike many other and more famous parties and movements, these three organizations pursue humane goals—protecting the interests of ordinary people.

What about the government? It has a concept about the social protection of the population during the transition to a market economy, which naturally takes into consideration the interests of women. But in the opinion of women, the government does not envisage any special measures to ensure that men and women will have equal access to jobs in the labor market. Such measures are an absolute must. Even now, when we are still a long way from having a market, some enterprises, thinking only of increasing profits, are attempting to get rid of working mothers. The enterprises do not want to pay women leaves of absence for the care of sick children, for instance. What will happen when businesses must streamline their operations or must shut down as a result of the inevitable structural changes in the economy? What will happen to the workers that will be let go?

What are women to do? First, they should petition the USSR Supreme Soviet to adopt specific programs that will protect working women during the country's transition to a market economy. Second, following the example of women in other countries, women should actively explore business opportunities. For instance, vast opportuni-

ties await the enterprising women in small businesses in the service sector, social welfare, and other areas.

Recently Muscovite Lyubov Axenova, the inventor of an original method of dress design, started a business of her own called LYUBAX. She has registered her business, opened a bank account, and trained a staff of workers. Soon the first LYUBAX dressmaking shops will open in downtown Moscow.

Another Muscovite, Natalya Borchik, a journalist, is convinced that there are great opportunities for women in business. A mother of seven children, Borchik became the sole breadwinner for the family when her husband died suddenly. The state-allocated support payments were not sufficient to provide a comfortable life for her family. So Borchik decided to launch a business of her own. Today she is one of the most successful Soviet business people in information science. But she did not stop there. Last summer Natalya Borchik helped found Eve, an association of Moscow businesswomen.

"We want to create new job opportunities for women. That's why we're organizing a number of small businesses," explained Borchik. "At the same time, we'll be training women in new trades. Obviously, we'll be issuing credits to those women who might want to branch out on their own. For that purpose, we'll have a special bank for women."

At first only women who belonged to co-ops or who had businesses of their own were allowed to join Eve. Later women who headed state-run businesses were admitted. With the help of the women's bank, they'll be able to turn state-run enterprises into corporate businesses.

It would be naive, to say the least, to jump into any business without the necessary skills and training. For the most part management schools admit men. In addition, only large enterprises can afford to pay the high tuition costs. But they usually stick to the stereotype that men make the best managers, totally ignoring women's talents. Recently, the Soviet Women's Committee decided to get involved in organizing a business school for women. The committee itself will select candidates for training abroad. The next step is to find enterprises that are willing to help defray the costs.

But some women want something altogether different from business. In Sweden, for instance, alternative forms of employment for women are widespread, allowing women to combine homemaking with a professional career.

Numerous options are being considered at present. The most important thing is to prevent women from becoming the first victims of the labor market. The word "unemployment" is mentioned every now and then in the Soviet Union. ■

At the age of 54, Galina Semyonova, a professional journalist with almost 30 years' experience in her field, was elected to the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), the top governing body of the party—a rare achievement for a woman.

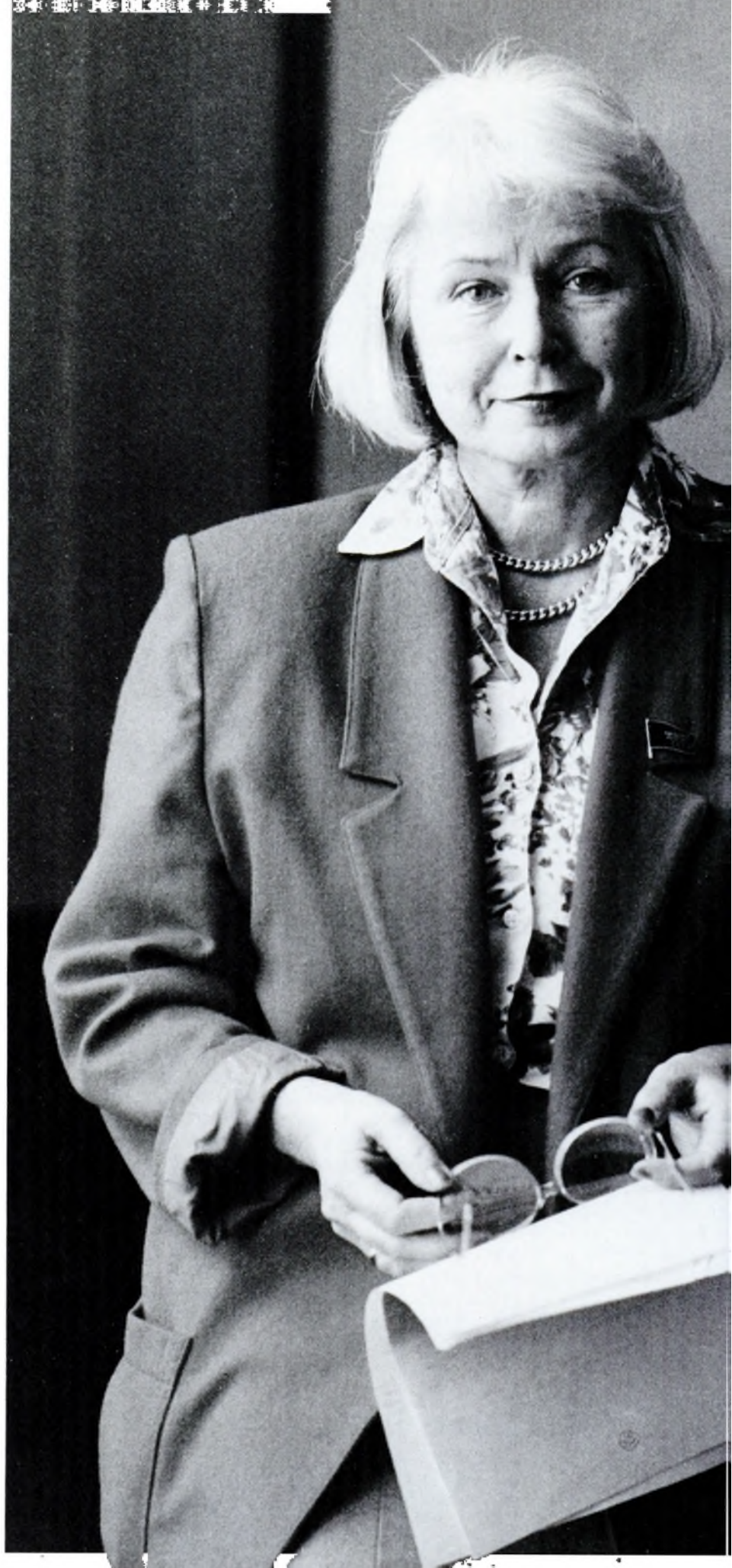
Semyonova says that being elected to the office of secretary and to the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee came as a great surprise to her. But all things considered, you could say both were logical turns of events.

Galina was born in Smolensk. She has two younger brothers. Her father was in the military, so the family moved around a lot. After graduating from Lvov State University, Galina took a job at a youth newspaper in Odessa. Later she worked with youth newspapers in Moscow, edited the journal *Komsomolskaya zhizn* (*Komsomol Life*), did graduate work in philosophy at the USSR Academy of Social Sciences, and took a job with the Soviet Women's Committee. For the past 10 years, Galina has been with the magazine *Krestyanka* (*Rural Woman*).

Commenting on Semyonova's election to the Politburo, a foreign radio station noted that the only woman on the Politburo proved to be the editor of a little-known agricultural journal. However, that radio station only showed its ignorance by what it said. *Krestyanka* is an extremely popular magazine with a circulation of 21 million copies. It receives thousands of letters from readers every month.

Actually, the magazine has a well-deserved reputation. It created the first charitable fund for women, and its "Hope Column" studied the issues of restoring the village and of helping women arrange their lives.

In cooperation with the popular American magazine *Woman's Day*, *Krestyanka* conducted a survey on modern family problems. Sixty-five per cent of the Soviet women polled stated that they didn't want their daughters to live the way they did. This is a sad admission that gives room for thought.



Woman Of Action

by Leonid Lipilin
Photograph by
Alexander Makarov

Galina Semyonova, Candidate of Science (Philosophy), is a people's deputy of the USSR and a secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and a member of its Politburo. Those who know Semyonova say that she's not only bright and talented but also charming.

Galina Semyonova is a woman of action. "We can't talk about restructuring society, establishing justice, and striving for national consent without women's participation in politics," she once said. That thinking must have determined the change in her life.

Semyonova is always surrounded by people—readers, constituents, and colleagues. In her position on the Politburo, she's in charge of women's issues, and she hopes that the situation for women in the USSR will change for the better. Anyway, she's not resigned to putting up with things the way they are.

"All of us should think hard about what society owes women and about how to save life itself by saving the women. We need politics to harmonize relations in society, and we need women in politics," she says.

"Women have an aphorism," Semyonova adds. "We were invited to the feast, that is, politics, but we were offered only half a helping. Yes, we were offered half a helping, but in our timidity we took only a fourth. We couldn't take more. We need more than resolve; we need education, something that depends on us women ourselves."

Does this busy woman have time for her home and family? "Sometimes I'm lucky to find a few spare moments," she answers. "My family tries to do the bulk of the housework. My mother is in charge of all that." Semyonova's husband, Alexander, who also is a journalist, and her son, Timur, a biologist, help out as much

as they can. Her grandson, Kirill, who is two years old, also does his bit by picking up his toys.

"A family is ideal," says Semyonova, "only when the qualities of both spouses lead to harmony. A relationship never stays the same. With time, it develops into love-respect and love-friendship. It's definitely love, but of a different kind. That's why harmony is so important."

How does she manage to keep fit and to look so good?

"Be happy! Smiling makes you beautiful. But it does not hide a soul that can be very sad."

What traits does she value in a man?

"Understanding, faithfulness, sincerity—a rarity these days—charm, intelligence, and humor."

Semyonova feels that the press has done a great disservice to men and women by delegating power and household duties in the family. "It's nonsense," she says. "The main thing is to integrate roles and to care for each other. Only by working together can we keep the family and human relations on an even keel."

"The interrelationship of the family and society was not formed today, but it is now more vivid. Society should be what a family is. Perhaps, integration processes begin in the family. We have to study that."

How does she react to successes and failures?

"I think failures teach you a lesson, and successes give you joy. Seriously, I'm trying not to get carried away with all of life's little surprises." ■

THE GAME

By Irina Polyanskaya

I saw the girl for the first time near the Pushkin monument. It was the beginning of October, and not a trace of an Indian summer. The city was immersed in a thick, gray fog, broken only by intermittent drizzle. Trees with yellow leaves shone weakly, as if floating by in the fog along the side of the park nearby. A group of schoolchildren, restless and bored, listened to an inspired lecture of their teacher or tour guide, who was pointing toward the monument, but the children were paying no attention to her, having more fun looking at the pigeon perched on the bronze curls of the figure on the pedestal. I was waiting for someone to give him something, and all of my thoughts were concentrated on a forthcoming rendezvous. Only the eyes, alert and perceptive in those moments of bitter indecision and fog, were watching the people around, and my heart was beating like a propeller as if trying to break away from its cage and fly upward into the sky. I was looking at the children's identical faces, wishing to single out at least one so that my flow of thoughts turn in a different direction, when fate presented me with that face... A girl came up to the monument. She was in her teens, I think, and everyone who saw her that day remembered her and probably told their people at home about her: "We saw a mad girl walking around town today."

Despite the cold weather she wore a short pleated skirt, a T-shirt, nylon socks, and high-heeled patent-leather shoes. She was holding herself so upright, as if her back, her spine, and

her entire soul were pleading for some colossal trial, that would bend anyone down, but which was powerless to crush this particular girl. Looking at her, I recalled the motto from our youth. "The important thing in life is to hold your head high." Such a stupid motto of a stupid girl. The most important things are not what we thought them to be. Life, with the tenderness and insistence of a mother bathing her child, taught me differently. You could read on the girl's face: "I am not aware of anyone around; I came here only to see YOU"—this was addressed to Pushkin. The solitary flower she held in her hand was, for HIM, a rose, giving off a radiance, which his glum face was lacking. There was animation among the schoolchildren who started nudging each other. The teacher stopped her well-memorized recitation momentarily. Those sitting on the benches and the passersby all reacted to her in some way and proved to have better manners than the schoolchildren. Now, I knew everything that she was going to do, as if the girl was acting on my orders and with my blessing. I felt like we were there together. I was the only one who could understand her so precisely that it was impossible to smile or show surprise or look down at her—we were rehearsing a scene.

She stood a while, first looking up at HIM (capital letters are hers, not mine), then she bent her rigid back and put the rose at the foot of the monument. She stepped back a pace and was again motionless, as it were, trying to come to an agreement with the skies above HIM. I already knew what she was going to do next. The girl put her hand into a bag, hanging from her shoulder, and took out a small notebook and pencil and scribbled in it (I can bet on this) the following: "Today at 11 hours 15 minutes (he was already 15 minutes late) I met HIM for the

Irina Polyanskaya, born in 1952 in Kasli, the Urals, lives in Moscow. A graduate of the Gorky Literary Institute in Moscow, she has been published in many periodicals. She has also written a book entitled Supposed Circumstances.

first time." Dear Lord, this poor little thing thought that her main asset was independence, which was obvious from the stony expression on her face, as if under torture, an expression which was her answer to the jokes from some people on the street: "Aren't you feeling hot, young lady?" It was a rather cold autumn, and the people whom she arrogantly defined as "normal," including me, walked by, sat, smoked, talked over the phone, queued up, embraced each other, wore coats, sweaters and leather jackets, and did not feel hot.

She started walking away, putting a distance between herself and my impressions. Her legs were too thin for her miniskirt and those patent-leather heels; her back still expressed reproach for all of us. I swallowed it and stood up to meet the bad news, which was approaching me as he lighted up a cigarette and sluggishly searched for me with his bored eyes...

The meeting with my date also left me feeling a ton of sorrow pressing upon my spine, and I wished to ease the sensation in some way. Then on the way I saw a movie advertisement, where I could read what films were showing and where. I decided to go and see some thriller, but then I saw that they were showing a two-part French opera film *Carmen* in one of the movie houses on Kutuzovsky Prospect. I decided to walk there. Once when I was as young as that girl and I too carried my head high so that everyone around could see my challenge to the Fates, and to match the challenge I wore dangling and sparkling things, I was quite impressed with *Carmen* in that film, with her dark looks, with an obvious mixture of black blood, making her look precisely like the girl from Mérimée's novella, and so unlike the Queen of Spades, a big-breasted matron that you usually see in opera productions. I walked, not noticing anyone or anything, as the fog had now reached to my very eyes and at the beginning of Kutuzovsky Prospect I found myself standing in a little cafeteria, eating a cheese sandwich and having a glass of juice. Tears were streaming from my eyes, and the people around looked at me as if I were not all there. It's not so bad hearing people say to you: "Young lady, the zipper on your skirt is undone"; it is far worse when somebody sees your tears. "Excuse me, but there is something oozing from your eyes." What on earth can ooze out in such a damn fog!

They were running toward me, all those unknown people, with their tears ready in their eyes, like handkerchiefs in their pockets, and every one of them was carrying something deep in their hearts: the death of a father, sheer bad

luck, dismissal from the job, some cardiac, a photograph of a loved one who had run off with her new boyfriend to the Kuril Islands, unsatisfactory marks at school, suspension of a driver's license, a liver cirrhosis, autumn asters for a birthday, some secret murder, "star wars"... I thought. It had better be something else, this I would not survive. I imagined myself and all these people around, sitting down beside this high rise, wrapped by the fog and taking out their innermost belongings, like opening up cards, and starting to sort and exchange them. The one with cirrhosis agrees to exchange it for my little sorrow but asks for something else in the bargain, so I put my sorrow out in front of him with, let's say, my knowledge of English or my easy-going nature. As I accept his cirrhosis and, more importantly, get rid of my lumpish sorrow, I stand up with my mind unburdened, blooming like a rose and anyone who sees me that day cries out: "Why, you must have come into a fortune!" But he, the former owner of the liver cirrhosis, walks with my gait, holding on to the walls of buildings with my sorrow that he first thought to be so light, feeling it bear down on him, hunching his back, losing weight, visibly without knowing where to go and whom to see in order to lull my (his, his!) anguish and misery. While he is enjoying himself at his friends', laughing his head off the way I always do, when there is no real fun at all, his liver would start feeling at home inside me. It would start talking, moaning, and hurting, flooding my soul and body with pain, would wash over my eyes, making me unable to see anything through the concentric circles of great pain inside. He raises himself from his hospitable friends' table, and I fly from my home, and we rush to meet each other, while the pain pushes us from behind like a snowstorm. It makes everything around pitch dark and then we find each other—me, to give him back his liver, and he—to return to me my sorrow. Maybe it would have been better to have swapped with the woman, who had bad luck exchanging her old apartment for a new one; but as soon as I do it, I could discern her ex-mother-in-law appearing on the horizon, and she starts to gnaw at my life like a hungry man-eater. No, we had better keep what we have, and with a wave of my hand I disperse the crowd converging in front of the building; the people rush off in all directions, dragging their sorrows behind.

There were two tiny auditoriums in the movie house (where else can one see an opera film?). In the first one they were showing an English comedy, and everybody had run there to hide from

the fog. In the lobby, in front of the entrance to our auditorium, was a snack bar. Some people were sitting there, whom I immediately sensed to be my kin. They had not come there accidentally, that is, not they, but we had. We had come there on purpose, unlike those, who wanted to see the comedy. There was a special atmosphere there. We had flocked from all over our great capital, having learned about this oldie being on. One could see here some old women, wearing worn-out fur coats, one of them on crutches, a young, nice-looking couple, three college students, a young man with *The Hockey and Soccer Review* in his hand (he was the only one who came here by chance, as he had read that there was a film on, not noticing it would be an opera film in fact, unaware of an unpleasant surprise waiting for him, his 50 kopecks wasted. I could hear an annoyed knocking at the door under the glowing red sign "Exit"), there was an old man there with the impassive face of a director of a cooperative, and another old man with his elderly wife, a very ancient couple, very old-fashioned and behaving toward each other in the grand manner: "How are you today, my friend?"; "Thank you, my dear, quite well. And you, my love?" When I came in, they smiled at me like at an ally. Enveloped by this gentleness, I took a seat and, remembering the cheese sandwich left untouched on the clean table in the cafeteria, asked the barman for another like that. He gave a nod of understanding and asked if I cared for a cup of coffee. He also understood us. I thanked him and sat near the old women, joining in their conversation about Maya Plisetskaya. I had always had this roof above my head, this sanctuary: The music, it was so thoughtless of me to try swapping for cirrhosis—I would have inherited his video recorder and his spaniel dog, which I did not know what to do with—but what would he ever have done with this music of mine, what indeed? If you asked me: Would you like your sorrow to vanish into thin air and be blown away like smoke in the wind, but only together with the overture to *Carmen*?—terrified I would cry out: Not a single bar! Not a single note! And let this sorrow be cursed, let it stick out like a splinter inside my throat!

So we were sitting, united by the feeling of kinship, drinking our cups of coffee and reminiscing about Plácido Domingo, when suddenly she entered. I do not know whether or not she was accepted into our circle because they could already hear the musicians tune up and clear the throats of their instruments, and her appearance was quite out of tune. She had obviously walked all the way from Pushkin Square and her hands and legs were covered with goose pimples, but she still carried her head as high and arrogant as she had before. We were saying just then that

only Tchaikovsky and Liszt had really appreciated this opera, while the rest of their contemporaries hissed and stamped their feet at this music. She asked for a cup of coffee, but not for a sandwich, and sat down at our table. There was a pause in the conversation and speaking each word distinctly, she said to me:

"Excuse me, is this where they give *Carmen*?"

Suppressing a smile, I replied: "Yes, it is."

She nodded, took a sip of coffee, and ceremoniously put the glass back on the table. I knew she was desperate for a sandwich, she would even have had two cheese sandwiches and perhaps she had the money to buy them, but even the barrel of a gun put against her forehead would not have made this hungry girl give up her act. The bell rang and we all went slowly through the entrance and sat at a distance from each other. Our furs might be faded, and a bit bald, but our feelings and perceptions remained as they had been before, and we decided to give the music enough room, to make it flow freely and unhindered around us. Stendhal insisted on the idea that one should not listen to music in a big gathering of people. We sat apart so that those who sat not far away could not disturb the aura created around us by the music. Nodding to the old women, I took my seat in the second to the last row, near the wall, and saw the girl take hers in the middle of the first row, flapping her seat. Even here she decided to challenge us all.

I can't say (alas, I cannot lie to myself anymore), that the vigorous overture carried me away into the world of dreams, like that girl. All my thoughts remained with me. I am not much of an operagoer because of the outward discrepancies between the music and the appearance of the cast, to say nothing of their voices. In this case everything was just right. I always go to see such films, there are not many of them, and their audience grows smaller and smaller. This has long since ceased to bother me, but not her. This was probably the reason why she had taken the front seat, not to see the empty auditorium behind her. The performance was excellent, and the tears were real. No one disturbed us, even that young man with *The Hockey and Soccer Review* had gone away without waiting for *Carmen* to appear on the screen.

The film ended, and we filed out toward the exit, exchanging our impressions. On the way out an old woman recalled Tamara Talakhadze singing the part of Micaela. We said Good-by to each other and each went his own way. She was running in front of me, cutting the human flow as she ran in two. She carried her shivering body, unwilling to be at peace with anything:

neither with what people thought of her, nor with the cold. We entered the Metro together and changed our silver pieces for five-kopeck coins. Going through the passageway that led to the Arbat line, I slowed down, not wishing to lose sight of her. She slowed down and went in the direction that I was going to take. The train beneath made the noise reminiscent of rain. I entered a car and sat opposite her. Why was she so strangely dressed, so out of season? Could it be only for that complicated game, that the girl was playing with life and people, with people and her own life? Could it just be the cracking voice of young extremism ringing in her ears, deafening the other warm and natural voices, which she was unable to hear? Was she resisting them? What was she after? Glory, roses, barricades, or her little name, which must have surely been Zoya or Tanya, although she would probably introduce herself as Stella. But perhaps everything was much simpler: She was a provincial; she had lost her old-fashioned, tasteless raincoat, or it could have been stolen; she had no one to go to in Moscow apart from me. She had an aunt, though. And her mother had begged her to stay with her aunt while in the capital, but the girl had visited the aunt, brought her an expensive torte and a bunch of flowers, showing her independence by mumbling something about a nonexistent girlfriend, living in an apartment in the Moscow district of Chertanovo, and that there was a separate room ready for her there. She had only one pathetic 10-spot to buy herself a ticket back to Bryansk in a sleeper car . . . covering herself from head to toe with a second mattress at night. But she had nowhere to spend the night and she was riding the Metro without any destination. I had a place to take her to, and just then I had no one staying with me. I could offer her a bowl of soup and a folding canvas cot. Yes, this is the thing to do. We got off at Kievskaya Station, and again I followed her.

A young man I know likes to walk the streets of Moscow with a map of the city in his hand, and he has tremendous fun accosting all sorts of people asking them in heavily accented Russian how to find GUM, the central department store, near Red Square. He testifies that we are hospitable. We put our bags and purses down on the pavement and start gesticulating and speaking in deformed Russian, shouting in the tourist's ear, though he is not deaf, but only some kind of foreigner, how he can find his way there. This friend of mine bothers peaceful passers-by for about 10 minutes, and sometimes these are people with babies in their arms, trying to extract from them the information about the way to the "Czar kennel," and the people happily correct him that the right way to say it is the "Czar

Cannon" and show him the way. He goes shamelessly through the crowd of people pretending to be a foreign tourist, tossing up the ends of his long knitted scarf. Only he, who is small, wretched and poor, is inclined to act like somebody he is not.

We changed from the radial line to the circular line and took the train to Park of Culture Station. I made a mental promise to myself: If she went after me, I would offer her my folding canvas cot. I could even lend her my raincoat, which she would certainly send back to me, when she returned to her little hometown. She got off the train, following me, and we walked quickly along the passageway. Suddenly I realized: I was not following her, but rather she was steering me, keeping a short pace ahead and sensing my presence with her back. I slowed down: She looked back. I was frightened. It meant she felt something in my expression and became aware of something within me, as I was of something within her. She recognized me. She wanted to ask me a question: Will I look like you, when I grow up? I wondered if my variant of a life would suit her; it didn't suit me at all. Like an actor, who keeps on playing his part out of habit, whatever the cost and the effort, I was sticking my stupid neck out, although I had long since shedded all of my dreams and aspirations. I was some 15 years her senior. Again we got into the train and sat opposite each other. She opened a book *Gravity without Formulas*, which proved once again what darkness her soul was wandering around in, still a little girl, very foolish, with blood throbbing in her ears, which she mistook for some noble ideas. Her dreams were as shapeless as clouds. Her eyes were sightless. The tongue talked lies. I knew them, grim and reticent, you made an attempt to chat them up a bit and their childish foolishness would pour out like peas. I knew what kind of poetry they wrote. What kind of books they read, and what kind of notes they left in the margins. I knew how their boyfriends jilted them. How their parents worried about them. I knew: If she happened to find herself on my folding cot, the girl would torture me with her infantile nightmares, with confessions of a creature unaware of itself, with that tragic play-acting of hers. She would stick to me like a leech, would start writing letters to me, would send me (on her miserable salary, for she failed to get into the university and currently works as a junior assistant in some laboratory) expensive art books, she would lay herself out to buy me the *Caprichos* if I made even the slightest mention of its being my dream to have this book. She would start to confide all her secrets in me, which would bring tears to my eyes and form a lump in my throat.

Continued on page 41

Our photographer was disappointed. He had wanted to photograph our "blue angel" in full air force regalia against a background of Moscow street scenes. But,

alas! Senior Lieutenant Lyudmila Pukito arrived in the Soviet capital on a three-day pass wearing civilian togs. "I'm in uniform so much of the time," she explained, "that whenever I get the chance to wear regular clothes, I just can't resist." As a woman, I understood how she must feel.

That evening the senior lieutenant visited our editorial board, bringing many members of our male staff to attention. With the looks of a model, Lyudmila turns heads wherever she goes, but when people discover her profession, they are amazed, just like we were. We showered her with a barrage of questions.

Six years ago Lyudmila, an engineer in a testing laboratory at the Mikoyan Design Bureau, decided to make a change in her life. She enlisted in the Soviet Air Force, and she has been in it ever since.

Joining the air force meant moving to Borisoglebsk, a small town in Central Russia, and that's what she did. Senior Lieutenant Pukito now teaches jet aerodynamics to cadets at the Borisoglebsky Higher Military Flight School.

"When the male cadets first spied their new instructor, they were speechless," said Lyudmila. "My first lesson was almost a total loss. I guess they just didn't expect a woman to be their senior officer. Some comments I overheard were cute and made me smile; others were really annoying. The main point was that I had to make sure that the cadets didn't question my competence as a teacher. So I approached each lesson as if I were preparing for a top mission.

"Today, when I think of those first days, I chuckle to myself. I no longer have those problems. Still, I sometimes find love notes and flowers on my desk."

Lyudmila took her first flight when she was only five years old. The children of test pilot Geli Pukito grew up





A "BLUE ANGEL" WITH WINGS

By Olga Afanasyeva
Photographs by Alexander Jus

Six years ago Lyudmila Pukito, an engineer in a testing laboratory at the Mikoyan Design Bureau, decided to make a change in her life. She enlisted in the Soviet Air Force, and she has been in it ever since.



"I adore what I do, but I also love my leaves," said Senior Lieutenant Lyudmila Pukito. She arrived in Moscow just in time to enjoy a fresh snowfall.



Above: Frolicking with her younger brother, Alexander, who also aspires to be a pilot. Left: In class at the Borisoglebsky Higher Military Flight School. Facing page, top to bottom: With her guitar at a party and at a festive table.

literally on the edge of an air strip, on a military base outside Chernigov, the Ukraine. The family remembers the time that Lyudmila hid in a small transport plane and was discovered only when the plane landed in another town. Imagine what the parents were going through while their "independent" young girl indulged in her escapade!

In school, Lyudmila showed her talent both in and out of the classroom. She took up gymnastics, and it wasn't long before she mastered the sport. She graduated from a music school—piano was her forte—and wrote verses, like her mother.

"Mom is unbelievable," Lyudmila said. "You can just imagine what it must be like to be the wife of a test pilot. You are always in fear that every day might be his last. She even had to give up her profession as a microbiologist because the family moved so often. She taught us—my sister, brother, and myself—to be strong and kind. Mom always knew that I wanted to fly."

When Lyudmila was 14, she visited the aviation club in Gorky, now Nizhny Novgorod, her birth certificate, with changed dates, in hand. In no time her deception was discovered, and she had to wait until she reached the proper age. But four years later Lyudmila was back and stood in front of an open hatch preparing to make her first parachute jump.

"I'll never forget that feeling," she said. "I wasn't afraid, exactly, more like in shock, where every nerve is alive. I remember moving toward the hatch, jumping into nothingness. . . . Suddenly, the parachute opens, and I'm floating, floating. The sense of joy is overwhelming, even a bit crazy. I experienced the feeling one other time, when I took off on my first solo flight, but then the sensation was much more intense."

But that happened only later, after Lyudmila graduated from high school and figured out what she wanted to do with her life. She decided to settle in Moscow and enroll at the Moscow Aviation Institute to study aircraft designing. Almost immediately, she joined the Second Moscow Aviation Club. It was there that she made her first flight.

"All pilots feel a gamut of emotion when they make their first flight," said Lyudmila. "I was so happy; all I wanted to do was sing. Too bad not everybody can experience it. Pilots have a completely different way of thinking. Flying puts you at constant risk, and you learn quickly not only to control yourself but to continuously strive for perfection."

Lyudmila continued flying with the aviation club and took a job at the Mikoyan Design Bureau. She also received an invitation to join a Moscow team of sports pilots. The flight programs became ever more difficult. Once she was asked to simulate a situation where the engine stalled in midair. As time was running short, the group decided to cancel this exercise. But Lyudmila requested that her flight be extended so that she could complete it, and her request was granted. Luck was with her! On the very next day the engine of her plane did in actuality fail—but because she had gone through with the simulation, she knew exactly what to do.

"I had always dreamed of flying MIG-29 and SU-24 planes. But to do that, I'd have to join the military," Lyudmila said. "That's the main reason why I enlisted. Besides, I felt I had some knowledge I could give aspiring pilots. And I knew I could become a flight instructor."

The Soviet Armed Forces are undergoing enormous changes, which are effecting the air force too. The reduction in military hardware and the conversion to civilian production are wonderful things, but there are problems associated with both. The future of top-class pilots is unclear. And what will become of the expensive military aircraft that are to be done away with?

"I'm sure we'll find a proper use for both," Lyudmila contended. "But right now nobody knows."

There's been talk that the flight school where Lyudmila presently teaches might be closed down, but she doesn't seem to be worried.

"If the school closes, I'll continue my studies," she says. "And I'll continue flying somehow."

Lyudmila has grounds for confidence. Two years ago she won a tough competition, which allowed her

to enroll in graduate courses at the Zhukovsky Air Force Academy. Also, she hopes to become a member of a new squadron of top-class Soviet pilots that is being organized to take part in air shows around the country. The squadron is being modeled after the famous U.S. Blue Angels.

In general, Lyudmila is an optimist. She's 34 and still single. "I hope Mr. Right will eventually come my way," she said. "I guess I'll have to 'land' someday."

As this article was being prepared for print, we learned the good news that Senior Lieutenant Lyudmila Pukito has been promoted to captain. ■



BUSINESS BRIEFS

Salomon and Almaz Start a Joint Venture

Salomon Brothers and Almazyuvelirtorg have established Salmaz, a joint business to supply platinum group metals (palladium, rhodium, and platinum) for industrial use on the American market.

After expressing warm wishes for success to the newly launched venture, Salomon's chairman, John Gutfreund, noted that Salmaz will be the first company to market Soviet precious metals in the United States.

Kodak Available In Siberia?

For a number of years now, Kodak has sold photographic equipment and camera accessories and materials for medical and industrial use to the Soviet Union for hard currency.

At present, people from Kodak are negotiating a joint project with the Soviet side to establish an association of joint ventures in different regions of the USSR.

According to Horst Escher, the assistant general manager of Kodak's Eastern European division, if the project is a success, Kodak film and other goods will be available at many Soviet shops for rubles, even before the ruble becomes convertible.

100 New Shops And Supermarkets

Under a recently signed memorandum, Sodruzhestvo (Commonwealth) was established as a joint trading company. The company has plans to operate a network of some 100 shops and supermarkets through-

out the Russian Federation by 1992. Some of the planned shops will sell merchandise for hard currency until the ruble becomes convertible, while others will trade for rubles at free market prices.

Many stores will have separate departments where goods will be available at discounted prices to people with low incomes. The people will pay for the items with special cards, as was stipulated by Vozrozhdeniye (Revival), a social development foundation and one of the Soviet members of the new joint trading company.

Techna Pacific Foods, one of the American members of Sodruzhestvo, will supply foodstuffs that will be sold through a network of shops owned by the joint company. The U.S. company plans to invest all of its expected profits over the next five years in business expansion.

In addition to the supermarkets and stores, the company hopes to create wholesale warehouses, factories to process farm produce, and transportation facilities. American business people believe that such a network will make it possible for the joint venture to focus on Soviet farmers and farming cooperatives and to help the Russian Federation to reduce its imports of foodstuffs.

Techna Pacific Foods has held talks with some U.S.-based food companies that are ready to invest in processing industries in Russia.

"Book Me into the Moscow Sheraton, Please"

That's what the Soviet-American joint venture Sovamit hopes many people will soon be saying. Sovamit has just completed a deal to build a

5-star, 450-bed Sheraton Hotel with convention center in downtown Moscow. Estimated costs are put at 150 million dollars.

According to the general director of the Association of Moscow Hotels—one of the Soviet partners in the joint venture—Mosgorremstroj and Bechtel International are scheduled to start construction in several months. The project will take an estimated two years to complete. Other U.S. partners include Sheraton and Pan American.

Financial experts claim that investments will be fully repaid within seven years following the date that the hotel opens for business. The project organizers have raised 30 per cent of the needed financing. The remainder of the sum is being borrowed from Creditanstalt Bankverein, a leading Austrian bank.

Mars Chocolate In Russia

In a bid to tap the Soviet market, Mars Inc. is supplying 60 tons of chocolate to a buyer in the Soviet Union. The Soviet buyer, Soyuzploimport, states that the contract is worth 200,000 dollars. According to John Skinner, head of the Mars Eastern European section, the price was set in rubles in accordance with international standards.

Mars's vice president David Badger said that its delegation discussed a series of foreign exchange and barter transactions in the course of its visit to Moscow. He also noted that the company is prepared to sell its products for rubles provided investment opportunities are created in the USSR.

In the future, Mars Inc. will possibly launch a chocolate-making factory of its own in the USSR.

THEATER OF THE ECONOMIC ABSURD

By Yuri Graftsky

Artists draw life in different ways. Painters make use of pigment, musicians work with sound, and writers play with words. Economists portray life in figures, which lately have been profuse: The USSR State Committee for Statistics released the economic indicators for 1990, which summed up last year's economic performance. An outline of future economic prospects also appeared (the USSR Supreme Soviet resolution on the government's forecast of economic performance for 1991 and on the state's 1991 economic plan under the jurisdiction of the central government). Finally, figures reflecting the government's current economic policy were also given. The architect of this policy is Valentin Pavlov, the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers (prime minister). Incidentally, before assuming his present post, Pavlov was the USSR Minister of Finance. Let's look at the picture these figures provide.

For the first time a decline is evident in all basic economic indicators: The gross national product is down two per cent from 1989, the net national product is down four per cent, and productivity is down three per cent. In fact, the trend was expected. What's more, it's the first time that the country has publicly acknowledged an economic decline. Previously, it was clear to any serious spe-

cialist, and it could be easily proved by calculation. For example, according to the USSR State Committee for Statistics, the GNP grew 5.5 per cent in 1988, but prices rose 6 per cent at the same time. A simple calculation pointed to a de facto decline in output, although in terms of the figures everything seemed okay. Today the decline is recognized de jure. It couldn't have been otherwise because the evidence in hand is glaring: empty shops, bleak existence, and ignored demand.

So, the question remains. Where is the current crisis rooted? The Committee for Statistics argues that the main thing is that modern-day workers are not hard-working enough. Last year about 50 million man-days were lost in industry and construction alone. In practical terms this means that about 200,000 people a day did not turn up for work. No doubt this is a major factor, but I don't think it's the main reason for the decline in production. The miners who went on strike in northern Vorkuta and in the Siberian city of Kemerovo weren't to blame for their actions. They went on strike because the government had not kept its promises. Surely, workers at construction sites are not to blame for downtime because concrete or girders have not been delivered on time. I wouldn't be making a discovery by saying that the basic cause for downtime and delays is the command economy, where everything is supposed to be regimented and foreseen. Today it still endures, as shown by the government's economic concept

for 1991, which seeks to bind production and supply targets for industries, emphasizing the need for unflagging compliance and setting out all manner of recommendations. We experienced the same thing when the 1965 economic reforms were wrecked. Then Prime Minister Alexei Kosygin explained in detail the rights enterprises would have, including what their motivation and incentives would be and how they could dispose of their assets. But the country's then leader, Leonid Brezhnev, put his foot down, saying that a particular industry's performance is the responsibility of the appropriate minister. This effectively negated the reforms that were in progress, as the ministers were vested with all economic rights and the producers were left only with economic duties. The ministries made the decisions that the labor force had to pay for. Later, the workers' interests were simply ignored, the producers' assets were centralized, and we were back to square one.

The picture is the same today. Contrary to a USSR Supreme Soviet resolution, producers have up to 60 per cent of their profits taken away from them; and the incentive funds, the original idea for which was that they be controlled by the workers themselves, are being pooled within the framework of the ministry.

Leading economic expert Grigori Yavlinsky was ruthlessly direct in his forecast for the Soviet economy. The emphasis in economic policy, he said, is still on central control over the flow of money and resources, with the

In mid-January the world was shocked to hear the news from the Lithuanian capital of Vilnius: Tanks and armored personnel carriers had been moved in to pacify local residents, killing and wounding people. It is a widely held opinion that democracy was the first victim crushed by the tanks. Meanwhile, any unbiased observer understands that, again, this happened basically because of major economic miscalculations.

Remember, even before the first Congress of People's Deputies, in the middle of 1989, the Baltic republics had asked for permission to conduct an economic experiment, which, in effect, meant their economic autonomy and free market reforms. The central government, however, balked at the idea. Although the experiment was officially allowed, the relationship between the central government and the republics remained the same: No one was about to ease the rigid grip of central planning.

In the face of this opposition, the Baltic republics invoked their constitutional right to secede from the Soviet Union to carry out their plans. Of course, some people in the government saw that the Baltic region might well be used to try out the transition from a centralized to a market economy. There were even signs that the Baltic republics were about to be allowed to go ahead with some of their plans, but the opportunity was lost. The republics proclaimed sovereignty and economic independence. The central government's response was to cut gas and oil supplies, thus forcing the Baltic republics into talks. The whole thing ended with tanks in the streets.

In this context, there's no point in pressing for market reforms or urging that enterprises be owned by their workers and the land by farmers. All these good intentions remain on paper. As a result, the decline is likely to reach nearly 15 per cent this year, according to some economists. This is sure to affect living standards.

The government plan for 1991 is generous and detailed, setting aside more than 2.6 billion rubles for measures to improve health care in general

and for the people affected by the Chernobyl accident in particular. More than 2.5 billion rubles are earmarked for pay increases for workers in some industries outside the productive sector. As much as 2.5 billion will be used to raise child-care benefits to the level of the minimum wage, among other things. The plans afoot even provide for 400,000 rubles for benefits to widowers with children. Reading these detailed promises, the Soviet people wonder what portion of them will be fulfilled and what will not. The fact is that there was no dearth of promises for 1990 either. "As early as next year, that is, 1990, almost 22 million people will see positive changes in their life," then Prime Minister Nikolai Ryzhkov said in June of 1989. The result is that personal incomes soared by almost 17 per cent within a year to over 650 billion rubles. At the same time, the output of footwear dropped by more than 6.5 million pairs, that of knitwear by 17 million pieces, and that of fabrics by over 400 million square meters. Only 1.8 million homes were built—340,000 less than in 1989. Today upward of 14 million people are on waiting lists for housing, that is, one out of every four citizens is waiting for housing.

Who's to blame? The implication was that the villain was Prime Minister Ryzhkov, who retired in January. But, if we remember the recent past, the economic situation in the country didn't seem to threaten any disaster. In an interview five years ago Mikhail Gorbachev referred to the state of the economy as follows: "We aren't complaining about our financial standing, even though we don't have surplus resources. . . . But we do have the resources necessary to speed up the country's social and economic development. We will have enough funds to translate our plans into practice."

So what happened? Why is the economic picture the direct opposite of what was originally expected? In the early 1980s we printed three to four billion new rubles a year, which, in fact, is the normal rate. In 1988 the amount jumped to 11.5 billion, soaring to 25 billion in 1990. So all the

social programs promised to the people proved to be built on sand. The programs haven't materialized. The issue of new money in huge quantities is no doubt on the conscience of former Minister of Finance Pavlov, who now heads the Council of Ministers.

Pavlov began by withdrawing from circulation 50- and 100-ruble notes within three days, that is, about one-third of all cash in people's hands or a little over 48 billion rubles. The exercise also involved limiting the withdrawal of money from savings deposits to 500 rubles a month.

What's the aim of this monetary reform, which is widely described as weak? Is it to reduce the quantity of cash in circulation? To this end, the amount of large bills that could be turned in was restricted. Senior citizens were limited banknotes totaling 200 rubles, while working people were limited to the amount of their monthly earnings. People who wanted to change larger sums were asked to fill out a declaration stating the source of the money.

The first to suffer were cooperatives. Vladimir Tikhonov is the president of the Alliance of United Cooperatives and a member of the USSR Academy of Sciences. According to Tikhonov, the day before the exchange was to take place, the Vneshekonmkooperatsiya Association received a shipment of 62,000 rubles to pay salaries—all in 50- and 100-ruble notes. When representatives of the cooperative appeared at a bank the following day to change the money into small denominations, they were told that only 500 rubles per person could be exchanged. This action aroused the anger of other sections of the population too.

Not that this kind of requisitioning is unnecessary. The amount of money in circulation needs to be reduced, of course. The point is that even inevitable measures should be taken as required by a law-governed state. What we have witnessed of late is evidence that the leadership has no integral concept of economic reform. The signs are that we may well be in for several more unpleasant surprises. ■

The St. Nicholas Convent is situated at the foot of Chernyachaya Mountain, not far from the Transcarpathian town of Mukachevo. The convent's history dates back centuries, and it is closely linked with the spread of Russian Orthodoxy in the Transcarpathian Ukraine.

Somewhere around 1051-1052 two monks from the Kiev-Pecherskaya Lavra, a monastery in Kiev, the capital of ancient Kiev Rus, settled near the present site of the Mukachevo Monastery ensemble of which the convent is a part. The small cave in which the first monks lived has been preserved to this day and serves as a reminder of the past. ➡

GETTING READY FOR EASTER

Text and Photographs by
Yuri Kaver

Following the centuries-old Russian Orthodox tradition, Sister Olga paints an Easter egg. Inset: One of her eggs carries the Easter greeting: "Christ has risen!"





A Beacon of Faith

The St. Nicholas Convent is nestled at the foot of Chernyachaya Mountain, not far from the Transcarpathian town of Mukachevo. The history of the site is closely linked with the spread of Russian Orthodoxy in the Carpathian Mountains of the Ukraine.





In 1360 Prince Fyodor Koryatovich, lord and master of Mukachevo Castle, built a wooden church near the site of the cave. That church, which was named for St. Nicholas the Miracle Worker, became the foundation for the convent that now stands.

Today the nuns of the St. Nicholas Convent live austerely, strictly observing the time-honored traditions of Russian Orthodox monastic life. The nuns are devoted to leading an exemplary life, filled with obedience, peace, harmony, and spiritual grace.

"Only by serving others are we

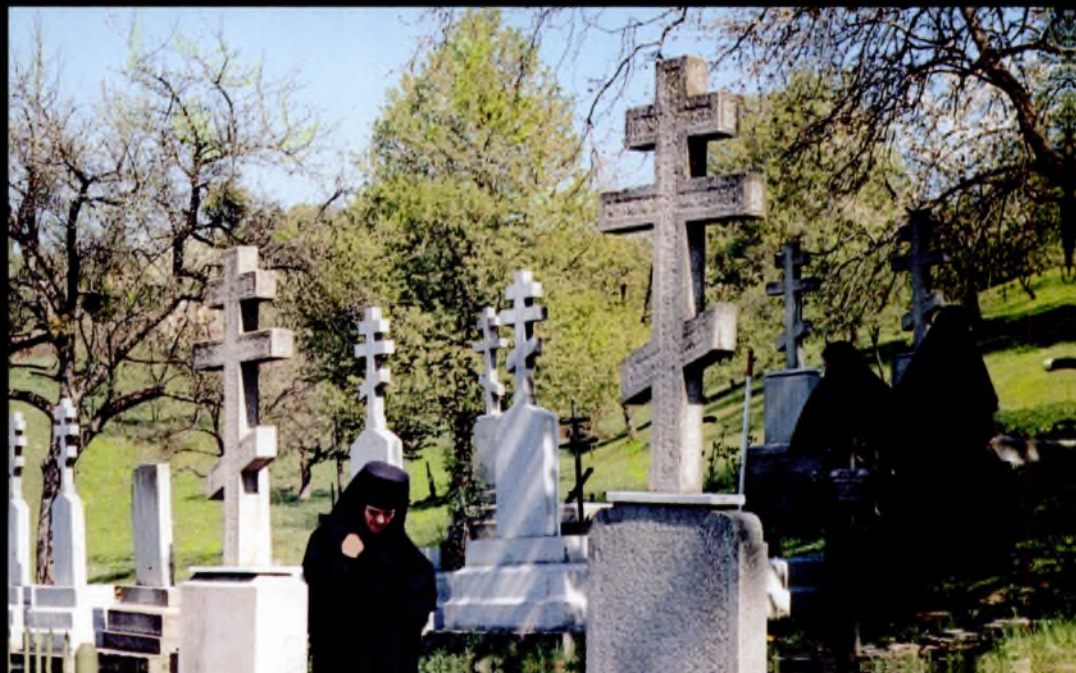
able to fulfill our religious calling as priests or nuns," said Theophania, Mother Superior of the convent. "Those who decide to take up the challenges of monastic life must be prepared to leave their own interests behind. They must be willing to take with them only humility, modesty, and the search for moral perfection. An open, understanding, and loving heart is what we hope to attain."

"May God bless all of us with an open heart so that we are able to understand and love each other better. For it profits a man nothing if he gains the whole world but loses his soul," said Mother Theophania, quoting Holy Scripture.

Holy Week, the week before Easter Sunday, was just starting when I arrived at the convent. The nuns were busy getting ready for the feast that was to come. Following the Orthodox traditions, they were decorating the convent, painting Easter eggs, and baking *kulich* (those famous Easter cakes).

"Easter is a time when all of us are filled with the Holy Spirit—the joy of love," one nun told me. "Blessed with this love, we are capable of forgiving and loving each other."

The joy of Easter cleanses people of their personal sins and all that is bad, and evil disappears. It's a time at the convent when the nuns are especially pleased to share their patience and compassion and the grace in their hearts.



Above: The nuns return from a liturgy. Left: Services on Holy Monday. Above right: Nuns talk with a visitor. Right: Paying their respects at the graves of their sister nuns.



The Amazing Apartment

Sofia Simonova shares her apartment with nearly 550 dogs! All are part of her dog collection, which she has spent almost 30 years putting together. Simonova's collection includes post cards, children's toys, brooches, trinkets, boxes, and ashtrays, all representing an image of "man's best friend."

The most interesting items in the collection are the china figurines. The older ones were made at the famous Copenhagen and Saxon factories at the turn of the century. Two figurines are especially fanciful—one depicts three dachshunds sitting on a couch, holding top hats in their paws; and another a canine hospital, with colored poodles wearing bandages on their ears, eyes, and paws.

In addition to dogs, Simonova collects pocket calendars (she has 35,000 of them), bookmarks, salt and pepper shakers, and decorative combs (shown below).



A Revival of Vivaldi's Dream

At one time Antonio Vivaldi, the famous Italian composer, violinist, conductor, and educator, organized an orchestra composed of young female students from a convent school in Venice. The maestro wrote almost 500 pieces for that ensemble. About two years ago, Soviet violinist Svetlana Bezrodnaya decided to revive the "Vivaldi principle," and she founded an exclusively women's ensemble—the Moscow Women's Chamber Orchestra. Officially born in April 1989, the orchestra was an immediate hit.



The Great Reign

That's the name of the unusual open-air production staged in a natural setting. The production is the brain child of Yuri Galin, the chief director of the Vladimir Regional Dramatic Theater in Central Russia. It seems that when Galin first arrived in Vladimir three years ago, he was greatly impressed by the numerous

A Clown You Might Already Know

Some Americans have already seen this clown. In 1990, over a period of several months, Semyon Margulian and his partner, Igor Podchufarov, toured the United States along with other Soviet circus artists. They performed for audiences in New York, Buffalo, Los Angeles, and 15 other American cities. They are probably remembered as the two charming clowns with the unerring sense of humor.

The pair have worked together for only a few years, but they have already managed to find a common style and to come up with a number of original skits.

Before becoming a clown, Podchufarov was an acrobat. Margulian's biography is longer and richer. He has been in the circus ring since the 1960s. At the start of his circus career, he often had to appear in several numbers during the same show, displaying a variety of skills such as pratfalls, leaps, and jumps. The stress corresponded to the workload.



Though 30 years have passed since Margulian first entered the ring—he's gone gray and even bald since then—he says that all he has to do is step in front of an enthusiastic crowd and he's a young man again. Clowning seems to be in the Margulian family blood: His wife, Irina, performs in one of his numbers, while their daughter, Julia, who is presently in medical school, has a secret longing to be a circus artist. As a child, she took lessons from her father. There are many clowns in the world, but memorable clowns are rare. Semyon Margulian is one of the rarest.

historical and architectural landmarks situated in the Vladimir-Suzdal vicinity. Many of the landmarks date back to the Middle Ages, when for almost 170 years Vladimir was virtually the center for all of Rus.

The *Great Reign* by Eduard Fedotov and Leonid Yaskevich is set in the Vladimir-Suzdal region during the twelfth to thirteenth centuries. It has been a huge success among visitors to the area.



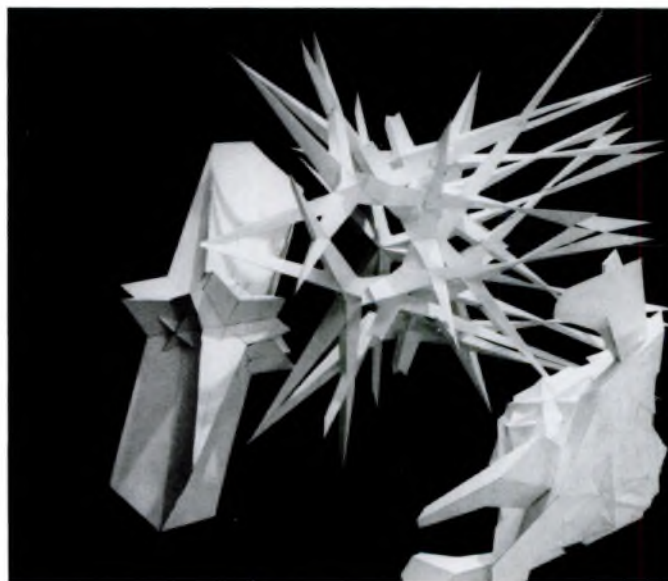
Unusual Drafts

Soviet scientist Victor Gamayunov is expounding on the studies of shapes, figures, and proportions made by Leonardo da Vinci and Albrecht Dürer, the first artists to approach these questions from a scientific viewpoint.

With the aid of his method, which he calls "graphic projection," Gamayunov is able not only to depict already existing objects but to invent new ones. On the face of it, the draft that is created is an intricate jumble of lines, which are hard for the layman to interpret.

The draft is complete with algorithms that allow one to find the connection between figures that are contiguous in space, but may be separate on paper.

All details of the draft are shown in actual size, which limits the number of operations possible for regrouping the two-dimensional figures into three-dimensional forms. The construction of graphic projection drafts is made easier by a computer. Gamayunov's findings have wide application in drafting, design, architecture, and art.





A Mismatch? Not Likely!

By Yevgenia Gerusova
Photographs by Andrei Solomonov

*We used to pity women who never married.
Old maid! That was the curse all women feared.
How'd we survive without a mate? That's what we thought.
Later, the single life allured us with its promises
of independence. Fashionable, career-minded,
and in the know—that became our new ideal.*

Yevgenia
Gerusova drops
in at the
typesetting
department.
Facing page: With
her husband,
Ivan.



For years I, like many women of my generation, led the enviable life of the single woman. I had a good job, financial security, and a nice one-bedroom apartment that was all my own. Though I was pushing 40, I couldn't have cared less. Nowadays, 40 is practically the dawn of one's life! I still had my looks and plenty of admirers, but as for getting married—not on your life! I wasn't interested. Freedom was the most important thing.

You see, I don't just love my job—I'm the editor of *Sputnik* magazine, a weekly supplement to the evening newspaper, *Vechernii Volgograd*—I adore it. It puts me in contact with people from all walks of life. Also, I must admit, there's nothing quite like seeing your name in print. ("Hey, I wrote that!") I see it as the reward for spending hours of torture trying to get my ideas down on paper, while the clock keeps ticking toward the deadline and I can't seem to come up with

a coherent thought. It's a wonderful profession, really!

I earn a pretty good living. Together with the royalties I receive, I bring home about 350 rubles a month. Rent is cheap, and what I pay for utilities is almost nothing. Food for one doesn't cost that much. Clothing is my biggest expense, especially since I love to dress well. Also, over the years I have managed to do a lot of traveling.

Footloose and fancy-free, that was me until about six years ago. Then I turned 40. Suddenly, the silence of my apartment that had comforted me for so long began to resound from every corner. Before, I had always been ready to pick up and go at the slightest suggestion; now all I wanted to do was lie on the couch, bury myself under the covers, and stare at the TV. What could be happening to me? I wondered. I had always been more or less satisfied with life, but now my future didn't look so bright.

I believe miracles occur around the beginning of the year. Anyway, that's how I explain what happened when I met Ivan Gerusov at a New Year's Eve party in 1984. My friends mentioned he was 47, unattached, and somewhat of a loner. They weren't wrong about that: Ivan spoke up only two or three times that evening, and he never smiled. Still... There was something intriguing about him. But who would have guessed that two months later Ivan and I would get married?

The news shocked my single girlfriends. "How could you?" they asked, feeling betrayed. Others were sure that our marriage would never last. "What a mismatch!" they indignantly exclaimed. Why the fuss?

This is the way I see it: No one could understand what I, an educated, professional woman, could see in Ivan, a blue-collar worker, miner,



"This is the one we want," Ivan tells his mother. Below: Ivan and his parents attend Church services in their native Kalach.



Yevgenia and Ivan at home in Volgograd. Inset, far left: When they first got married, they decided to save for a car so they could spend their vacations and Sundays motoring to the elder Gerusovs in Kalach.



truck driver, and repairman. "You'll soon be bored," my friends warned.

Of course, making such a drastic change in my life was scary. But I took the plunge, and I've never regretted it. Why? It's simple: I fell in love with him. Sure, he's not perfect, but who is? We both have our shortcomings, but I saw in Ivan respectability, generosity, stability, and true natural intelligence, something you can't learn in school.

When Ivan and I set up housekeeping, we decided to capitalize on our differences. He, who is an absolute gem when it comes to fixing things around the house, soon repaired the television set, put in new plumbing under the sinks, and replaced the molding around the windows. Thrilled that I no longer had to worry about getting those chores done, I gladly took over managing the family finances. I calculate our budget, plan our purchases, and pay the bills.

With our savings we've managed to buy a car so we can spend our vacations driving through the countryside. We always meet interesting people, and they usually visit us when they get to Volgograd.

Ivan's parents still live in the little house where he was born on the outskirts of Kalach, the ancient capital of the Don Cossacks, and we visit them whenever we get a chance. Ivan's father is now 85, and his mother is 76. They are staunch Old Believers and follow their convictions, strictly observing all rituals and fasts.

Though the elder Gerusovs are getting on in years, you'd never know it from their energy. They keep their big garden in perfect order. It's the same with their kitchen garden too. Even I, a city girl at heart, was tempted to see if I could get anything to grow. To my surprise, I actually fell in love with gardening.

Ivan and I have settled into a comfortable life. I guess you'd say we've developed similar interests over the years. We always settle our differences peacefully—you'll never hear shouting in our home.

The one thing we regret is that we're too old to start a family. But children aren't everything. We're glad that we waited to get married. For us, it was the perfect choice. ■

GAME

Continued from page 23

She was already staring at me, the book folded. There was some moving and arrogant expectancy in her eyes. She could not afford to speak to me first: "It seems that we are going the same way, aren't we?", with the nonchalant air of a girl who had an aunt living somewhere in Moscow. She was waiting for me to utter these words, following which we would start chatting, oblivious of everything around us, two birds of a feather. She was staring straight ahead, severely and hungrily, and I averted my eyes and tried to take a short nap. Her stare was burning through my eyelids. She couldn't believe in my treachery. But I already knew that if I fell into this trap, this instant temptation of kindness, if I gave her a plateful of my soup, I would steal from her a thousand times more. What would I say to her? Why must I lead her on? What for?!

I opened my eyes. Her scorn was unbearable, and I could stand it no longer. I felt happy that she had gotten off the train back at Kievskaya Station and had floated on along the radial line, that she was nowhere around. Only some soup, only a raincoat, a sandwich, there was nothing else I could give her. All the same she would not believe me that her game, like a sea wave with sand and pebbles, would roll smoothly into real life, and become life itself. That she will have her fill of grief yet... That everything comes true as soon as you utter a word. That a head held high teases more than her bare legs and the miniskirt... That the Fates are never dormant... and that everything would then go up in flames, and there would be no hiding from this flame, no use covering your face with your hands, like those stowaways on a bus, caught by a shot from a camera... This would be the way you'd remain for ages with the mouth contorted by a cry of terror, with cramped fingers and a look of utmost misery in your eyes...

I came home and told my mother: "I saw a mad girl walking about town today." And later I forgot all the sorrow of that day and although I certainly remembered why I was standing that day near the Pushkin monument and whom I was waiting for, this, in comparison to the girl in a T-shirt, was unimportant. I just mentioned that I was waiting for somebody by association and not because I wanted to show off. No, there was no other reason.

*Translated by Maxim Sidorov
Courtesy of the journal Soviet Literature*

WHEN WE WERE ALLIES

PART I

By Pyotr Petrov
Candidate of Science (History)

The aid that was delivered under the U.S. lend-lease act is one of the brightest pages in the history of Soviet-American relations. The following is the first installment of a two-part article about that time. Part II will be published in the May issue of SOVIET LIFE.

London,
October 1943.
At the
signing of the
documents to
extend the
lend-lease
agreement.
Left to right:
Vincent Massey,
USSR Ambassador
Fyodor Gusev,
U.S. Ambassador
John Winant, and
Minister of the
British Government
Oliver Littleton.



The lend-lease act was adopted by the U.S. Congress on March 8, 1941, and signed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt on March 11, that is, more than three months before the Nazi attack on the Soviet Union. At first the act covered aid to Great Britain and a number of other countries that had been attacked by the Nazis.

The countries that received the aid under the lend-lease act signed agreements with the U.S. Government according to which they were not required to reimburse the United States for the military hardware, weapons, and other articles eliminated or used during the war. The articles that remained after the war was over and that had peaceful applications were to be paid for either in full or partially based on long-term U.S. credits.

According to Roosevelt, the lend-lease aid was not to be a one-way street. The countries that signed lend-

lease agreements thereby assumed the obligation to contribute to the defense of the United States and to give it diverse material aid, information services, and the like. That was thought of as a kind of reverse lend-lease.

By supplying military hardware and materials to the countries that were fighting against Germany, the United States naturally strove to preserve its own forces as much as possible. President Roosevelt said that he saw the USSR as a force capable of averting a possible German invasion of the North American continent.

On June 23, 1941, a day after the Nazi hordes invaded the Soviet Union, Roosevelt told journalists: "Of course, we're going to give all the aid we possibly can to Russia." This was promised in spite of the neutralist, isolationist, and even anti-Soviet sentiments that were strong in certain U.S. quarters at that time. Roosevelt saw a good opportunity to continue his policy of confrontation with Germany without his country's direct in-

volvement in the military conflict. In no time, a committee to defend America by aiding the Allies was set up.

I'd like to emphasize that President Roosevelt and other U.S. leaders considered Germany's attack on the USSR "treacherous" and "cowardly" since it violated the Soviet-German Nonaggression Pact, which had been signed on August 23, 1939. Joseph Davies, the U.S. Ambassador to the USSR from 1936 to 1938, assessed the nonaggression pact as follows: "We, or rather the European democracies, forced Stalin into Hitler's arms in August of 1939."

"The neutrality-minded Americans, on the whole, welcomed Stalin into the democratic camp," wrote Thomas Bailey, a U.S. historian.

The White House received different proposals concerning the U.S. position on the war, which had been gaining momentum. Harry Hopkins, the President's assistant, received the following in a memo from Herbert Bayard Swope:

Clockwise from left: A convoy of British and American ships arrives in Murmansk. A 1944 photograph of U.S. pilots by their plane at the air base near Poltava. Soviet soldiers help Americans equip a plane at the Poltava base in 1944.



... Since Russia became communistic, our national interests and our way of life never have been seriously threatened by the Soviets. But in the two years of Hitler's mad drive for world enslavement, our very existence... has been gravely endangered.

According to a public opinion survey conducted 10 or so days after the Nazi invasion of the USSR, the overwhelming majority of Americans wanted the USSR to win the war. Analyzing articles in the U.S. press, Alan Barth, a famous political commentator, concluded that the press was in favor of the idea of aid to the Soviet Union, believing that "the Eastern Front offered the last best chance on earth of stopping the Hitler legions."

In August 1941 the Young Democratic Clubs of America came out for aid to Soviet Russia, stressing, "Russia is battling our common foe." The American Legion also supported expanding the lend-lease act to include the USSR. Gradually the American religious community also arrived at the conclusion that the United States should help the Soviet Union. The same position was assumed by many national associations and communities. By and large, an American researcher wrote, the overwhelming majority of Americans prayed that Hitler should have the same fate as Napoleon.

A month after the Nazi attack on the USSR, Roosevelt issued the first order on aid to the USSR. Soon after, high U.S. officials began paying visits to Moscow. Harry Hopkins was the first official envoy of the Roosevelt Administration to visit the Soviet capital. He was there in order to assess the situation in the USSR and on the front and to discuss the question of deliveries. This visit took place in late July 1941.

Hopkins was so eager to find out whether or not the Soviet Union would be able to repel the aggression that during the four-hour flight from Arkhangelsk to Moscow,

... he looked down upon the hundreds of miles of solid forests, and he thought that Hitler with all the Panzer divisions in the Wehrmacht could never hope to break through a country like this.

That's what Robert Sherwood, a journalist close to the White House, wrote.

It was decided during the talks between Stalin and Hopkins that the Red Army needed most of all anti-aircraft guns, heavy machine guns, rifles, high-octane benzine for the aircraft, and aluminum for aircraft construction. The United States classified it all simply as rather insignificant deliveries.

While the United States and the Soviet Union discussed the details of the conditions under which the U.S. would deliver military supplies—this took a long time—British Prime Minister Winston Churchill informed the Soviet Union that his country was sending the first consignment of military cargoes under conditions similar to the lend-lease act. That was on September 6, 1941.

A U.S. Government delegation led by Averell Harriman, who was in charge of the lend-lease deliveries in London, visited Moscow at the end of September 1941 to finalize the deal about U.S. supplies. Lord Beaverbrook also participated in the talks on the British side. On behalf of the United States and Great Britain, Harriman confirmed the delivery of a large consignment of Soviet raw materials that was to help the arms-manufacturing industries of those two countries.

On October 1, 1941, the first protocol covering a period of nine months was signed in Moscow. The volume of deliveries authorized by the protocol satisfied less than one-half of what the USSR had asked for concerning weapons such as tanks and antitank and anti-aircraft guns. The U.S. President endorsed the protocol and informed the Soviet leadership on October 30 that the value of the deliveries was estimated at one billion dollars. He stated that he was granting the USSR an interest-free 10-year credit, on which the first payment was not due until five years after the end of the war.

On November 7, 1941, the date marking the twenty-fourth anniversary of the October 1917 Revolution, Roosevelt signed a document that officially extended the lend-lease act to the Soviet Union and confirmed the

issuance of the billion-dollar credit. He ordered the military deliveries to the USSR to begin immediately. In a message to Roosevelt, Stalin wrote that the Soviet Government accepted with sincere gratitude this serious support for the USSR in its difficult struggle against a common enemy. The Soviet side also confirmed its readiness to supply the United States with the commodities and raw materials that it badly needed.

At that time, Nazi troops were on the approaches to Moscow, a circumstance greatly alarming the United States. According to George Herring, an American researcher, "By October 1941 the war in Europe appeared to be drawing much closer to America."

The first U.S. lend-lease deliveries were made in October and November 1941. By the end of December the USSR had received 545,000 dollars' worth of military hardware and material. It had also bought 41 million dollars' worth of goods.

According to Harriman, by December 24, 1941, the United States had fulfilled only one-quarter of its obligations under the first protocol. There's ample ground to conclude that the aid the Soviet ally received in November and December 1941, the most crucial period of hostilities near Moscow, Leningrad, and other fronts, was clearly insufficient. Even former President Hoover, who was known for his dislike of the USSR, had to admit with a frankness that was atypical of him that the USSR had stopped the Germans before it had received lend-lease deliveries.

Meanwhile, the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, and the entry of the United States into the war brought the two countries together officially as allies.

President Roosevelt insisted that the lend-lease deliveries to the USSR be completed not later than April 1, 1942. The American cargoes first traveled to Iceland and Great Britain, from where convoys were to transport them to Murmansk and Arkhangelsk. The sum total of deliveries made under the first protocol (up to the end of June 1942) is estimated at 750 million dollars or about 80 per cent of the quota.

To be continued in the May issue.

A TRIBUTE TO THE SOLDIERS

Correspondent Alexei Folumenov talks with Anatoli Bezuglov, a Soviet World War II veteran and the president of the recently founded international charity Eternal Memory to Soldiers.

Forty-five years have passed since the end of War II, but thousands upon thousands of soldiers have yet to be buried. Their remains still lie in the woods, swamps, and ravines where they died. If we want to consider the war to be truly over, we must make sure that all those who gave up their lives in that cause receive proper burial. This is our duty as human beings," said Anatoli Bezuglov, president of the recently founded international charity

Eternal Memory to Soldiers. I visited the charity's headquarters in Moscow and had a chance to speak with Bezuglov.

Q: What are the main goals of your charitable organization?

A: I think our aims are described quite clearly in our documents and in our appeals to heads of state, prominent public figures, and politicians. Basically, Eternal Memory to Soldiers seeks to forgive the World War II soldiers of all armies who died in battle

regardless of their nationality and to provide decent burials for all of them. The unburied remains of the soldiers and their forgotten graves still weigh heavy on the conscience of humanity. Hoping to soften the consequences of the war, our charitable organization has won the enthusiastic support of people of the most diverse political and religious outlooks.

Q: Why is the charity concentrating on burying the remains of soldiers of foreign armies while there are so



Anatoli Bezuglov (left) with American veteran Richard Squires, who was in Murmansk for the stone-laying ceremony for the future monument "to the participants of the Allied naval convoys," as the plaque reads (above).

many Soviet soldiers still listed as missing in action?

A: It goes without saying that we believe that *all* soldiers who died fighting, whether allies or enemies, should be buried. In ancient times the victors built burial temples for all dead warriors. These places became shrines where, according to legend, the gods called for the bravest. People didn't judge the dead.

Of course, the number of people who died on Soviet territory during the last war exceeds everything that has gone before. The problem is that providing memorials for all of them would be an extremely costly undertaking that neither the government nor the many existing public groups or charities could fund. So we've had to play it by ear and to turn for help to the nations that took part in the war. We've received promises of help from a number of countries, provided that we bury the remains of their nationals who died on USSR territory.

Also, we decided that one of our first priorities would be to provide memorials for the soldiers of the Allied armies.

Q: What projects does your charity intend to pursue in the short term?

A: We've got several. We launched a competition for the best design for a monument to the Soviet soldiers who died in the recent war in Afghanistan. We plan to erect the monument in Moscow, our nation's capital.

Also, last Victory Day, May 9, 1990, we laid the symbolic first stone of a memorial that is being built in Murmansk. The memorial will honor the people who took part in the sea convoys in World War II. In face of the inhospitable, rigorous climate of the Arctic and the constant enemy attacks, the intrepid American, British, Canadian, New Zealand, and Australian sailors transported vital cargoes to the Soviet Union across the northern seas. Almost one out of every three ships was sunk, with very few survivors.

This heroic deed did not receive its due credit for a long time. The memorial in Murmansk is intended to rectify that. Around 150 foreign guests attended the stone-laying ceremony in Murmansk. All of the guests had

taken part in the convoys during the war and had come to the USSR for the Victory Day celebrations. William Shoor of Great Britain was among the organizers of the meetings of Allied veterans on the Kola Peninsula. His biography tells quite a story.

His transport ship was sunk as it approached Murmansk. He and several other sailors managed to make it into a lifeboat. The temperature was 20 degrees below zero Celsius (four degrees below zero Fahrenheit). For four days the sailors drifted in the Barents Sea before being spotted and picked up by a Soviet patrol boat. The few men who were still alive were in bad shape.

Shoor was taken to a hospital in Murmansk and had to undergo surgery. Both of his legs were amputated above the knee. His arms too were damaged. Shoor says that the doctors worked a miracle just to bring him back to life at all. Amazing as it sounds, his stomach had turned into a block of ice.

Since the war, Shoor has returned to the USSR five times in a desperate effort to locate the surgeon who saved his life. The doctor's last name was Petrov. That's all the British sailor remembers. Petrov? It's a name like Smith in the United States.

Shoor's optimism and vigor are astonishing. It's hard to believe that he walks on artificial legs.

Q: Many monuments have been erected to honor the war dead in the past. Will the monuments that the charity intends to build in the future differ from the old ones in any way?

A: Most of the monuments that have been built in the country were intended to perpetuate the grandeur of our military victories. You can't help being amazed by their scale and monumentality. But there's more to wars than the celebration of winning them. War means death and sorrow, first and foremost. For this reason monuments to soldiers should enable people to appreciate the sacrifice that these people made, the immense value of every human life, and to make people think about eternal and genuine truths. In other words, we want to humanize our monuments.

As for the type or style of monu-

ment that we are looking for, we don't want to set down terms that would inhibit artistic creativity. "Thou shalt not kill!" That's the feeling that we'd like any monument to convey in a graphic and easily understandable manner.

Q: Apart from constructing memorials, are you involved in other projects?

A: Our main activities require us to study history and to look at pages that were previously ignored. We organize groups of volunteers who search for the remains of soldiers, identify their names, and attempt to discover how they died.

Unfortunately, we have a lot of red tape and official resistance to deal with whenever we attempt to memorialize the dead. The formalistic approach has on many occasions resulted in inadmissible distortions of history. However, I'd say indifference is our main enemy.

People find it hard to face the truth about the war. Some people in the country want to keep chapters of our war record secret from the general public. But why? Those who could be blamed for causing the senseless death of many of our soldiers by making them take territory at any cost are already dead. But the advocates of such Pyrrhic victories are still around. Our ignorance about the real number of our war dead, a figure that might rise or fall by millions, is a blatant desecration of history itself. The truth about the war is essential to our charitable organization.

Other things we do involve helping war veterans, soldiers' widows, and their families, including the relatives of soldiers who died in Afghanistan.

At a recent meeting with Allied veterans, we decided that our grandchildren would visit each other regularly. This is another part of our peace activity. We're always ready to extend a hand across the ocean for peace.

For further information write:

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Telephone No.: 487-6848
Telex: 112179 Fax: 487-5841



WINNERS IN WHEELCHAIRS

By Konstantin Serov
Photographs by Vladimir Rodionov



Last summer marked the first time Soviet athletes participated in the world championships for the handicapped. The event, held in Assen, the Netherlands, drew athletes from around the world. Though the Soviet competitors did not break any world records, the fact that they were there at all was the important thing. Until recently, special athletic programs and organized sporting events for the disabled did not exist in the USSR. In truth, disabled individuals had to face their circumstances on their own or with their family, because the country for the most part ignored their special needs.

A physical disability was considered a stigma that no one wanted. For too long millions of handicapped individuals stayed behind closed doors. Families wanting to shield their loved ones from the pain of strangers' stares contributed to this attitude. Given this environment, it's not hard to understand why the idea of sports for the disabled never got off the ground.

People who took an interest in the handicapped soon discovered that they too were isolated. They were even in the dark about the total number of handicapped people.

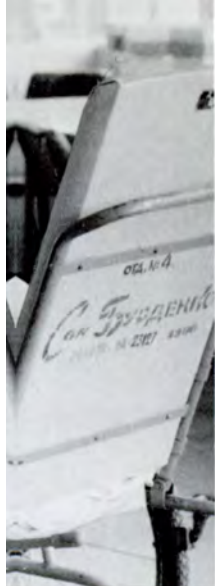
"Only two years ago the official estimates of the physically disabled in the country stood at around six million," said Victor Yepifanov, chairman of the Soviet Sports Federation for the Disabled. The federation unites people with skeletal and motor disabilities. "According to the World Health Organization, one in 10 people on the planet is handicapped," added Yepifanov. "If you consider that this country has a population of almost 300 million, our official figures could hardly be correct. It's not surprising then that Igor Denisov, the newly appointed USSR Minister of Health, recently quoted another figure—28 million."

The positive therapeutic effects of physical exercise have been known for a long time. The handicapped begin to resume normal lives through physical education and sports. To start with, these activities help them gain confidence and self-esteem. Physical exercise is also good for rehabilitation and better functioning of vital organs.

"We need a national program of aid for the disabled," Yepifanov continued. "Too many people still pretend that the handicapped don't exist. It's not easy to change people's thinking, but all of us lose out if we don't. The mass media could be our best ally, and we need their support."

"For several months we tried to air the made-for-television movie 'Dance in a Wheelchair.' The main character is a driver who becomes incapacitated in a car accident. Through sports therapy, the man returns to a productive life. The final scene of the movie shows him sitting





Top to bottom: A hot game of chess kept the competitors occupied between field events. Though many of the athletes have lost the use of their lower limbs, they have developed remarkable upper body strength. All participants in the special sports Olympics received prizes, medals, or certificates of participation. Right: The crutches don't seem to get in the way during this soccer match.



When they were not scheduled for an event, the athletes became spectators, cheering on their favorites.

in his wheelchair and dancing with a girl. We finally got the movie on the air, but only when few people could see it. I'm sure the old stereotypes were responsible for that decision. But progress is progress, no matter how slow."

Yepifanov's view is shared by Yuri Pogorilyak, deputy chairman of the Soviet Confederation of Physical Education and Sports for the Handicapped. "Increased state funding would help," said Pogorilyak. "Let me explain. Physical education and sports are financed from our State Budget. It's true that the handicapped receive a share, but the allocations are rather small.

"Contributions received from private citizens are another source of funds. But in the past few years the number of charitable organizations has really exploded. Let's face it; we're all vying for funds, and people have to decide which charity they are willing to support.

"Right now, our focus is to help the disabled to become self-supporting, to find jobs, and to start businesses where handicapped people can earn money. In the Ukrainian city of Lvov, the disabled are manufacturing exercise machines and sports equipment at a cost-efficient enterprise and a cooperative."

A few words about Yuri Pogorilyak himself.

An avid camper, several years ago Pogorilyak lost both of his feet in a mountaineering accident that happened while he was helping to save the life of another man. Pogorilyak had to undergo nine operations, but thanks to sports, especially mountaineering, he has made a remarkable comeback.

Last summer Pogorilyak led a group of handicapped mountaineers to the top of Mount Goverla, the highest peak of the Carpathians in the Ukraine. He organizes the climb every year with the help of the Lvov Regional Federation of Physical Education for the Handicapped, which he heads.

Tatyana Stepanova works at the country's first sports school for physically handicapped children. "The needs of disabled adults and youngsters are gaining public support," said Stepanova. "The Children's Fund, the Charity Foundation, and the Red Cross and Red Crescent societies are just a few of the organizations supporting our programs to develop sports for the handicapped."

Still, problems remain; the biggest, according to Pogorilyak, being public indifference. The number of disabled citizens grows by 500,000 every year. They need our support. ■



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5ABP



FESTIVAL OF GLASS

By Elena Zaks
Photographs by Victor Chernov



Last year artists from countries around the world gathered in the small Central Russian town of Gus Khrustalny for an international symposium on glass.



The artists worked in teams to create original compositions. Above: American glass artist Joel Meyers collaborates with a group of Soviet glass blowers. Facing page: A sampling of the work produced during the international symposium.

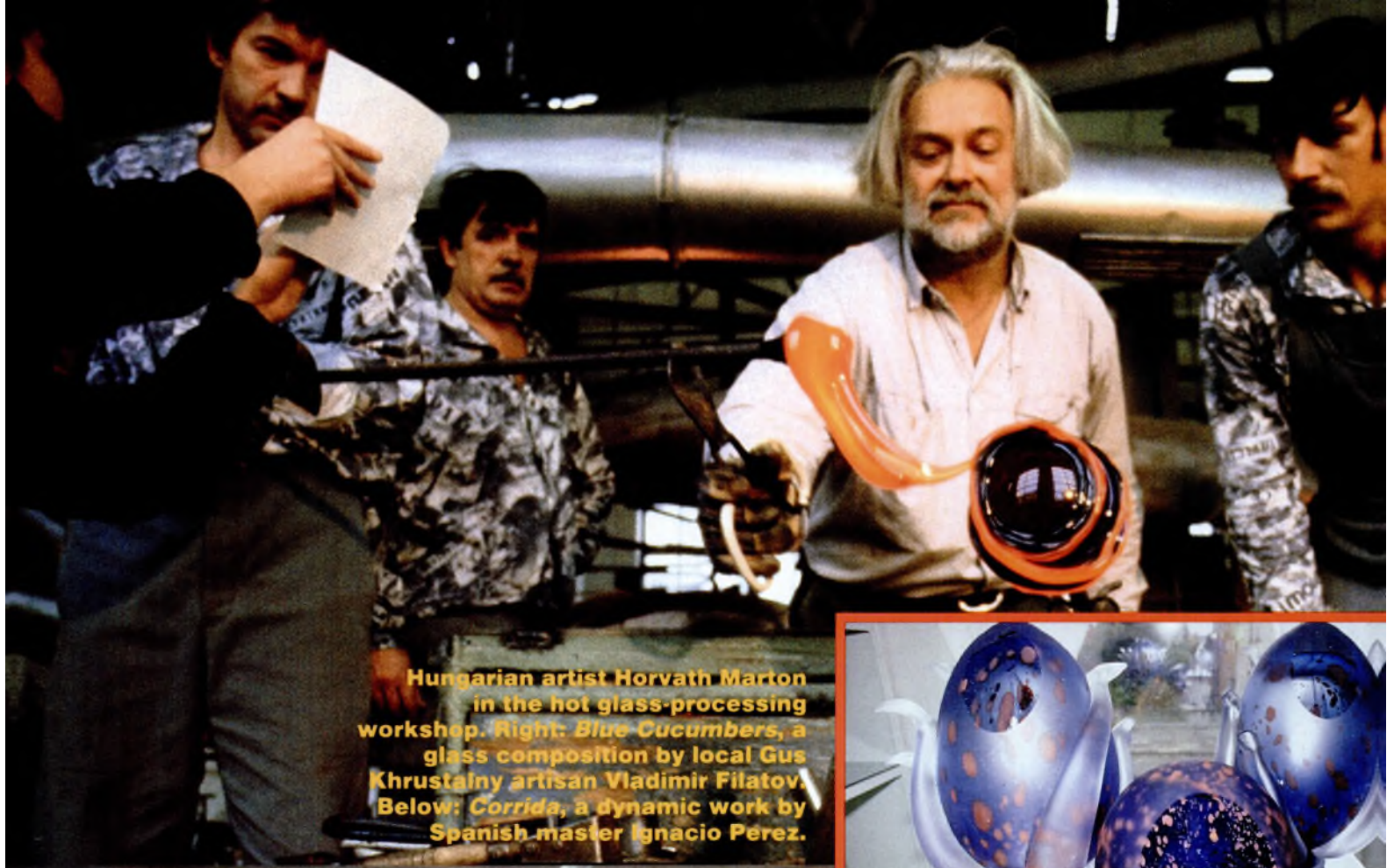


Gus Khrustalny has been a center of Russian glass-making almost since it was founded in 1756 by Akim Maltsev. The Maltsevs were renowned Russian manufacturers and merchants, who owned an entire district in Central Russia comprising a large number of factories and textile mills. The Maltsev name became synonymous with manufactured and cut glass of unparalleled quality, and it always held a place of honor in the czarist court.

Tradition is highly respected in Gus Khrustalny, and the time-honored methods of the Gus artisans have been passed down from generation to generation. The local glass factory is renowned for its handmade diamond-cut crystal ware. While other glass factories in the country have switched over to mass production, the Gus Khrustalny factory has steadfastly held to the old methods and ways. It takes special pride in the fact that everything is still done as it has been for centuries.

Last year's symposium became a veritable festival of glass for the craftspeople who came from far and wide. The visiting artisans were especially impressed with the items they saw on display in St. George's Cathedral, which for the past 20 years has been a museum of locally made cut-glass articles.

The main part of the symposium started when the invited craftspeople began working in the Gus Khrustalny factory's experimental workshop. The furnace was red hot, with 16 (corresponding to the number of participants) different varieties of glass melting in 16 pots. Surrounding the furnace was a wooden, man-sized platform called "*verstak*," the Russian word for a joiner's bench. The *verstak* is the spot where



Hungarian artist Horvath Marton in the hot glass-processing workshop. Right: *Blue Cucumbers*, a glass composition by local Gus Khrustalny artisan Vladimir Filatov. Below: *Corrida*, a dynamic work by Spanish master Ignacio Perez.





Death of a Motorcyclist, an abstract work made of colored glass spurs. It was done by a visiting Polish artist. Below: French glass painter Monique Demian (center) celebrated her birthday during the symposium.



The symposium on glass gave artists from different countries a chance to share ideas and methods. Here American Henry Hellem (left) shows slides of his works to German Willi Hadmar.

the master artisans and their assistants, who are also artists at work. The masters in their bright T-shirts and headbands of various colors presented a very picturesque sight.

First, the masters drew a clump of molten glass from the furnace onto a long blow pipe. Then they blew it to the necessary size, wound a colored thread around it, and subsequently kneaded it with a metal ladle or wooden board, smoothing out the glass. When wood comes into contact with the soft molten glass, it begins to smoulder.

After a week of hard work around the hot furnaces, signs of fatigue began to set in. By that time, though, the international symposium was also drawing to a close. All of the items that had been created during the week were put on display in the factory's exhibition hall.

The highlight of the exhibition was *Corrida* by the Spanish artist Ignacio Perez. The piece comprised extended, transparent forms resembling a bull's horns that were decorated with milky glass. Many other artists decided to call their various pieces *Russia*. That's what Ivan Manchev named his elongated, fragile, romantic goblets. Vladimir Muratov, another local craftsman, followed national traditions in his version of *Russia*. Muratov's pupil, Grigori Kasatkin, created his own version with the same title.

Still another *Russia* was created by Victor Shevchenko, the factory's principal artist. His work is a decorative composition done in dusky, pale glass.

The international symposium cost the Gus Khrustalnyy factory a considerable sum, but everyone agrees that it was a very successful event. Organizers hope to hold another in a couple of years.

THE MYSTERY OF *THREE SISTERS*

By Valeri Alexandrov
Literary Critic



A scene from *Three Sisters* staged at the Moscow Art Theater—Angelina Stepanova as Irina (sitting), Klavdia Yelanskaya as Olga (left), and Alla Tarasova as Masha.



Klavdia Shatilova (above). Left: Natalya Shatilova. Her married name was Shishkova. Right: Pavel Shishkov in England. This photo was taken in the 1930s.

Sometimes fictional characters, like real people, have secrets too. One such secret concerning Anton Chekhov's play *Three Sisters* especially intrigued me. My investigation was encouraged by what I read in Pavel Shishkov's reminiscences of Chekhov, which were published in the *Listener* (London) in 1938. Shishkov wrote that Chekhov had had prototypes for the three sisters he describes in his immortal play of the same name.

For two years I searched the public archives in Moscow and Leningrad and the collection of the State Lenin Library looking for evidence to prove Shishkov's hypothesis.

I learned that Pavel Shishkov, who was a naval officer, was born in Kazan in 1887. His father was Alexander



Shishkov, an army doctor. Between 1897 and 1899 the Shishkovs spent their summers at a country estate in the village of Vaskino, Moscow Region. The estate, which belonged to Vladimir Semenov, the nephew of the famous poet Afanasy Fet, was only four kilometers from Melikhovo, where Anton Chekhov lived at that time.

The Shishkovs and Chekhov became acquainted and often exchanged visits. Chekhov and Pavel Shishkov spent hours fishing together. Later they kept in touch. In 1901 Chekhov gave Pavel's father a book of his short stories with the inscription: "To Alexander Shishkov, in memory of our meeting. Anton Chekhov." The book is presently kept in the library of Pushkin House (The Institute of Russian Literature) in Leningrad.

After graduating from a grammar school in Moscow in 1906, Pavel Shishkov went to St. Petersburg and enrolled in the polytechnic institute. In 1914 he took a job at the naval ministry. In the autumn of 1917, he traveled to Great Britain on business and decided to stay after the Revolution broke out. Many years later, Pavel Shishkov had his reminiscences of Chekhov published in his new country.

In the reminiscences Shishkov tells about Chekhov's life during the Melikhovo period, the writer's neighbors from the village of Vaskino, and the history behind the play. It appears that Chekhov based his *Three Sisters* on stories he heard from the Shishkovs about their life in the Batumi garrison, a port in Transcaucasia, on the Black Sea coast. "Chekhov was thinking about writing a play about life in a small Russian garrison town," Pavel Shishkov recalled. "He didn't know much about the subject, but my parents did. My father was a medical officer and my mother, Natalya, and her two unmarried sisters were the daughters of General Pavel Shatilov. Our neighbors used to call them 'the three sisters.' During the winter we lived at a military post in Batumi.

"It was amazing how Chekhov plunged into his work and felt the atmosphere of life in the garrison. Once, when we went fishing, he asked me to tell him about it, and I

recalled with great emotion that as a child I saw two officers fighting a duel right in front of our house. From the window of my room I saw one of them face the front door of our house and fire three times. I ran to the sitting room and saw the second officer covered with blood. That episode is described in *Three Sisters*.

"I understand how my mother felt returning from the play's premiere in Moscow," Shishkov wrote. "The role of Masha, the married sister, certainly reminded her of her own life and the conversations and arguments she had had with Chekhov. Other characters were also recognizable. They were based on the garrison officers who often visited us in Batumi. It's amazing that Chekhov could have captured so much of that life simply by formulating his ideas about it while we fished together or while he walked with my mother in the forest."

Apparently, Shishkov's mother, Natalya, and her sisters, Klavdia and Sofia Shatilova, served as the models for the three sisters in Chekhov's play. The difference in Klavdia's and Sofia's ages—eight years—is the same as that between Olga and Irina Prozorova.

Chekhov turned to Natalya Shishkova's family stories for details for his play. The sisters' father, Pavel Shatilov, was a general, just like the father of the Prozorova sisters. After his tragic death (he died from injuries that he sustained from a fall from his horse), his unmarried daughters, just like Chekhov's characters, were given a pension. General Shatilov's wife had died even earlier, so the Shatilova sisters were orphaned by the time they met Chekhov. Chekhov's *Three Sisters* were orphaned too.

Olga and Masha Prozorova spoke French, German, and English, and Irina also knew Italian. General Shatilov's daughters were also well educated. They studied at a girls school in Odessa and at the Smolny Institute in St. Petersburg. Natalya Shishkova taught French at a grammar school. The telegram in French that she sent from Batumi to Chekhov on January 6 (18), 1898, which is kept in the Rare Manuscripts Department of the State Lenin Library, reads: "We are happy to occupy a modest place in your

memory. Best wishes, Natalya Shishkova."

In Chekhov's play, Masha Prozorova tells Vershinin about herself: "My parents married me off when I was not yet 18, and I was afraid of my husband because he was a teacher and I had just left school. He seemed to me very clever, educated, and important. Alas, it's not the same now."

Natalya Shatilova (her married name was Shishkova) was married off to a man 19 years her senior just after leaving grammar school. Natalya had a love affair, which must have been reflected in Masha's relations with Vershinin. Alexander Shishkov was an army doctor, like Chebutykin in the play. Like the author's father, Chebutykin lived in the Caucasus for a long time. Both were awarded the Order of Stanislav, second class.

The scene in Chekhov's play is set in a provincial city. Although it is a fictitious city, some features are recognizable. The atmosphere recalls Batumi, but the details suggest a city in Central Russia. Perhaps Chekhov recalled Natalya's stories not only of Batumi but also of Kazan, where the general's family lived after 1897. Kazan was a minor administrative center with city and district councils where Chekhov's characters Irina and Andrei Prozorov worked. It is probably no accident that in Chekhov's play the artillery batteries moved to Poland. By an order of January 5, 1903, Alexander Shishkov was appointed chief physician at the Warsaw military hospital. It is true that the play was written before that, but there is reason to believe that Shishkov's transfer was discussed several years before and that Chekhov had heard about it.

In one letter Chekhov confessed that he could write only from memory. His memory had "to filter the events so as to leave only the most important and typical things."

There's no doubt that the characters and events in Chekhov's wonderful play are the product of creative interpretation of facts collected over the years. Some sources have been mentioned in reminiscences and commentaries, but the connection with the Shatilov family was discovered only recently.



Drawing by Arkadi Gursky



A gathering of just some of Irida's 100 members. Inset: Yelena Shipitsova's Flight. India ink and pen on paper.



WOMEN ARTISTS UNITED

By Eleonora Yakovleva
Photographs by Yuri Prostyakov and Alexei Sverdlov

The fact that 100 talented Moscow women artists decided to set up an association wouldn't be newsworthy these days. Under perestroika, the number of societies, unions, and associations has mushroomed in the Soviet capital as elsewhere in the country. People with similar views, hobbies, professions, and interests are coming together.

Irida, as the new association of women artists is called, takes its name from the Greek goddess of the rainbow (Iris), and it's a perfect choice. The works of the artists who belong to the association literally sparkle with all hues of the rainbow, and their range of genres, schools, mode of expression, and materials run the gamut of art. Members of Irida take special pride in the fact that their association doesn't have a preset social platform or an adherence to any one artistic style. What unites the women are shared humane values and a love of beauty, which they express in their own way.

Poster artist Olesya Sakharova does lacquered miniatures. She developed her methods by first studying the secrets of Palekh art and then switched to painting new, plastic forms that create an unusual effect. Sakharova's painted eggs are so original (and yet in tune with ancient Russian tradition) that they are kept with other priceless items in the vestry of the Patriarch of All-Russia.

Other Irida members have taken different paths. Natalya Filippova and Alla Khokhlova, both professional layout designers, abandoned their T-squares and felt-tipped markers for paintbrushes and created oversized works. Veteran studio artist Emilia Melamud specializes in tapestries. Alla Yeremina, who made her professional mark in book designing, now expresses herself in plastic, earthenware, and jewelry. Yeremina's creations are inspired by eighteenth century Russian classicism. Artist Leila Brun derives her inspiration from national costumes. Her designs are the product of an extensive study of folklore and ethnography combined with imagination.

What is Irida? A family of professional women artists who have a gift for making beautiful things? A commercial enterprise capable of selling its artistic products? A group of like-minded people professing the beauty of good and the goodness of beauty? Irida is a combination of all three.

Olga Pobedova works wonders with optical glass. Her fantastic compositions, such as *Listening to Bach's Music*, are crystal-clear and austere. Nina Sergeyeva, a recognized master landscape painter, uses color and contrast to express her inner feelings. Zhenya Polyanskaya, the association's youngest member, makes intricate plaques based on characters from Russian fairy tales.

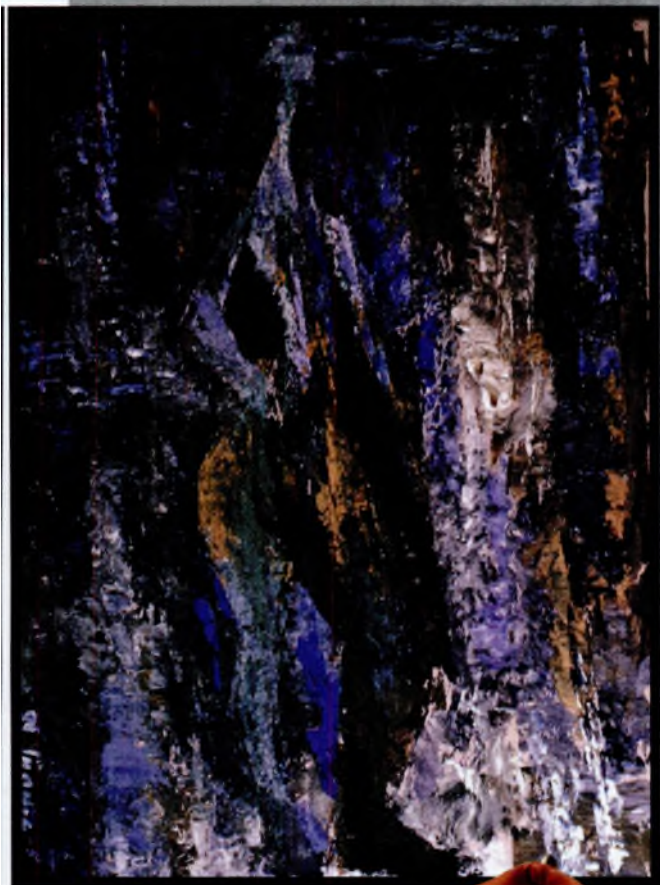
The idea of organizing an association of Moscow women artists was inspired by the yearly exhibits held at the Moscow Palace of Journalists to commemorate International Women's Day, which is celebrated on March 8. The exhibits elicited a great deal of interest.

Maria Esmont, an energetic and untiring artist, saw the benefits of an association of women artists and started the ball rolling.

Among Irida's sponsors are Novosti Information Agency, the Soviet Women's Committee, and the USSR Artists Union. Irida adopted a charter and bylaws that set down the organization's lofty humane goals, including promoting international cultural contacts, fostering aesthetic education of children and young people, and supporting women in the arts.

Irida believes that women artists face special circumstances, and they should have an equal opportunity to explore and to use their talents. For years feminists have fought for equality in the work place, and some progress has been made. But in other spheres, such as in the arts and business, women have often been relegated to the background.

Irida artists wanted to do what they could to help one another fulfill their creative selves and to provide a mechanism for promoting their creations. The association has ambitious goals—ones that will cost money. That's why the members are also looking into the business side of art and offering paid services. Some members are designing trademarks, original post cards, posters, and advertisements for enterprises, co-ops, and individuals. Other members design interiors for cafés and auditoriums. Still others are looking into the manufacture of souvenirs made of glass, porcelain, ceramics, metal, and fabric. And there's fashion



Clockwise from top
 left: Maria Esmont's
Blue Model; tempera on canvas.
 A tea set designed by
 Alla Yeryomina. Irina
 Nesterova's *Congo*.
Fire Reflections.
 Tempera on canvas.
 Painted Easter eggs
 by Olesya Sakharova.



Clockwise from top right: Irina Volnova's Dappled Horse; tempera on cardboard. Emilia Melamud's souvenir pendant Memories of the Sea; tapestry and ceramics. Roza Musikhina's On the Bank of the Yenisei; water color on paper. Nina Grineva's Portrait of Sculptor M. Gabe; bronze. Facing page: Knitted coordinates by Lyudmila Zherdeva.



design too. Irida is also making money by putting on arts and crafts exhibitions and selling the creations of its members.

After talking to some Irida members, I asked myself if there are really things that distinguish women's art from men's. I'm not absolutely sure, but I believe there are. Works by women show a great attention to detail, inner light, and warmth.

Irida's largest project is organizing a large, permanent exhibition of women's art that will be open to the public. Though the women artists are confident they'll have no problem gathering a volume of work to be put on display, they first must find a suitable "home" for the collection.

Right now, Irida has set its eyes on an old mansion on a side street not far from Tverskaya Street. The mansion used to belong to the father of Russian poet Fyodor Tyutchev. Today it is one of many downtown office buildings. Irida has asked the municipal authorities for permission to rent the historical site for use as a museum. Everyone is hoping for a positive response. ■



In 1778 Count Alexei Orlov founded a stud farm in Khrenovoye, 100 kilometers south of Voronezh. The count's primary purpose was to develop a breed of trotter that would be good both as a draft horse and as a mount.

The Orlov Trotter became the pride and glory of Russia thanks to a lucky combination of circumstances. A master courtier and one of the four famous Orlov brothers, Alexei, had never given horse breeding a thought until 1770, when the Russian fleet sailing under his command cornered and burned the Turkish fleet in Çeşme Bay. One of the spoils of that battle was the Turkish pasha's wife and daughter, whom Orlov soon traded for a herd of Arabian Thor-

oughbreds. Also for that victory Catherine II bestowed upon him the title Count of Çeşme, and all that went with it, including a large parcel of land in Voronezh Region. The horses and the land on the Russian plains eventually prompted Alexei Orlov to establish a stud farm.

Everyone who visits the Khrenovsky Stud Farm makes sure to stop by the exhibit that presents the farm's most outstanding studs. Bars I, who started the Orlov line, was bred when Alexei Orlov was still alive. The most famous Orlov pacer, though, was Ulov. In 1938 Ulov set two outstanding records in Odessa—a mile in 2 minutes 2 seconds and 1.5 miles in 3 minutes 9 seconds. Only recently was the former record beaten, but the latter still stands.

The Khrenovsky Stud Farm has experienced two tragic periods in its history. The first took place during the Civil War when both the Reds and the Whites enlisted Orlovs in their cavalries. Of about a thousand purebreds, only 35 were lucky enough to survive. The second tragedy occurred during the Great Patriotic War when the farm itself was the target of bombing raids.

Fortunately, the Orlov breed did not die out. Today there are more than 1,200 Orlov Trotters in the stables at Khrenovsky and the neighboring Cheshmenny stud farms. The price of an Orlov at international auctions averages from 1,000 to 2,000 dollars, with the fastest and the most graceful colts and fillies bringing even more. ■

Russia's

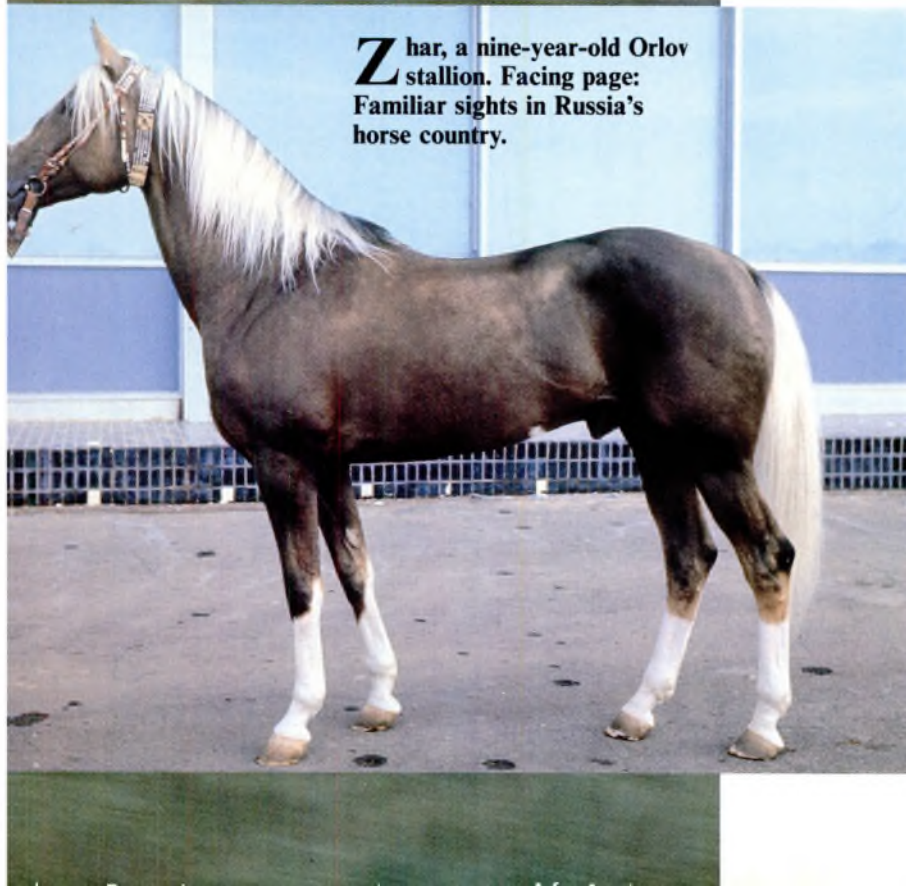
Pride: ORLOV TROTTERS

By Valeri Grigoryev





Barkhatny, one of the First Moscow Stud Farm's top Thoroughbred sires. Horses bred at this farm are known for their beauty, speed, and endurance. Below: A portrait of Count Alexei Orlov, the founder of the famous Orlov breed.



Zhar, a nine-year-old Orlov stallion. Facing page: Familiar sights in Russia's horse country.



A JOURNEY TO THE CRIMEA

This feature story will take you to the Crimean peninsula. The history of the region is the history of ancient civilizations that often replaced each other but sometimes did manage to coexist peacefully. The Crimea is also a good illustration of the present difficulties that the USSR is experiencing.



THE CHILDREN OF CHERNOBYL

Though the Chernobyl nuclear accident actually took place in the Ukraine, it affected neighboring Byelorussia even more adversely. One-fifth of Byelorussia's area was exposed to radioactive contamination, and the number of children there suffering from acute leukemia has risen sharply. Unfortunately, the disease is rarely curable. Many countries, including the United States, have come to the aid of the children of Chernobyl.

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THE CRIMEA

EDITOR'S NOTES

America is once again afraid of us," the Soviet press suggests, this time without any note of triumph. The case in point is not a Soviet military threat. It is the crisis in our country that is the source of the threat.

A few weeks ago, the popular weekly *Nedelya* ran a desperate letter from a California businessman, a man with fourteen years of experience in dealing with the Soviet Union. His company is a supplier of equipment for scientific research. Until recently, all was well, and the Soviet Union was a reliable partner. In the past eighteen months, however, the situation has changed drastically: The Soviet agencies that ordered different kinds of equipment no longer pay their bills; as of today, they owe the company a total of nearly twenty-one million dollars. To add insult to injury, they are not novices who rushed headlong into the world of international business in a bid to earn hard currency at any cost (there are quite a few of them, by the way, so you'd better look out). No, these were solid, state-owned foreign trade agencies. The fact is that the country is disastrously short of hard currency, and some agencies have nothing to pay the West with. A solution can surely be found, but many economic managers, who used to get hard currency automatically from "on high," now don't do things with America the way they should be done.

I do not want to scare off potential business partners of the USSR. No, there are many promising examples (see *Business Digest*, page 61).

I hope that with time the structure of commercial and economic relations between the USSR and the United States will change, and Soviet firms will more often act as exporters rather than importers—exporters of know-how, ideas, and intellectual property.

Our land is well endowed with talent, and, if the current reforms create adequate conditions for their flourishing, the USSR will assume a place in the world that corresponds to its great intellectual potential.

Robert Tsfasman

Single Fathers, Unite!

By Yelena Titova

One hundred single fathers—all bringing up their children after a divorce or mother's death, when they became both parents for their children—have established a support group in Moscow.

Fatherhood and childhood—an unusual juxtaposition for us. We are more accustomed to the mother and child union.

"I don't agree with you," said Nikolai Belousov, chairman of the new association's organizing committee. "I think a father can bring up a child just as well. That's why we organized an association of single fathers late last year.

"Several years ago, when I was getting a divorce and defending my right to rear my son and daughter, I realized that there were many single fathers," Belousov recalled. "But they were fighting their battles alone. I decided to get them together so we could share our problems and the experience of bringing up children and doing housework. With an announcement in the youth newspaper *Moskovsky komsomolets*, I invited single fathers to join the association. Any single father who pays the entrance fee of ten rubles can join.

"We were showered with letters and telephone calls from drivers, guards, technicians, workers, actors, musicians, doctors, psychologists, and teachers who wanted to join. After contacting everyone, I held the first meeting.

"When I entered the meeting room,



Nikolai Belousov helps to celebrate a youngster's birthday.

I saw a group of unsociable men with tired eyes. But when I distributed the draft rules of the association, they brightened up and began to discuss the project, make proposals, and argue. No wonder—the draft rules concerned each of them. In particular, they drew public attention to the problems of single-parent families in which children are brought up by the father. The rules also dealt with moral, material, legal, and medical assistance for members and building vacation homes."

That was a few months ago. The new support group has already gotten a lot of publicity. The Soviet Children's Fund and the Order of Charity have supplied the association with winter clothes, children's bicycles, foodstuffs, and money.

What are the association's plans?

"I wish we had a branch in every city, region, or republic," said Belousov. "That would help us to assist each father promptly, preserving national traditions, laws, and customs. Only after creating a network of regional associations can we establish a nationwide association. Then I dream of organizing a world association of single fathers through UNESCO.

"Meanwhile we have to work and to build up our finances. We cannot rely exclusively on charity and the small membership dues—one ruble a month. We're going to create a series of small enterprises from which we will derive profits."

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DOES GORBACHEV NEED DICTATORSHIP?

By Igor Drobyshev
Novosti Parliamentary Reporter

Dictatorship is coming," warned Eduard Shevardnadze, making a sensational statement of resignation at the Fourth Session of the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR. Since then this idea has been in the spotlight. Where is the threat of dictatorship coming from? The democrats (supporters of the left-wing radical opposition) unanimously say that it is coming from Mikhail Gorbachev.

Is this really so? When I put this question to a radical member of parliament, he raised his eyebrows: After all the parliamentary sessions, this question sounded rhetorical to him.

"Of course, it is," he said. "Can't you see that Gorbachev is drifting toward the right?"

No, I can't. In my opinion, the question of dictatorship is far-fetched and is being forced on the public.

Struggling for power and using the highly charged political atmosphere to gain it, the radicals are muddling the concepts, which is having a strong effect on the already politicized and nervous population.

What the democrats describe as right-wing dictatorship, lawyers call strengthening of the power of the executive. History gives us many examples of such conditions emerging amid economic ruin and the paralysis of state power.

In addition, as People's Deputy of the USSR Sergei Stankevich told me, "intensive political reformist activity has its ebbs and flows and periods of weak and strong authority. In the

United States, periods of a strong presidency are followed by periods of a strong Congress."

Gorbachev, some say, must realize that dictatorship will not solve the problems facing society and will instead only aggravate them, ruining society from within. This lesson of totalitarianism has been learned already.

The radicals and their numerous supporters illustrate Gorbachev's dictatorial ways by referring to the tragic events in Lithuania, which, they say, were the result of the order to use force.

Gorbachev could have established his authority in Lithuania in quite a civilized way in the spring of 1990, after Lithuania proclaimed its independence: The Constitution gives him the right to introduce presidential rule. He did not do so, however, even after the tragic events in Vilnius, when the situation lent itself to such an order.

At that time, the radicals blamed the tragedy in Riga also on Gorbachev, describing the shooting caused by the heightened tension as a result of the (nonexistent) order to use force.

It is a pity that certain Western quarters supporting the Baltic republics' just claims to independence disregard the actual situation in the Soviet Union as well as the position of the central government and, on these grounds, put in question the future of friendly relations with the USSR. Unfortunately, the West has failed to estimate Gorbachev's flexibility or his unceasing efforts to establish contacts with the government in Vilnius.

The situation, meanwhile, is getting out of control in this country. Unfortunately, the armed forces stationed in the Baltic republics are influenced by spontaneously organized national salvation committees and by calls from ethnic Russians living there rather than by Gorbachev's orders from Moscow. But all this points once again to the need to strengthen the executive authority of the central government in an atmosphere of national accord. Our main problem is that there is no such accord in this country.

Some of the democrats who previously had an irreconcilable position on the issue are beginning to understand the necessity for strong leadership. "Only strong state leadership, which aspires to do good, can lead us out of this abyss," says Nikolai Shmelyov, a prominent Soviet economist and people's deputy of the USSR. "I don't think that reform can be carried out without an iron fist."

It looks as if the radicals have latched on to their hobbyhorse. "We shall not allow Gorbachev to establish his right-wing dictatorship! Democracy is in danger!" they chant at meetings and write in the radical press.

But will they be able to handle power properly if Gorbachev distributes it to them? The performance of the government bodies run by the democrats shows that they have inherited the negative ways of the old soviets, including empty rhetoric, lack of competence, red tape, and abuse of power.

Doubts torment even the most authoritative radicals. "Is it really the

democrats that have filled the soviets?" asks People's Deputy Yuri Boldyrev, an ideologist of the left-wing democratic movement. "I think that we democrats are to be blamed for monopolizing and to some extent discrediting the ideas of democracy by putting a sign of equality between these ideas and ourselves. We have yet to become democrats."

All the talk about forthcoming dictatorship is splitting society, depriving the President of the opportunity to attain national accord. Who will benefit from this? Not the people, of course.

The awareness that it is vitally important to have strong executive bodies was reflected by the adoption of corresponding constitutional amendments at the Fourth Congress.

The Council of Ministers, previously an independent body, has been replaced by a Cabinet of Ministers, controlled by the President (the U.S. model), but headed by a prime minister (the French model).

The cabinet is a narrow body. Consequently, the number of Soviet ministries has been reduced. By doing this, Gorbachev is killing two birds with one stone: transferring to the republics the majority of the ministries, which fits in with plans to emphasize federalism; and reducing spending on the central executive apparatus.

The Presidential Council, which worked for just about twelve months, has practically ceased to exist. Its activity and the very idea of setting it up disappointed many people, who believed that it was an inefficient instrument of government.

"In my opinion, the mistake was that the council was formed on a representative basis," says Stankevich. "This principle is essential for parliament, which must represent the entire spectrum of views. But the President needs a team, a group of like-minded people, and not a miniparliament."

Gennadi Yanayev was the first person to be introduced to Gorbachev's team. His nomination to the post of vice president was endorsed by the Congress of People's Deputies, but only on the second vote.

Although at that moment Yanayev was a member of the politburo of the Soviet Communist Party, where he had

moved from the post of leader of the Soviet trade unions, he is little known to the Soviet public—a dark horse.

But then, why should the choice necessarily fall on a well-known person? Experience, acquired over the past six years since the start of perestroika, shows that popularity does not always mean competence. In addition, after the resignations of Alexander Yakovlev and Eduard Shevardnadze, popular figures have remained only in the opposition camp. Whether one likes Yanayev or not, he is Gorbachev's ally.

What will Yanayev do as vice president? Gorbachev said at the Congress that the vice president is an official who has permanent responsibilities and who carries out the President's assignments. The vice president, as Anatoli Lukyanov (Chairman of the Supreme Soviet) noted, will perform some of the President's functions on the latter's commission.

What permanent responsibilities and what presidential functions? "Unfortunately, no one knows," said Yuri Kalmykov, Chairman of the Supreme Soviet's Committee for Legislation. "We still have to draft and adopt a normative act dealing with the post of vice president."

Despite the doubts of those who think that the vice president will play a very modest role, this, in my opinion, is going to be the second most important post in the new system. Gorbachev said that in a complex country like ours the range of duties performed by the President and, consequently, by the vice president is enormous.

The appointment of a former Soviet ambassador to the United States, Alexander Bessmertnykh, as foreign minister put an end to the period of uncertainty caused by Shevardnadze's resignation. A career diplomat who worked his way up to ambassador to the leading Western power, Bessmertnykh took charge of the Foreign Ministry at a trying time. Moreover, having described his predecessor as one of the most brilliant foreign ministers, he set the pole for himself at a height that will be difficult to equal.

When Shevardnadze assumed his duties in 1985, Soviet foreign policy was already turning to the new thinking. The Soviet Union and the minister's

prestige grew on this wave. For Bessmertnykh, the problem is that the current situation in the Soviet Union arouses fears in the West that perestroika is going into reverse.

By adding this man to his team, Gorbachev obviously intended to stress that Soviet-American relations remain the top foreign policy priority; Bessmertnykh is an expert in American studies.

Henry Kissinger remarked in his book *The White House Years* that Soviet-American relations experienced difficulty not only because of the different perceptions of the competing bureaucracies but because of conflicting concepts of negotiations.

Bessmertnykh was a member of Shevardnadze's team and a representative of the new generation of government officials who are trying to avoid the conflicting elements of Soviet-American relations. This is an important qualification.

This position, incidentally, gave Shevardnadze's opponents from among representatives of the military industrial complex reason to assert that his desire to resolve conflicts led to "unpardonable pliability" and even "defeatism" in Soviet foreign policy.

Unfortunately, Shevardnadze did not use all the flexibility characteristic of his nature to defend his position or use his authority among the left-wing parties and the centrists to refute such assertions.

Politicians have come under enormous pressure in the highly charged political atmosphere. Not all of them can rebuff the strong attacks made by the opposition and their own camp. Shevardnadze's resignation is one such example.

One can hardly suspect Bessmertnykh, an experienced diplomat, of supporting left-wing or right-wing trends. His nomination was almost unanimously approved by the USSR Supreme Soviet; only three of the 400 members of parliament voted against.

The consolidation of an executive authority similar to that existing in the industrialized Western states must continue. This will ultimately determine whether our great multiethnic state, which has a glorious history, will have a worthy and promising future. ■

BACK TO SQUARE ONE?

By Yuri Graftsky

To all appearances, the Soviet economy is in a deadlock. One after another, cities, large and small, are turning to the rationed distribution of food, and the consumer market is in an appalling state.

The causes of such an impasse were revealed a long time ago. For more than seventy years, the country has been busy promoting its heavy industry, above all, its defense industries. As a result, this sector has turned into a giant and menacing creature devouring huge quantities of resources every year. Its appetite seems to be insatiable. This circumstance has given birth to another voracious monster—the giant bureaucratic apparatus that performs the single function of distributing wealth on behalf of the people, without producing anything at all.

Seeds of discontent sprouted in Soviet society many years ago. Predictably, when Mikhail Gorbachev appeared on the political scene and proposed restructuring the economy, he received an enthusiastic welcome. Life, however, proved more complicated than any specific proposals.

The first error was betting on accelerated social and economic development at the expense of the so-called human factor. The idea was to squeeze as much as possible out of better-organized production and the workers' conscience. In effect, the nation was asked to tighten its belt and put all its support behind achieving a scientific and technological breakthrough.

The nation, meanwhile, knew what was going on. National enthusiasm had been manipulated before in building the giants of Soviet industry, railroads, and highly mechanized agricul-

ture. People refused to be fooled this time, and they demanded their proper due at once and in full.

At this particular moment the second mistake was made. Medical and cultural workers and teachers received an increase in their pensions and salaries. Party and state bureaucrats weren't forgotten either. Where was the money to come from? you might wonder. At whose expense were salaries and pensions increased? At no one's—the money-printing machines took care of the problem.

In 1987 this sum amounted to eleven billion rubles and in 1988, eighteen billion. In 1990 it exceeded twenty-five billion! That was the leadership's biggest error, Mikhail Gorbachev subsequently admitted. "It was a forced error," he added to justify it. "We wanted to overcome poverty as soon as possible." Let's be real: No one has ever managed to overcome poverty by printing more money.

Interethnic and interrepublic tensions seem to be going from bad to worse. This explains why today we seem to be even farther from solving cardinal problems than we were six years ago, when perestroika began. And, while then we could and had to start restructuring the economic system and its apparatus tactfully, but consistently and substantially, now we must concentrate on urgent measures of a different nature.

The cautious Leonid Abalkin, Academician and the former deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, assesses the situation as follows: "The economy is disintegrating at an ever-increasing rate," he says. "Regrettably, there's no economic solution to the current problem. Only politics can provide an answer." Abalkin believes that current developments may lead either to national accord or to deep social and political tremors. To avoid the second variant, a radically new policy blocking the crisis should be implemented.

That's the preliminary condition for stabilization, Abalkin maintains. The current process of destabilization must be slowed down and eventually stopped, he says. To attain this goal, some laws that were adopted recently might have to be suspended and some measures that upset the economic balance, such as the recent exchange of 50-

and 100-ruble bank notes, might have to be renounced. The exchange of bank notes has cut down the amount of money in circulation by about eight billion rubles, but given the current rate of inflation, it's a very small amount and, according to the estimates of experts, will be compensated for by an enormous currency printing before the end of the year. The most distressing thing is, however, that the cardinal problems of society's transfer to a qualitatively new state are not being solved.

Above all, individuals must be given the opportunity to become masters of their place of work or of the plot of land they cultivate. The transfer of the means of production to the people is proceeding at a snail's pace. Not long ago well-known journalist Yuri Chernichenko related his story about what happened when he decided to become a farmer and owner of 500 hectares of land in Nizhni Novgorod Region. In no time the chairman of the local collective farm began to tell him what to do and in the long run he gave up his dream.

In fact, setting up a cooperative or a small business is just the beginning of an entrepreneur's trials. For example, there are taxes. Chernichenko discovered that as a private farmer he'd have to turn over 80 per cent of his income to the state. Some entrepreneurs are in a worse position. "Why should a state enterprise be assessed around 1.4 million rubles in taxes, while my cooperative, which employs the same number of workers, must pay almost four million?" That's what Vadim Tumanov, who heads the Stroitel (builder) cooperative located in the northern part of the Russian Federation, wondered in an interview with *Izvestia*.

"We're told that creating a decent life isn't the main goal," recently remarked Svyatoslav Fyodorov, the well-known Soviet eye surgeon. "What we should be working for is neoindustrialization, they say. And then—strategic purpose-oriented programs, structural changes, and modernization of industry. But what about me, my wife, my children, and my grandchildren who find it so difficult to cope? Socialism is an association of free entrepreneurs, as the Marxist classics assert," he noted.

Wouldn't it be better to go back to such an association? I ask. ■

spotlight



THE CRIMEA

By Alexander Tropkin
Photographs by Victor Chernov

*Panoramic view of the Crimea
from the Mangup-Kale Plateau*




crimea



At the Crossroads Of Civilization

*The well-preserved fourteenth century
Genoese fortress at Sudak*





What is the reason for the raging conflicts between people of different nationalities in the rich lands of the Crimea? News reports tell of land seizures, of mass demonstrations, of sometimes violent conflicts among ethnic groups.

The Crimea was the crossroads of world civilizations—Hellenic, Persian, Hebrew, Byzantine, Muslim, Armenian, and Genoese. Ethnographers say that all native Crimean peoples (Crimean Tatars, Greeks, Armenians, Russians, Karaites, and Crimean Jews) have in their ancestry traces of many different ancient peoples. These nationalities lived for centuries in close contact, enriching one another with the achievements of their trade and culture. This may account for common traits in clothing, customs, and language.

The Crimea is the site of one of the most famous Hellenic myths, the tale of the Golden Fleece. In both ancient myths and written sources, historians have found accounts of the first inhabitants of the peninsula, Cimmerians, Taurites, and Scythians.

Archaeological finds support the case for the Cimmerians as the most ancient Crimean nationality (as early as 2000 B.C.). The Taurites, who settled in the foothills and mountainous areas of the Crimea (1000 B.C.),

dolmens. Excavations give evidence that these people were experienced farmers and cattle breeders, and the Greeks valued highly their military skill.

A history of the Crimea's indigenous nationalities would be incomplete without mention of the waves of nomadic peoples—conquerors who at various times swept over the heavenly peninsula.

The Sarmations began to appear in the Crimea in the third and second centuries B.C. Sarmations were Persian-speaking nomads who came to the lowlands of the Crimea from the Volga and Ural regions. They crowded out the Crimean Scythians and engaged in bloody encounters with the Greeks on the southern shores of the peninsula.

In the third century A.D. the Crimea was invaded by groups of Goths, who dealt a crushing blow to the later Scythian state. These German-speaking tribes came from the Baltic shores and then, just as decisively, returned.

The barbaric hordes of Huns swept into the Crimea from the steppes of Central Asia in the fourth century A.D. They left charred ruins in their wake. The only city to be preserved intact was Chersonese.

The Turks, who came to power in the Crimea in 1475, destroyed the last centers of Byzantine and Genoese culture. The Crimea became independent only in 1774,

crimea



The Scythians

On the outskirts of Simferopol are the Petrovsky Cliffs, low hills that are densely built with tall houses, private gardens, and vineyards. When you have reached the plateau, you can't believe your eyes: You see the stone ruins of the once flourishing capital of the ancient Scythian kingdom of Neapolis (third to first centuries B.C.). The Petrovsky Cliffs witnessed the birth, the rise, and the fall of the great and still enigmatic people—the Scythians, a nomadic, warring people whom the Greeks disdainfully called “barbarians.” Their mobility was one of the secrets of their invincibility.

The late Scythians moved off the steppes and settled on the land, harvesting abundant crops of wheat and barley. Not far from modern-day Kerch archaeologists discovered a sensational trove of golden objects in the Scythian funeral mound of Kul'-Oba that included chokers, bracelets, and other jewelry, weapons, armor, and ritual vessels. One vessel from Kul'-Oba depicted Scythian life with an almost perfect realism.

But most of the subsequent finds of precious metals reflect the so-called animal style—figures and masks of animals, birds, and fish. This style is characteristic only of objects found in



Pectoral (fourth century B.C.) from a Scythian burial mound. Inset: Tauris. Below right: Scythian sculpture (left, fifth century B.C.; right, first century A.D.).



barbarians were not only the destroyers of ancient civilizations, but also talented students, capable of adopting and learning much from Hellenic culture and in some cases going beyond the example set for them.

Neapolis bears witness to the last triumph of the Scythian civilization, after which it rolled to a close. As late as the first century A.D., the latest Scythian state was a force to be reckoned with for the Roman troops that had entered the Crimea.

But the Scythians experienced some sort of major catastrophe at the turn of the second century A.D. and abandoned their settlements. Historians discount the possibility that military actions, fire, or epidemics were causes of this catastrophe. The people seem to have deserted their homes in an organized, well-planned fashion.

The Huns, who appeared in the Crimea at the end of the fourth century A.D., completed the Scythian downfall. The remaining Scythians retreated to the mountainous regions and blended in with the many Crimean ethnic groups. And so the people that left a definite mark on ancient history disappeared from the world stage. But for another few centuries all of the northern Black Sea region continued to be known as Scythia.



crimea

The Greeks

The influence of ancient Greece on world civilization is well known. Hellenism also played an important role in the history of the Crimea.

Cicero compared the Greek colonies that appeared on the peninsula in the seventh to sixth centuries B.C. to a border sewn along the endless expanses of the barbaric fields. This is an apt comparison because the ancient civilizations, as a rule, settled on the Crimean shores and very rarely penetrated the interior of the peninsula. They constantly preserved their vital maritime ties with their homeland.

The first Greek settlers experienced many difficulties, but the first colonies survived and gradually

developed into bustling commercial centers—Panticapea (modern-day Kerch), Caphou (Feodosiya), and others.

The Scythians fully appreciated the advantages of peaceful coexistence with the Greeks and even began to copy them in many respects.

Hellenic culture reached its peak in two of its later colonies—at Cercinitus (modern Yevpatoriya) and at Chersonese (Sevastopol) in the sixth to fifth centuries B.C.

Ancient Chersonese existed for more than 2,000 years, surviving prosperity and downfall. It was the last outpost of the ancient Greeks, and subsequently of the Byzantines, in the Crimea. Though the Greek and Byzantine civilizations on the Crimean peninsula fell, the Greeks did not disappear as an ethnic group. The Crimea remained their home for the next ten centuries. They suffered persecution at the hands of the new masters of this promised land, the Tatars and the Turks. The Greeks were twice banished from the peninsula, but they always returned to their birthplace. By the end of the nineteenth century, the Greek population constituted four to five per cent of the population in some areas in the Crimea.

Today it is difficult to single out any strictly Greek cities and villages, and there is no point in listing present-day Crimean Greeks as descendants of the ancient Greeks. They have not lost their native language and traditions; the recently formed Cultural-Enlightenment Society of Crimean Greeks has almost 20,000 members. ■

***White marble columns of
Byzantine churches of
Chersonese.***

Can We Get Along With Each Other?

During the Stalin era, ethnic groups were branded "traitor-nationalities" and forcibly deported from the Crimean peninsula. Now things are changing: Crimean Tatars, Crimean Jews, Crimean Germans, and Karaites are permitted to return to their homeland. The administrative status of the Crimean population itself should change also, now that it has spoken out in favor of autonomy.

How can ethnic problems be resolved? Four experts expressed their opinions in a round-table discussion moderated by Alexander Tropkin: Fyodor Babeiko, Alexander Herzen, Alexei Klimenko, and Alimeya Zaatova.

Babeiko: Until recently, describing nationalities living together in one region, republic, or government, people would speak of "a melting pot," in which dozens or even hundreds of different ethnic groups are seething. The ethnic "soup" that resulted was to be the Soviet people.

I would like to suggest a somewhat different approach—not a melting pot, but a "bouquet" of equal, unique peoples. My work as a philosopher involves formulating a scientific theory for such a harmonization in relations among ethnic groups.

Concerning the extremely complex problem in the Crimea, it is time to take some decisive steps, not in theory, but in practice. We must repeal all of the laws still in effect that discredit the deported peoples, and we must safeguard their return to their homeland in every way possible.

The autonomy that has recently been proposed for the Crimea should allow for a real administrative entity, capable of dealing with the majority of its problems independently and in its own interests.

Tropkin: To what extent does the social association Homeland, which you established in Kerch, assist in resolving these problems?

Babeiko: We established this association to help the Crimean Tatars, Germans, and Jews—all the deported nationalities—to return to the peninsula. After all, apart from their desire to return, these people have nothing in the Crimea—no home, no work.

Homeland set itself the task of convincing the local government to allot plots of land and apartments to the returning people, to seek improved terms for purchasing prefabricated houses and building materials from construction companies, to demand guaranteed work for the Crimean Tatars, whenever possible in their field, from the city's businesses and the Port of Kerch. In short, we have taken on the burden of social defense of our compatriots. Unfortunately, however, the bureaucracy continues to creep along sluggishly.

Tropkin: But I think you cannot say this about the regional party committees, which are displaying an unprecedented level of activity. They proposed the referendum on regional autonomy, and they initiated a series of important reforms that involve the future of the Crimea. What is the opinion of the Crimean Regional Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party concerning the solution to the nationalities problem?

Klimenko: For the first time in history, perhaps, the Communists in this region find themselves in opposition not only to the local administration but also to the actions of the central organs—the parliaments and the gov-

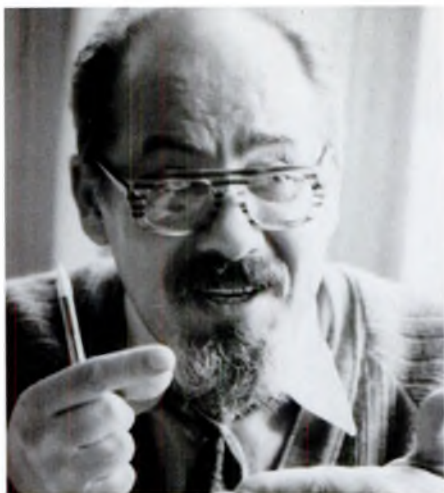


Alexei Klimenko, Communist Party leader in Simferopol

ernments of the Ukraine and of the USSR. How did this happen?

The statement about the slowness and indecisiveness of the local councils is fair. But the problem goes beyond the local level. The allotment of plots of land to the Crimean Tatars falls under the jurisdiction of the republican bodies of power, and they obviously are in no particular hurry to solve this controversial problem.

What is the explanation for the stubborn silence of the USSR Council of Ministers in the face of our repeated requests for supplementary food reserves, building materials, and money for the Crimea? After all, 100,000 Crimean Tatars have already moved back to the Crimea. They have many needs. But we must understand the Russians, Greeks, and Armenians who



Fyodor Babeiko, Professor, Kerch

lived and still live in the Crimea as well. They feel, and justly so, that the problems of the Crimean Tatars are being solved at their expense. Additional aid to the Crimea is forthcoming extremely slowly. This is one of the sore points that is aggravating conflicts among ethnic groups.

This is why we came forward at the very start with the proposal to form the Committees of Citizens Accord. These committees comprise representatives of every ethnic group in the Crimea. They are empowered to address debates among ethnic groups, and I am certain that justice will prevail at their forums.

Two years ago the regional division of the Communist Party supported and then actively aided the founding of ethnic cultural societies in the major cities of the Crimea. Today there are ethnic cultural organizations for Greeks and Armenians, Jews and Crimean Jews, Crimean Tatars, Karaites, and Russians.

These groups conduct Sunday schools to teach their native languages; they have formed musical, choral, and dance ensembles; they study the history of their peoples; and women learn to prepare national dishes.

Recently a referendum took place. The regional Communist Party committee was one of its initiators. We support Crimean autonomy because only autonomy gives the people the opportunity to address many problems themselves, without having to refer to higher authorities.

Tropkin: The results of the referendum in the Crimea were heartening: An overwhelming proportion of the population, 93 per cent of those who turned out, voted in favor of autonomy—in other words, restoring the Crimean Autonomous Republic within the framework of the Ukrainian SSR. Is this fair, when you consider that the population of the Crimea is two-thirds



Alexander Herzen, Historian, Simferopol

Russian and was a part of Russia for 200 years? It was part of the Ukraine only after 1954.

Herzen: Your statement requires explanation. The Crimea was indeed part of Russia for a long time, and this history left a definite mark on all aspects of its life. Following the victory of the Russian Empire in the Russo-Turkish War (1768-1774), Russian and Tatar were declared the two official languages on the peninsula, even though during this war the Crimean khan, a Turkish ally, was deposed and soon relinquished his throne.

It would seem more natural for the Crimea to become autonomous as part of Russia than as part of the Ukraine. But let's take a look at what might happen. The precedent set by the Crimea might release a flood of review of their boundaries by other territories. Moldavia might make claims to part of the western Ukraine; Estonia, to Pskov and Leningrad lands; and Byelorussia and Lithuania, to parts of each other. This would add fuel to the already

explosive situation in some republics.

Tropkin: The lost fragments of Crimean Tatar history and culture must be restored for future generations. This is exactly what Alimeya Zaatova, a teacher from Uzbekistan, is doing.

Zaatova: Unfortunately, I have not yet been able to find a job as a history teacher in the Bakhchisarai schools. There are no vacancies there. I am not the only one who feels this way: Crimean Tatar intellectuals are beginning to return—teachers, artists, scientists, performers—and not all are able to find work in their field. Currently I am a tour guide at the Museum of the Khan Palace in Bakhchisarai. I tell tourists about the history, religion, and art of our people and feel as if I haven't made a bad start here in my homeland.



Alimeya Zaatova, teacher, Bakhchisarai

Tropkin: Where did your parents live before they were deported?

Zaatova: They were still children back then, and my maternal grandparents had a large house and plot of land in a Tatar settlement, Ku-Kos (Hawk's Eye), near Bakhchisarai. My mother told me how, on May 18, 1944, armed soldiers surrounded the village and ordered all the inhabitants to leave the Crimea within twenty-four hours. The majority of Tatar families were taken in dirty cattle trains to Central Asia, but some were sent elsewhere—to the Urals, to Siberia.



Thirty thousand old people, children, and women died during the deportation because of cruel treatment. In Uzbekistan, where my family was settled, all Crimean Tatars were subjected to a harsh regime: Movement between regions was forbidden; all family members had to be registered with the militia each month. This continued until 1954, but the black mark of "traitor" was not erased from the nationality for many decades afterward.

I was born and grew up in the Fergana Valley in Uzbekistan, and our Uzbek, Russian, and Ukrainian neighbors helped the Tatar families as much as they could—we never had any conflicts of an ethnic nature, but lived together in friendship. We honestly were not poor; all of my brothers and sisters received a higher education, and in Fergana we had a beautiful house, a garden, and a vineyard.

Tropkin: But despite this, your entire family, including your elderly parents, decided to return to the Crimea?

Zatova: This isn't hard to understand: The roots of our spiritual culture, the history of our people lie in the Crimean soil. We want to restore our lost spiritual values—folklore and literature, theater, and music. We want to have our own printing houses, mosques, national schools, and institutes of higher learning.

Tropkin: In the recent referendum on the new government status of the Crimea, the Crimean Tatar population overwhelmingly favored forming a specifically ethnic autonomy—the Crimean Tatar autonomous republic or region. Is such an administrative option possible today?

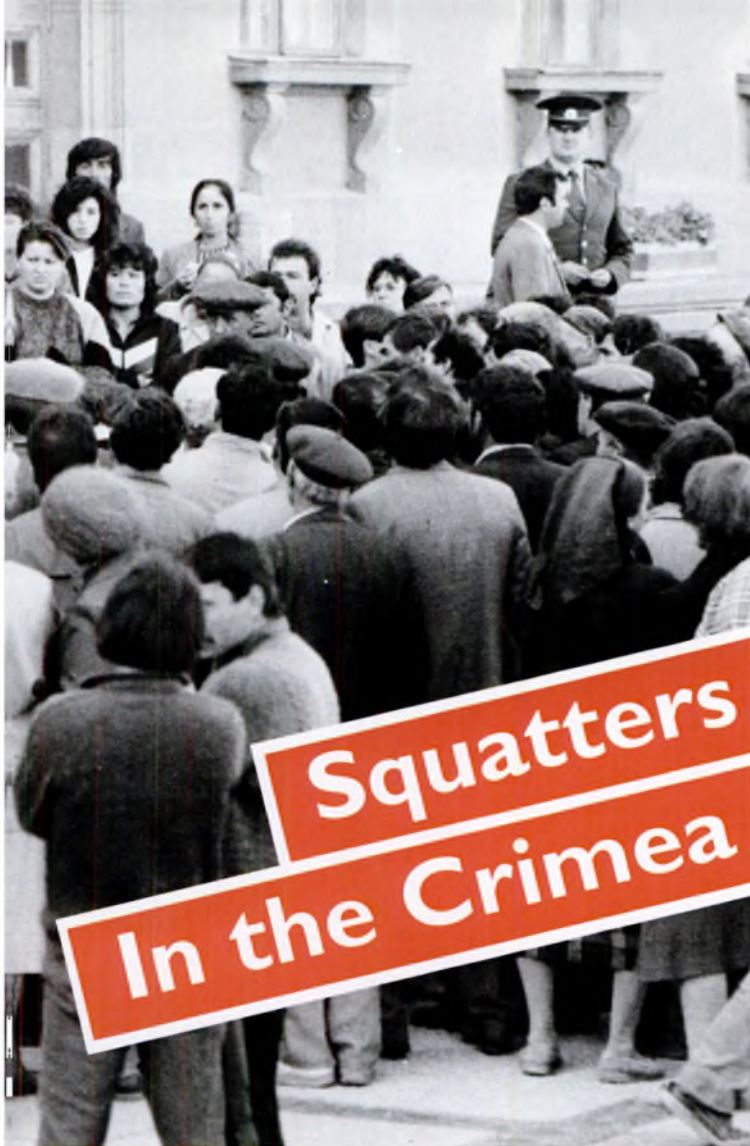
Herzen: Such an option does not actually take into consideration the reality that exists in the Crimea. The fact is, the experience of the Crimean Autonomous Republic (1921-1945) would not suit all of us today. The Crimean Tatar culture truly did flourish during this period, but at the expense of Russians, Greeks, Armenians, and Crimean Jews. Only by taking into account the interests of all Crimean ethnic groups can we reach a harmonious, democratic society. ■



Crimean regional television recently ran a report on a seizure of land near Yalta. A group of Crimean Tatars had occupied several hectares and had built about fifteen makeshift houses on it. The story ended with the intimidating advance of two bulldozers, which easily crushed the empty houses and knocked down barricades made of logs, concrete blocks, and barbed wire. Unofficial sources reported that the ire of the Tatar crowd was held in check by about 500 militiamen wearing protective gear. The next day Simferopol was once again shaken by tumultuous protest rallies against the highhandedness of the authorities.

Similar conflicts between Tatars and the local authorities occur throughout the Crimea. Fortunately, no blood has been spilled.

The allocation of land for resettlers is proceeding far too slowly. One can understand the aspirations of the indignant people who have returned to the land of their forefathers where they hope to live decently, rather than in tents. On the other hand, the extremism and uncompromising impatience of the resettlers create opposition and fear among the present owners of the land. After all, the Crimea is their native land, too. Luckily, Tatars, Russians, and all other indigenous groups in the Crimea are more and more often able to compromise. The Crimea has enough land for everybody. Crimean autonomy is expected to speed up the advance toward ethnic accord.



Squatters In the Crimea



Demonstrators demand the immediate return of Crimean Tatars to their homeland.



Crimean Tatars have pitched a tent city in front of the Regional Executive Committee headquarters (left). Right: A woman from Fergana has not yet found a place to live. Top right: Azikiriya Ibragimov is working on the construction of a Tatar settlement near Bakhchisarai.



crimea

Crimean Tatars



Aloisio Portal (above left) of the khan's palace. An early twentieth century photograph of Crimean Tatar women in national dress (above right). Interior of the khan's harem (right).





Anthropologists describe the Crimean Tatars among the "young" ethnic groups of the peninsula. This group came into being around the thirteenth century. Its appearance marks the advent in the Crimea of Islam, which overshadowed Christianity. The Crimean Tatars developed a Muslim culture and spread the Tatar language.

How did this nationality emerge? At its roots are the Turkish-speaking nomadic tribes of Asian background, who disturbed the peace of many European and Asian countries. In ancient Russia they were called Polovtsy. The Polovtsy came to the Crimea from the Volga region in the eleventh century and settled there, becoming fairly good farmers. The Mongols dealt them a crushing blow, and the Polovtsian ethnic group disintegrated. This melting pot produced a new ethnic group—the Crimean Tatars.

After the Ottoman Empire invaded the peninsula in 1475, Turkish influences predominated. The palace at Bakhchisarai, the residence of many generations of Crimean khans, was a smaller-scale model of the palace of sultans in Istanbul. The unifying link was Islam, which penetrated all layers of Crimean Tatar life.

Bakhchisarai, a small city in the mountains, has always been the administrative and cultural center of the Crimean Tatars. The atmosphere is reminiscent of Istanbul or Izmir.

In 1783, Khan Shagin, the last Crimean khan of the Girei dynasty, abdicated. This was one of the results of the Russo-Turkish War of 1768–1774. A significant number of Crimean Tatars were forced to emigrate to Turkey.

In May of 1944 virtually all Tatars were deported from the Crimea. Only recently have they been able to return. ■

The Bakhchisarai Palace, residence of the Crimean khans in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, has been restored.

Byzantines

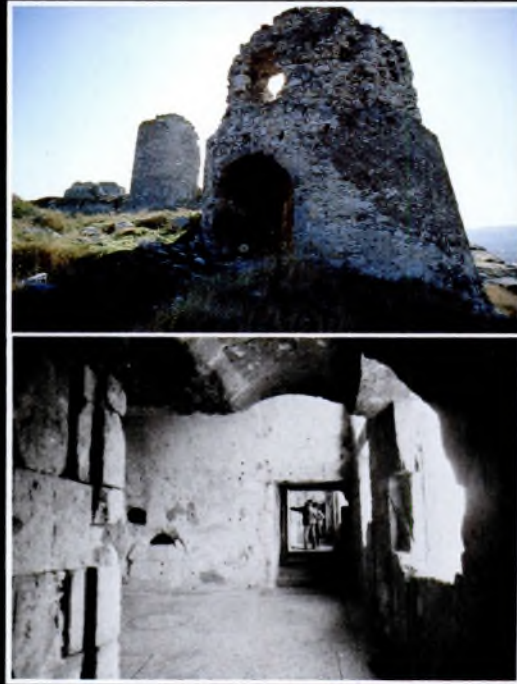
On the Mangup plateau in the mountains of the Crimea, excavations have exposed a history almost a thousand years earlier than was previously supposed. In the sixth century, Doros, which had its roots in Byzantium, was built on this site. It flourished for almost two centuries until the Khazar nomads somehow managed to take the inaccessible fortress and raze it. Then Mangup gave a home to refugees from Byzantium, where, in the ninth and tenth centuries, a fierce struggle was carried on between iconoclasts and iconolaters. The iconolaters eventually took refuge in a cave city on the steep slopes of the plateau.

From the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries Mangup was linked to the Byzantine principality of Theodoro. The fact that this was once a mighty state is eloquently attested by the imposing walls of the former citadels with heavy stone ornamentation on the windows and portals and by the remains of several Christian churches. Among the ruins is the Byzantine basilica of Sts. Constantine and Elena, the largest in the Crimea.

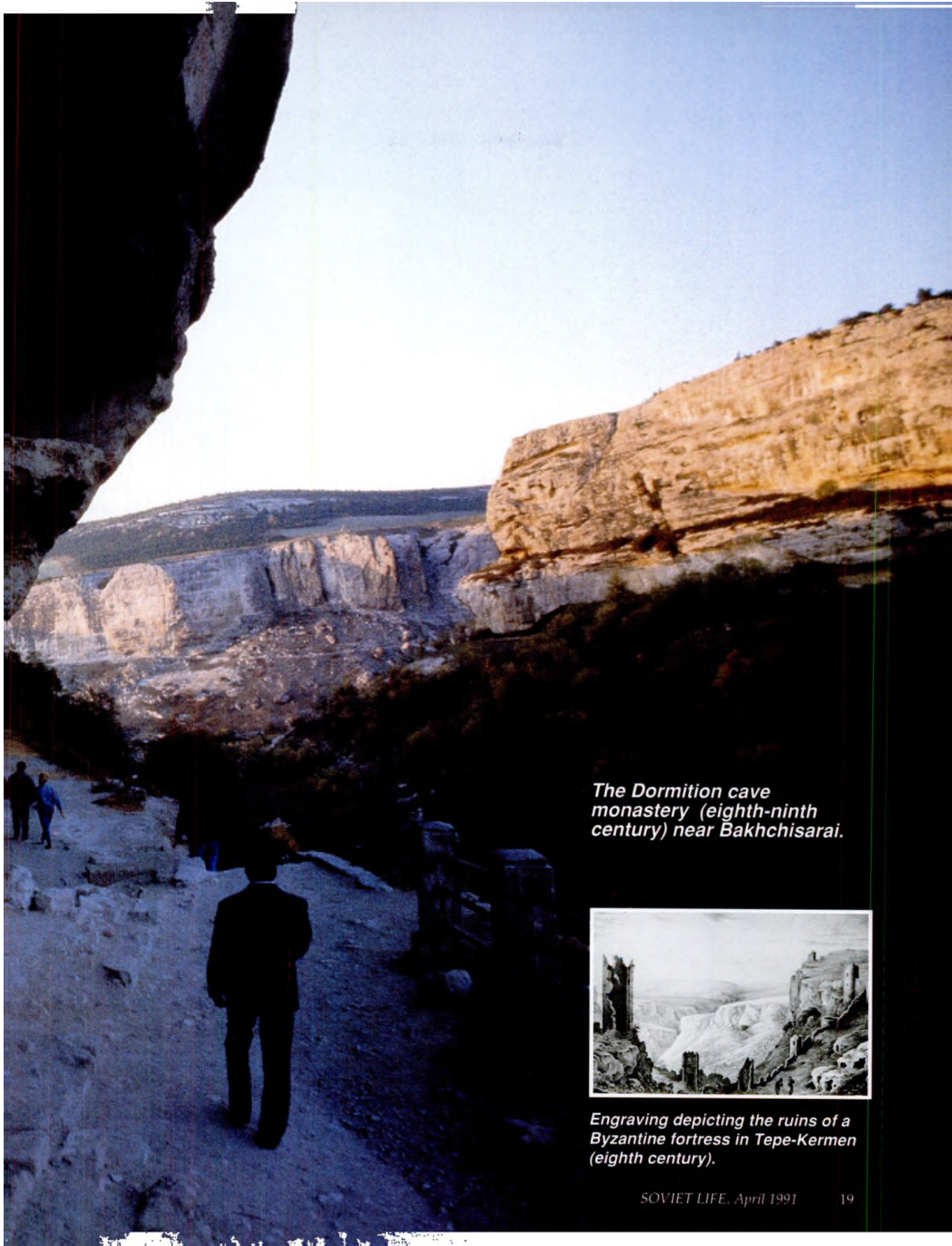
Martin Bronewsky, a sixteenth century Polish ambassador, wrote that "the walls of the Greek church are decorated with images and symbols of power of those czars and czarinas from whom the local princes are descended." It is well known that family ties with the local rulers ranged from Moldavia to Old Russia. The great Prince Ivan III of Muscovy (fifteenth century), for example, conducted talks with Theodoro about the marriage of his son to a Mangup princess.

Mangup defended itself many times, successfully turning back the invading hordes. Moreover, it was impossible to blockade the city-state by starvation or lack of water. The plateau had ample room for pasturage, wheat fields, gardens, and vineyards. Recently archaeologists uncovered the secret of Mangup's water supply—a well more than twenty meters deep that is cut into the cliff wall.

The Theodoro Principality, which held several city fortresses in the Crimea by the fifteenth century, fell in 1475 to an invasion of Turks. The capital of the principality defended itself on Mangup for more than half a year, and the Turks managed to seize it only through trickery: They feigned retreat, enticing the besieged out from behind the fortress walls. Bursting onto the plateau, the invaders subjected the city to terrifying fire and pillaging, killing almost all of its residents. Alexander, the last Prince of Theodoro, died as a prisoner in Istanbul (Constantinople).



Ruins of a cave monastery in Kalomit (sixth-seventh century) has eight Christian churches, some underground (above). Top: Ruins of a Byzantine fortress near Balaklava (sixth-eighth century).



The Dormition cave monastery (eighth-ninth century) near Bakhchisarai.



Engraving depicting the ruins of a Byzantine fortress in Tepe-Kermen (eighth century).



**Alexander
Droznovsky**

A Mountaintop Encounter

We met Alexander Droznovsky, a cheerful eighty-five-year-old gentleman, on the Mangup Plateau. Professor Droznovsky is a prominent historian. His long life has been dedicated to studies of ancient civilizations. "It was my dream to come to Mangup. I traveled worldwide—and now I'm here at last," he said, as he admired the glowing blue of the sea on the horizon and the barren, stony landscape around.

Droznovsky was born in the Ukraine. The family emigrated when he was a little boy. Now he lives in Washington, D.C., but he still has a fine command of spoken Russian and Ukrainian. He cherishes his childhood memories of the Crimea and the sunlit Black Sea.

Yet he did not return to the Crimea because of nostalgia, but because of his Scythian and Byzantine studies. From the ninth to the fourteenth centuries Mangup was the site of Theodoro, one of the Byzantine principalities in the Crimea.

The eminent historian examined the ruins of a Scythian fortress of the third and fourth centuries A.D. as he dis-

cussed the ethnic roots of Gothic tribes with us. He is sure that their background is Slavic.

Athletic and agile, our new friend strode about the Tekshli Burun Cape, with its excellently preserved cave dwellings and stone stairs at a breathtaking height. He shrugged off our proffered hands, laughing: "I was strong enough to make my way from Washington to Mangup. You think I can't cope here?"

We concluded our expedition in the sixth-century Byzantine Basilica of Sts. Constantine and Helen. Archaeologists from Simferopol recently made a sensational find in its crypt—a limestone slab bearing the name of Emperor Justinian I. Droznovsky had seen the plaque at the local museum. Now he spent an hour studying the mosaic floors, the altar, and the column capitals of the basilica.

His work completed, we spread a napkin on the dry grass and had a sumptuous picnic with fruit, bacon, sausages, and a bottle of vodka. The scholar seemed to be having the time of his life. He told one story after another, all about Scythians and Medi-

eval Greeks, and they all sounded like eyewitness accounts.

"I have a special liking for this romantic story because its hero was a Zaporozhe Cossack, like my ancestors. He was captured by Turks, and they demanded a huge ransom. The local pasha, who was the supreme ruler of Mangup after the Ottoman Empire conquered Byzantium, had his residence at the citadel. He had a weakness for stories about journeys and the treasures of distant lands. The clever Cossack told him about the gold his ancestors had hidden in a Mangup cave. He talked on and on until the pasha fell asleep. The pasha dreamed of gold and gems, and, when he woke up, the captive was nowhere to be seen, and his chain lay on the floor. The avaricious pasha spent days and nights searching every nook and cranny of the citadel. One day he climbed a huge rock. Looking down from the rock, he became dizzy and fell. The local people say he was killed by the cave goblins. They also say they often hear the Cossack laughing at the gullible pasha."

"Shh," the professor finished his story. "What if we hear his voice?" ■

crimea



Swallow's Nest, a summer palace built by a Russian nobleman in the nineteenth century, overlooks the Black Sea. Inset: A street scene in Sevastopol.

Russians



SOVIET LIFE, April 1991



Russians who live in the Crimea account for more than half of its population. These Russians are also native residents of the peninsula—as opposed, say, to Byelorussians or Ukrainians, who also inhabit the peninsula in large numbers.

There was a romantic legend about the mysterious Tmutarakan, which the great Kievan Prince Vladimir turned over entirely to one of his sons, Mstislav the Brave. Or at least, this is the version in the chronicle of Russia in the Middle Ages, *The Tale of Bygone Years* (early twelfth century). Subsequently, ancient Russian manuscripts expounded in great detail on how this principality was handed down from one prince to the other, how it became the object of discord and internecine wars. But where was this mysterious Tmutarakan located? Historians argued a great deal about this: Some searched for its traces in central Russia near Ryazan; others, at the Volga delta near the city of Astrakhan; still others, in Lithuania. Everything was decided by a unique discovery (1792) at the Middle Ages fortress on the Taman peninsula, across the Bay of Kerch from the Crimea. This was a marble block, christened the Tmutarakan stone,

which archaeologists dated from the eleventh century. On the stone are etched words in ancient Russian and numbers describing the width of the Bay of Kerch. These calculations used Tmutarakan as their reference. In short, for the first time historians were able to provide the exact address of the lost principality. It was located on the territory of the Taman Peninsula during the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries. From this place Russian guards conducted campaigns to the Crimean lands and to the borders of the Byzantine property.

Russia returned its attention to the Crimea in the eighteenth century when it decided to obtain a port on the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov. Turkey had complete control in the area, and the first individual attempts to engage the Turks failed. The Russo-Turkish War of 1768–1774 brought Russia a major victory.

The Palace of Khans at Bakhchisarai preserves the memory of the journey made by Empress Catherine II to the Crimea, which was an unheard-of luxury. The Crimean peninsula became the Tauria Region, and the Empress generously divided its bountiful lands among the court nobility, high officials, and military officers. Slaves and state peasants were supposed to work the land. These were mostly Russians and Ukrainians, but also a large number of Greeks, Bulgarians, and German colonists, who were resettled in the Crimea at this time.

Twice Russia had to defend the peninsula from enemies, demonstrating heroism but sustaining heavy losses at the same time. These were the Crimean War of 1853–1856, against the English, French, and Turks; and World War II, when it was necessary to defend the Crimea against the Nazis.



During both of these difficult military campaigns, Sevastopol, the city of Russian sailors, distinguished itself. Its heroic defenses, in past centuries and in ours, have become the stuff of legends.

During Russian rule good roads were laid, typically Russian quarters of the cities were built, Russian Orthodox churches were erected. The Russian nobility built luxurious palaces on the southern shores of the peninsula in Mauritanian and Gothic styles. The first fashionable resorts begin to appear on the shores at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and by the turn of the century, a significant portion of the Russian creative intelligentsia had either visited or settled here—writers, painters, artists. At various times the Crimea was home to writers Anton Chekhov and Alexander Kuprin, poet Maximilian Voloshin, and artists Ivan Aivazovsky, Mstislav Dobuzhinsky, and Robert Falk.



One of the many hotels in the Crimea. The interior of St. Nicholas Russian Orthodox Church (right) and a panel from the church's decoration (top). Facing page: Monument to the defenders of Sevastopol in 1941-1942 (bottom); cemetery for those who fell in the defense of Sevastopol in the Crimean War.

Naturally, the Russian language dominated the Crimea, although Crimean Tatar, Ukrainian, Armenian, Greek, Yiddish, Karaite, and Bulgarian coexisted peacefully.

Therefore, in 1954, when Nikita Khrushchev "gave" the purely Russian Crimea to the Ukraine, the majority of its native population felt grave doubts. This decision contradicted the logic of the history of the Crimean peninsula, its traditions and principles; it rent the economic and cultural bonds that had been formed with Russia over a period of centuries, and it ignored demographics. Even according to the most recent census in 1989, the Crimea's population comprises many more Russians (1,467,000) than Ukrainians (547,000). The Russians on the peninsula are now demanding the return of the Crimea to Russia, but with a special autonomous status. ■





The Krymchak school does not yet have premises of its own; classes are held in an ancient mansion that is now office space for local government officials. Every Sunday old people, some of them with their grandchildren, fill the room. They are studying one of the rarest languages in the USSR, Krymchak. This indigenous Crimean group has twice lost its language. The first time was in the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries, when Jewish refugees from Egypt, the Caucasus, and Poland came to the Crimea and adopted the language of the Crimean Tatars. Soon Krymchak disappeared. During the Nazi occupation of the Crimea, tens of thousands of Jews, Krymchaks, Karaites, and Greeks were killed. After the Crimea was liberated, several hundred surviving Krymchak families were deported together with the Crimean Tatars. The Krymchaks again lost their language, the language they had borrowed from the Tatars.

In the 1960s Krymchaks started to return to the peninsula. They were, however, mainly people of the postwar generation who did not remember their native language. But they wanted to know the language and their history and culture. Now Krymchak schools are opening in many Crimean cities. ■

School For Krymchaks



Krymchaks and Karaites

Krymchaks and Karaites are similar to the Crimean Tatars. The principal difference between them is religion; the Krymchaks are Orthodox Jews, while the Karaites are a particular sect of Judaism. The Tatars are Muslims. For many centuries each of these ethnic groups had traditional centers in the Crimea, the Karaites at Chufut-Kale, Yevpatoriya, and Feodosiya, and the Krymchaks at Karasubazar (present-day Byelogorsk). These centers no longer exist because the groups barely survived extermination by the Nazis during World War II or in the gulag. Cultural societies are helping these peoples resurrect their lost languages and cultures. Despite the small size of these indigenous Crimean groups (only 1,235 Krymchaks and about 900 Karaites), they have not abandoned hope of flourishing again.





REGATTA

WAITING FOR THE START

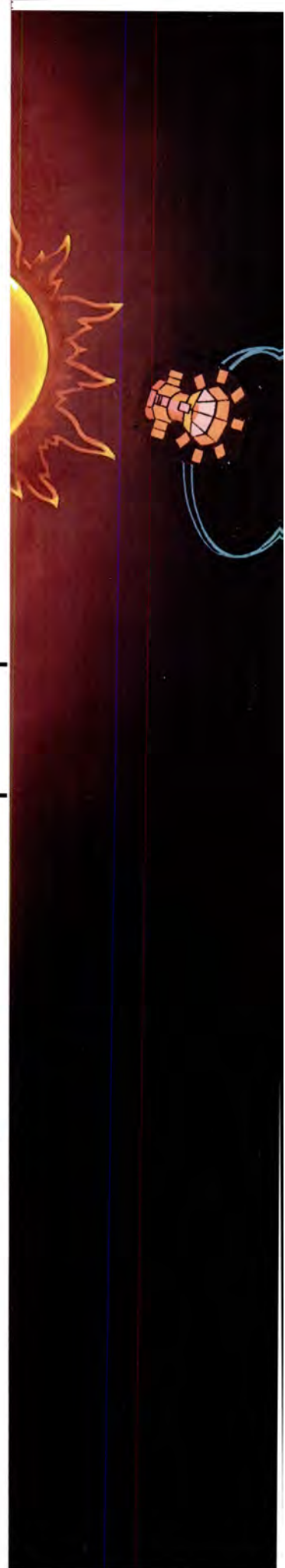
By Genrikh Avanesov and Ian Ziman
Photographs by Vladimir Rodionov
Drawings by Oleg Dyukov

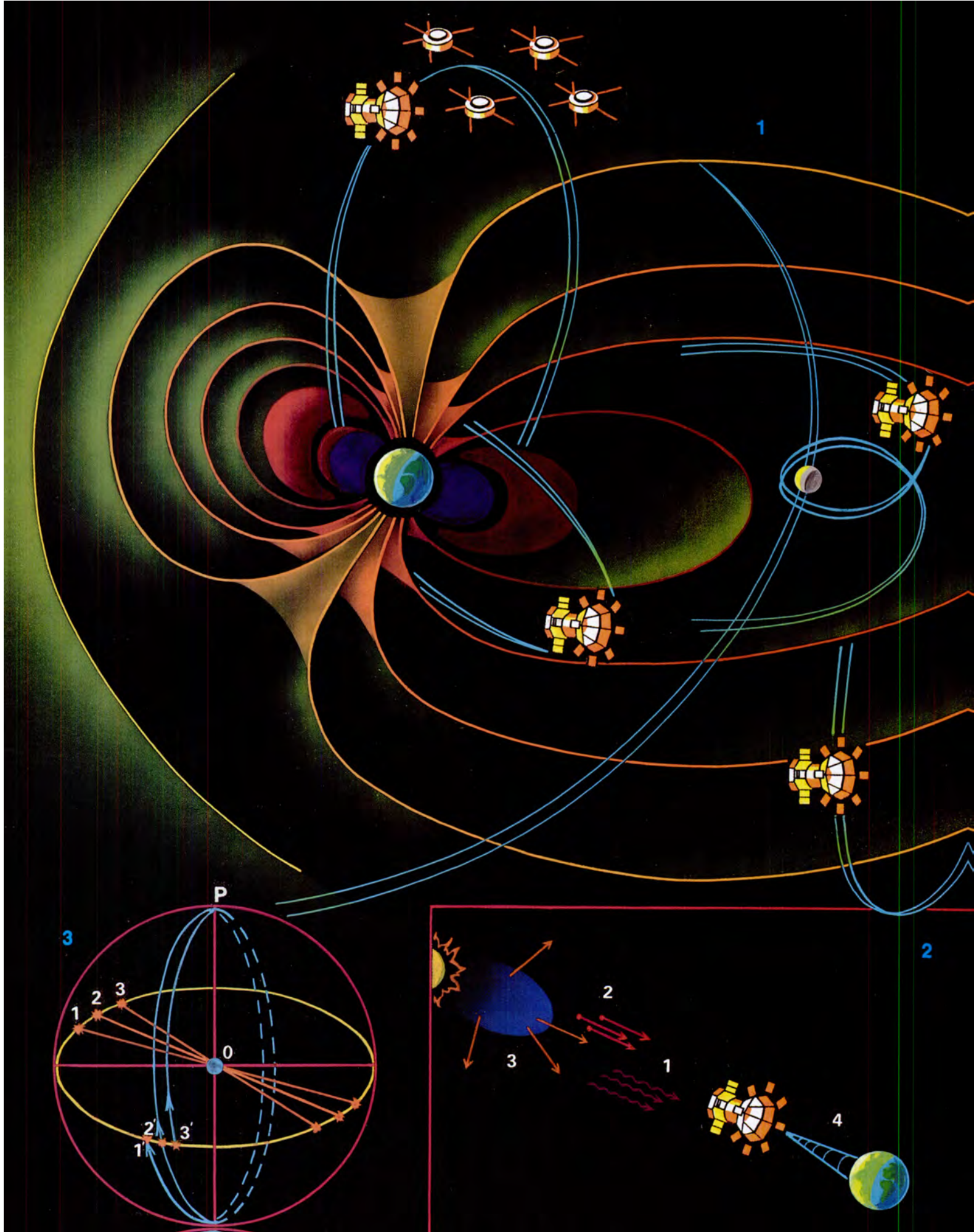
The authors are designers at the Institute of Space Research of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

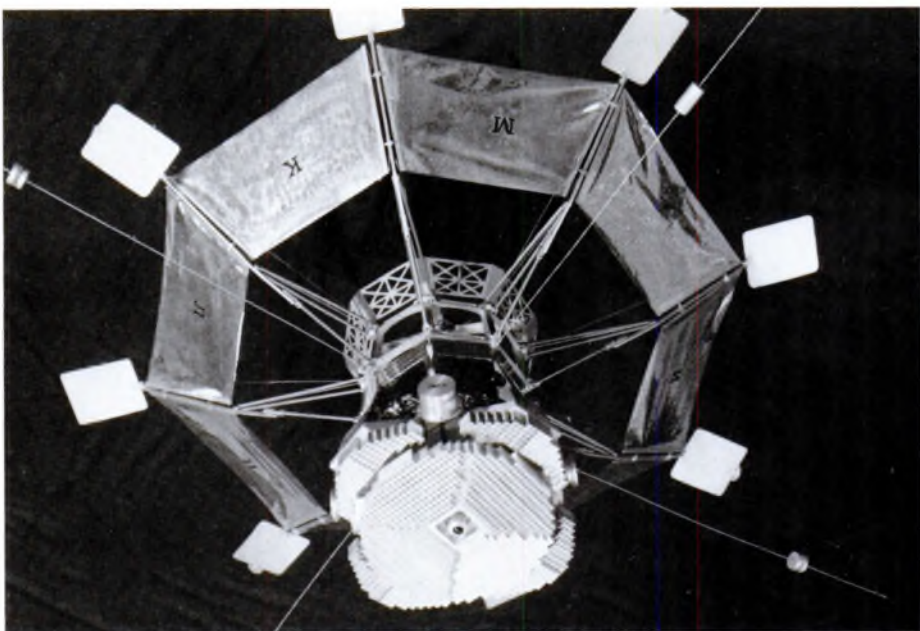
Space programs are now obviously weighted in favor of small craft, ships weighing merely tens of kilograms. As research progresses, the requirements of craft and system reliability grow. Researchers have gotten to the point at which they need highly specialized equipment. As the craft become larger, they can carry more instruments, their systems become more sophisticated, and the cost of processing the data from long-distance space flights increases. Small spaceships eliminate many of these problems. They are economical because several of them are launched by one rocket or in the company of heavy craft and orbital stations. Another catalyst for the development of small spacecraft is component, instrument, and system microminiaturization.

Drawings at right:

- 1. Plan for the location of a series of plasma-physics Soviet and European satellites in the 1990s.*
- 2. The small space laboratory Regatta on solar patrol.*
- 3. Diagram of sky scanning by TV cameras aboard Regatta.*







The Regatta, designed at the USSR Institute of Space Research.

Most space powers, including the Soviet Union, have begun to design more small spacecraft. One of them, called the Small Space Laboratory (SSL), is being developed at the Institute of Space Research. The design uses solar wind-actuated sails to facilitate attitude adjustment in space.

Sailing in space is not a new idea. Fridrikh Tsander developed it as long ago as the 1920s. Now the American interplanetary station Mariner-4 catches solar sail in the small flaps, which are designed to maintain en-route solar orientation. Two years ago, neglect of the solar wind effect caused the loss of the Soviet interplanetary station, Phobos—the designers did not take into account changes in station orientation caused by solar wind.

Soviet spacecraft with solar sails have a common name, Regatta. Solar wind pressure on Earth is nearly one milligram per square meter. An infinitesimally small value can have an appreciable effect. For example, an area of one to two square meters is enough for reliable orientation of a 100-kilogram mass. An area of 10 to 20 square meters is needed to keep a 100-kilogram craft in an unstable orbit. For use as a propulsion plant, the sail's size has to be calculated from the needed acceleration value.

The photograph above illustrates a Regatta SSL with a solar sail and a flying weight of 600 kilograms, including scientific equipment. The relatively

small, umbrella-shaped mainsail unfolds after the craft is spaceborne. The moving elements of the sail system are the ailerons, which are controlled by electric motors. The mainsail ensures longitudinal orientation toward the Sun. The ailerons maintain permanent SSL orientation toward the Sun and stars, or the preset-rotation frequency about the direction toward the Sun. The required orientation can be maintained precisely, without using energy and for an unlimited time.

The design of the SSL ensures efficiency in handling other major goals. For example, the craft is environmentally friendly because it has no jet engines and therefore no combustion products to pollute space. Permanent attitude control relative to the Sun ensures the most efficient use of the solar batteries on the craft's sunny side, thus stabilizing temperatures for the normal operation of most of the scientific instruments.

The SSL design embodies many engineering ideas recognized as inventions in the Soviet Union and accepted for consideration by the European Patent Office in the Netherlands. One is the choice of optical polyamide films

and coatings to ensure precise attitude control for the sail system.

Certainly the craft has its faults. For example, in low, near-Earth, and near-planetary orbits, where space vehicles experience large disturbing gravitational and aerodynamic episodes, reliable attitude control is a problem. But still, the new craft offers ample opportunities for research.

Solar studies, or rather the study of corpuscular flows and X-ray gamma radiation in the luminary's active regions, are essential. The SSL can handle nuclear gamma spectrometry of the Sun, continuous measurement of solar corpuscular and electromagnetic radiation in a wide spectral band, and registration of solar wind flows.

Solar studies are important for setting up a service for forecasting and emergency warning of solar flares. Powerful flares cause disruptions in global radio communications, atmospheric cyclones, and oceanic storms. Periods of enhanced solar activity cause an increase in the incidence of cardiovascular diseases. Sophisticated electrical, transportation, and computer systems are not immune to solar flares. Two years ago solar disturbances cut



The team of designers and their model, with sails not extended.

off radio communication for several hours at a time more than 60 times. The Quebec power grid and six portions of the Swedish grid, for example, were cut off for nine hours.

Timely warning can moderate such effects. The vital information can come from Regatta craft located in definite portions of space and making round-the-clock solar observations for years. Drawing 2 illustrates the SSL patrolling function. In a powerful solar flare, hard X-ray and gamma radiation (1) reaches Earth's environs in eight minutes. Solar flare-accelerated cosmic rays (2) take 10 to 30 minutes. In a day or two, a strong shock wave (3), which the flare produced in the interplanetary medium, will reach the Earth. The space patrol will warn through the radio channel (4) that the flare has started. Regatta launches will be timed to coincide with the beginning of a solar-activity cycle.

Studies in interplanetary plasma physics are closely related to solar studies. Plasma is the medium through which turbulent and complex solar processes affect many geographic phenomena on the Earth. Scientists must create a model of global plasma flow

around the Earth's magnetosphere by solar wind.

The gigantic scope of plasma-physics processes in space forces researchers to use satellite systems rather than single ships. The European Space Agency is preparing the Cluster Project, which will launch four satellites at once. An SSL research program is in preparation at the Institute of Space Research in Moscow. International cooperation involving Americans, among others, is envisaged.

Study of the Sun and, above all, of solar flares from space will help prevent a global ecological catastrophe, which threatens humankind. Spacecraft cannot prevent it on their own, but they can give help that is invaluable in assessing nature-conservation efficiency and the condition of the environment and in finding sources of destabilization.

Since the Sun is vital for life on Earth, simultaneous observation from space of phenomena occurring on the Earth and the Sun have unquestioned value in handling environmental issues. Such observations from Regatta-based laboratories may be a success.

Regatta will have to fit organically

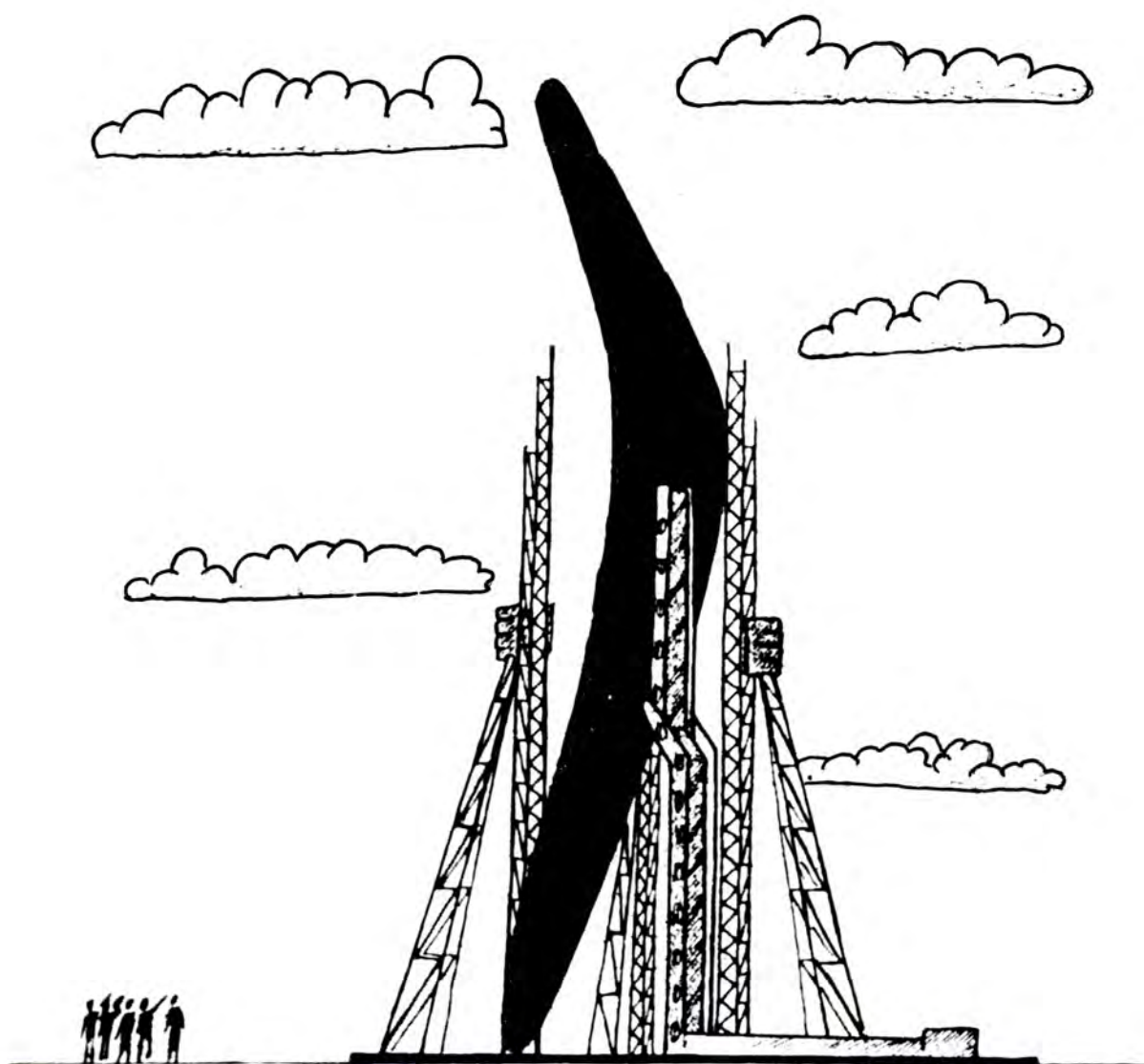
into the world space system of environmental monitoring, weather observation, earth study, and scientific forecasting of natural processes on our planet. This will require the broadest international scientific cooperation.

Another Regatta project involves global surveys and the mapping of starry skies in the infrared electromagnetic wave band. Such research will expand our knowledge of astronomy and astrophysics and help us handle many basic problems, such as revising the scale of the universe, determining star masses, and investigating problems associated with the structure, dynamics, age, and evolution of the galaxy. Improvements in astroorientation and the astronavigational accuracy of spacecraft will be important results of this research.

Space astrometry was begun by the European satellite Gepharchos. By the mid-1990s, Regatta space laboratories will be continuing such research. With the help of television cameras pointed toward the Sun, directions to stars, planets, and the Sun will be fixed with high accuracy. The entire celestial sphere can be scanned from the craft in six months. Future Regatta spacecraft will be able to carry interplanetary expeditions to comets and asteroids.

The Regatta Small Space Laboratory project, officially begun in 1983, is now in an experimental design phase. Orbital movements with the help of solar sails are under study. ■

HUMOR



Drawing by Anatoli Cherviakov

INSPIRATION FOR ARTISTS



Konstantin Bogaevsky. *Feodosiya*. 1930. Oil on canvas.

Robert Falk. *Landscape with Sailing Boat*. 1912. Oil on canvas.

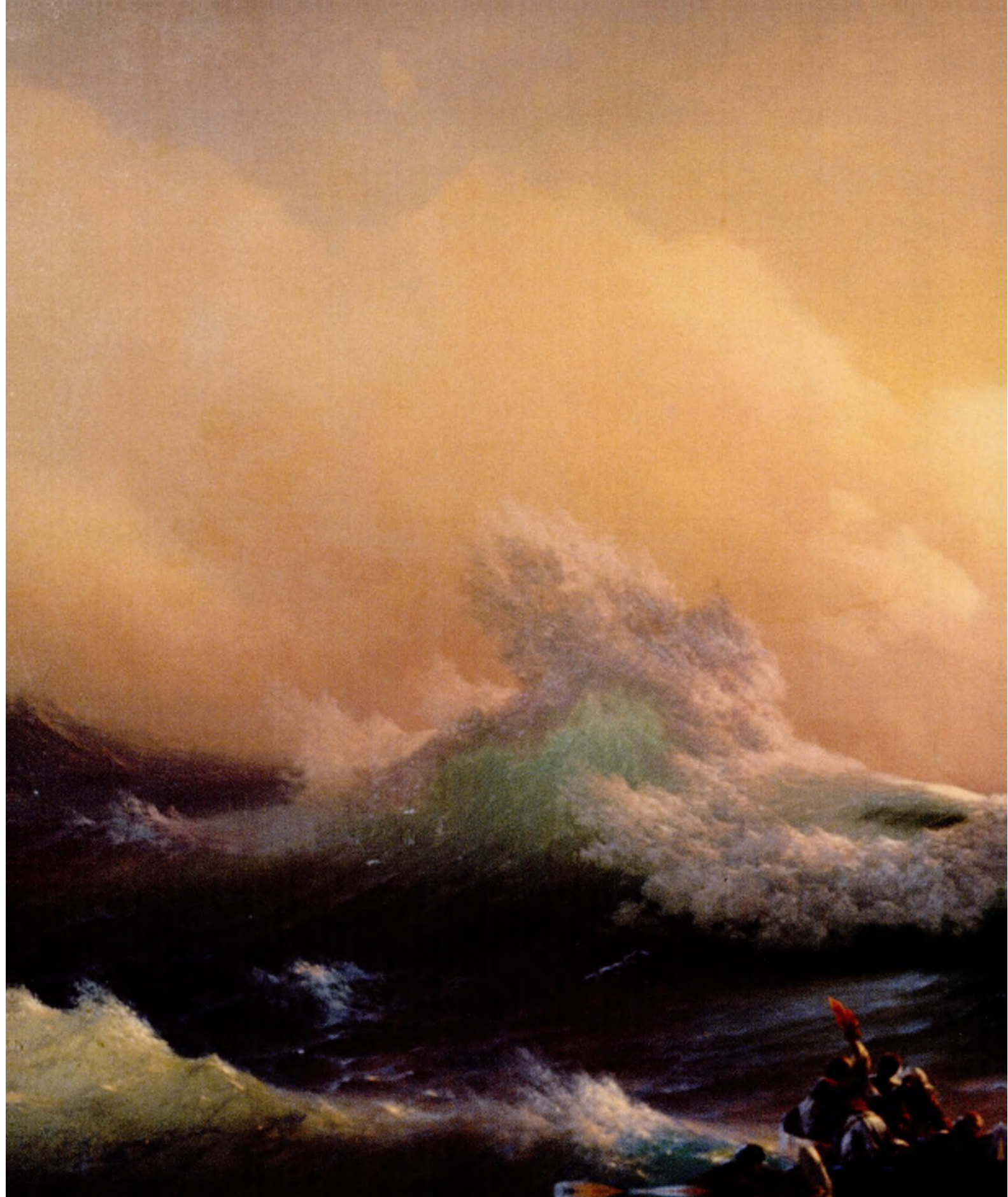


Artists from all over the world have always been attracted to Italy because of its quality of light, the sea, the generosity and gregariousness of Italians and their marvelous wine. Russian artists are attracted to the Crimea for more or less the same reasons.

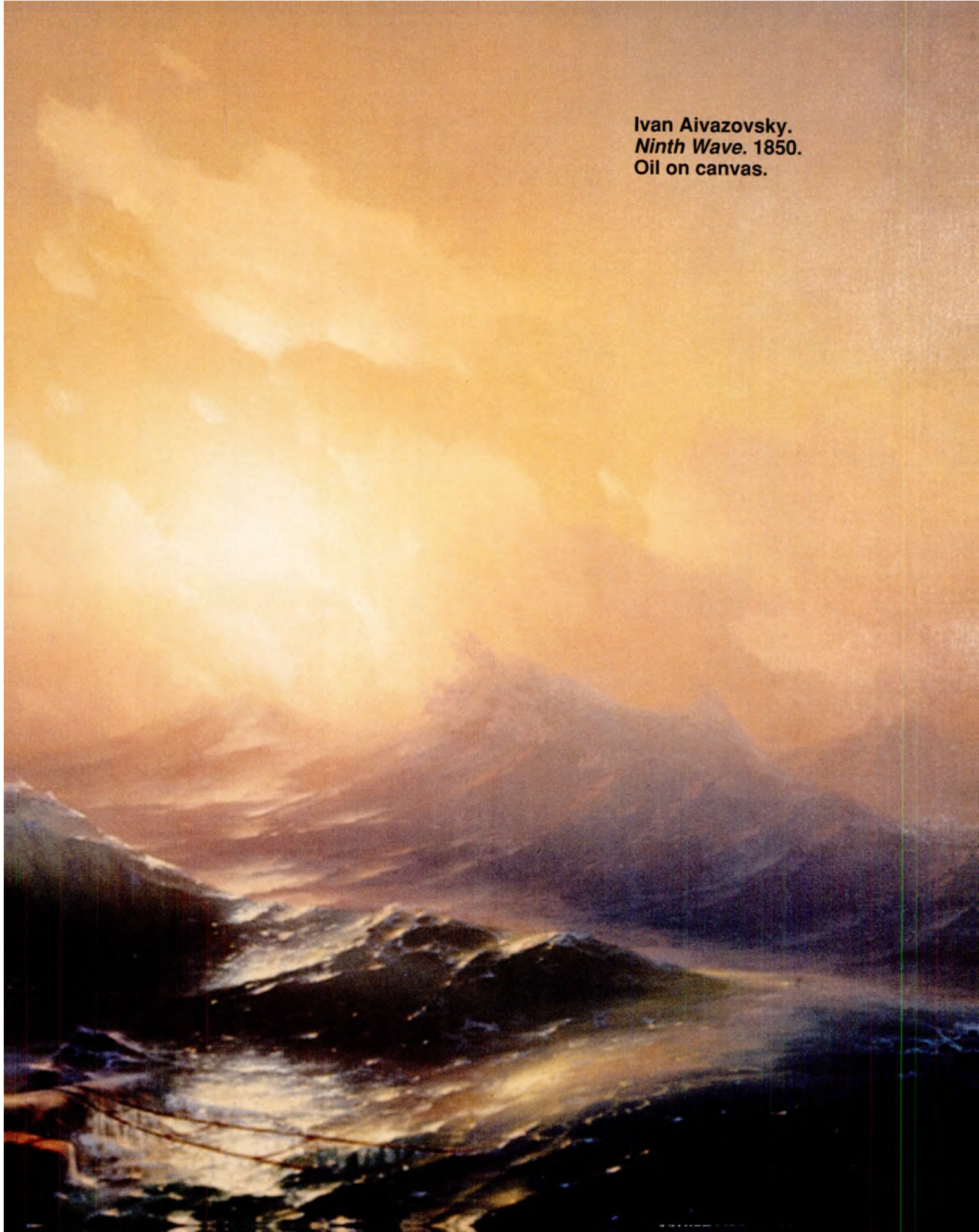
Whole colonies of famous painters lived in Yalta and in Livadiya. In Feodosiya the white and red palace of Ivan Aivazovsky (1817–1900), the great Russian painter of the sea, offered hospitality to masters and young painters.

Aivazovsky was a legend even in his own lifetime. He left a huge legacy to his compatriots—thousands of paintings, studies, sketches—and almost all of them are in one way or





Ivan Aivazovsky.
Ninth Wave. 1850.
Oil on canvas.





Konstantin Bogaevsky. *Old Crimea*. 1902. Oil on canvas.

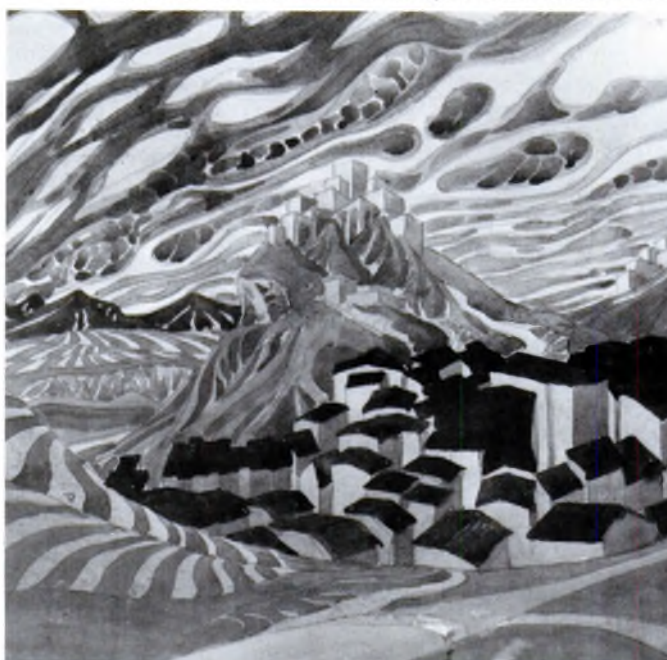
another connected with the sea, with sea-going vessels, with the Crimea.

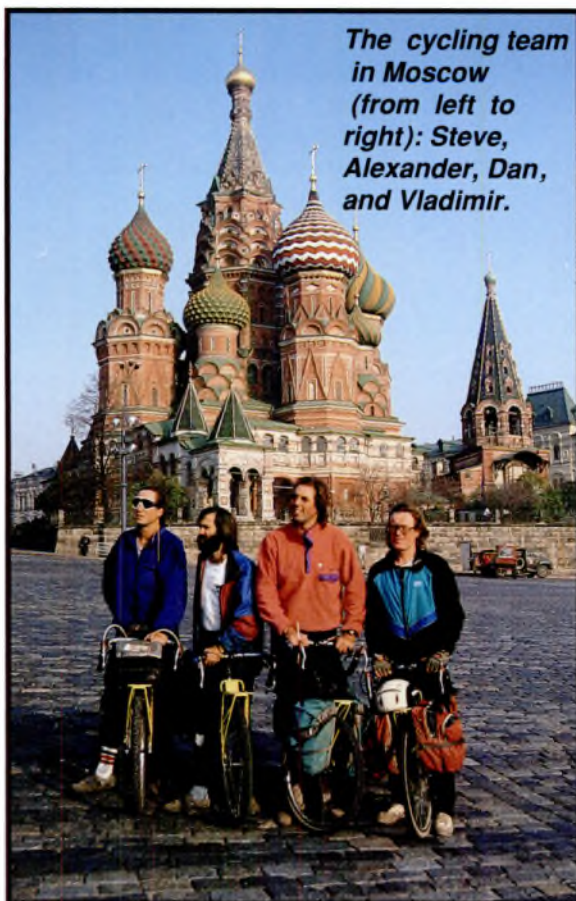
Konstantin Bogaevsky (1872-1943), who lived for many years in Feodosiya, felt closer to the mountainscapes and monuments of earlier Crimean civilizations. Bogaevsky belonged to the Cimmeria School, whose members conveyed in their own style the solemn silence of the mountains and the wild, primeval beauty of the sea. Bogaevsky was the most talented representative of the Cimmeria School.

Maximilian Voloshin (1877-1932) was a member of this school of painting. Voloshin, who was also a famous poet, fell in love with one of the most beautiful and mysterious corners of the Crimea, Mount Karadag. Here he wrote his best verse and painted his best studies.

Konstantin Korovin, Vasili Rozhdestvensky, Mstislav Bilibin, and Robert Falk also devoted large cycles of work to the Crimea. ■

Maximilian Voloshin. *Kok-Kaya*. 1916. Watercolor.





The cycling team in Moscow (from left to right): Steve, Alexander, Dan, and Vladimir.

EIGHT WHEELS ACROSS THE USSR

Text and Photographs by
Dan Buettner

The 7,353-mile route across the Soviet Union from the Rumanian border to Vladivostok on the Pacific coast starts out boldly enough. A ribbon of asphalt zigzags across the plains of Moldova, the Ukraine, and into Russia, connecting the dots that are the big industrial cities. But soon after bridging Europe and Asia over the Ural Mountains, the road dwindles to a rock-studded scar on the great Siberian steppe. In the Far East it loses itself altogether in an 800-mile morass we came to call "the Bog."

The road resumes 500 miles before Vladivostok, but the attention of the overland traveler set on traversing the Soviet Union always gravitates back to the Bog. On a map it looks innocent enough: a white space filling the gap between where the road ends in

Sretensk and picks up again in Chemanovsk. The information that trickles out of the region, however, suggests a Pandora's box, which, when opened, reveals knee-deep swamps, mud, giant insects, the complete absence of food, and a few backward inhabitants. To consider crossing the Bog in anything less formidable than a moderately powered tractor seems optimistic to the point of sheer folly.

But one man's Pandora's box is another man's treasure chest, and last year my brother and I, along with two Soviet partners, set off to cross the entire Soviet Union—especially the Bog—on bicycle.

In 1987 three other Minnesotans and I completed a 15,536-mile bicycle trek from the top of North America to the bottom of South America. We traversed tundra, Central American war zones, a 180-mile roadless jungle called the Darien Gap, the Andes, a 3,300-mile desert, and snow-covered expanses in southern Argentina. The trek made up

not only the 308 most difficult days of my life but also the 308 most rewarding ones.

After a positive experience in the Americas, I wanted an even greater bicycling adventure. At the time perestroika was flourishing, and the borders between the Soviet Union and the West were dissolving. I wrote exploratory letters to the Soviet Government, the USSR State Committee for Physical Culture and Sport, the Soviet Ambassador to the United States, and bicycle clubs within the Soviet Union proposing a bike trek across the USSR. I got one response, from a bicycle enthusiast in Volgograd. He said that most of my proposed route had been closed to foreigners since 1917 and that such a ride would present nearly unsurmountable difficulties. He went on to describe the Bog in typically horrific terms.

My friend from Volgograd only served to fuel my interest in his country. The notion that, if successful, I'd be

Dan Buettner is a writer and lecturer living in Minneapolis, Minnesota. He plans to write a book about his Soviet cycling experiences.



The Siberian landscape ablaze with autumn hues. Above (from top): Siberian children out to meet the team. Steve gains a partner near Odessa.

one of the first living Americans to see a part of the world that has been shrouded in mystery for the better part of this century attracted me. Few such adventures remain. The Bog was just the final lure. But first I needed the right contacts, a visa, and a cycling team. Connect U.S.-USSR, a nonprofit citizens group that pioneered a sister city relationship between the Twin Cities Minneapolis-St. Paul and Novosibirsk helped me navigate the Soviet system. Since the group had established a reputation for reliability in the USSR before the dawn of glasnost, it was able to put me in contact with the right Soviet organizations, to help negotiate with those organizations, and to arrange a meeting with a seasoned explorer, Vladimir Kovalenko, or Volodya as I called him.

A thirty-one-year-old Novosibirsk schoolteacher, Volodya had climbed the Altai Mountains, had rafted across the Azov Sea, and had bicycled through the Caucasus. He and I met in Minneapolis eight months before my target starting date for the cycling trip across

the Soviet Union. Volodya seemed the perfect partner: experienced, ambitious, English-speaking, and physically fit. He also had success in finding Soviet sponsors to fund his expeditions.

The prospect of cycling the USSR intrigued Volodya, but, predictably, traversing the United States intrigued him more. Thus, we decided, in fairness, to cycle across both countries. After looking at a map and seeing that the United States and the Soviet Union made up more than four-fifths of the earth's total land mass on our route, we decided to cross Europe, too, and to close the loop.

Volodya returned to the Soviet Union, I stayed in the States, and we got down to raising the 30,000 dollars and the 30,000 rubles that we figured we'd need to finance the expedition. Volodya brought aboard the Tomsk Shoe Factory; the Komsomol, the communist youth organization, in Novosibirsk; and Sputnik, the Soviet International Travel organization. Raleigh bicycles, Pentax cameras, Powerfood PowerBars, Overland bicycle packs,

Troxel seat covers, Bill Rodgers clothing, Moss tents, Oakley sunglasses, Scotch film, and 3M reflective tires were donated by their respective companies to help make the trek possible. The *Los Angeles Times* later pointed out the happy irony of a three-billion-dollar-a-year corporation and a communist youth organization sponsoring the same expedition.

Each of us also recruited another team member. I pulled in my brother Steve, who is a crack bicycle mechanic and a veteran of our trans-America bike trek. Volodya placed an ad in the Novosibirsk newspaper for interested parties to apply. After interviewing thirty-five applicants, he chose Alexander Razumenko, a thirty-one-year-old biochemist at the Siberian Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences in Novosibirsk. Alexander had taken part in nineteen expeditions, including a fourteen-month tour of Antarctica and a ski odyssey with Dmitri Shparo to the pole of inaccessibility. (see SOVIET LIFE October 1986).

Eight months later, on April 1, 1990,

the four of us loaded our bicycles and pedaled out of the Twin Cities covering the first miles of the first Soviet-American around-the-world bike trek.

"Passports," demanded the Russian soldier in a gruff voice. He wore a stiff green uniform, knee-high boots and an AK-47 rifle slung over his shoulder. When he spoke, two rows of steel teeth shone in the sunlight.

Steve, Alexander, Volodya, and I reached in our handlebar bags and handed the soldier our passports.

He stamped the Soviet passports but was not sure what to do with mine and Steve's. This was the first time he had seen Americans at this border crossing between Rumania and the Soviet Union, especially on bicycle! "Wait," he said and disappeared into a guardhouse with our passports.

The four of us had already cycled 3,625 miles since leaving Minneapolis. In sixty-four days we had pedaled through the eastern United States, France, Italy, Yugoslavia, and Rumania. We had followed the forty-fifth parallel (the latitude that circles the

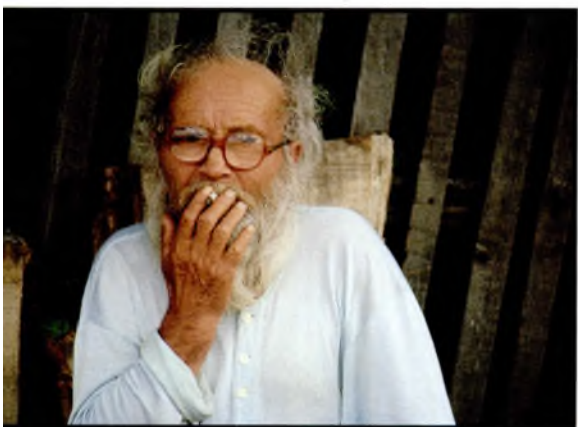
globe exactly halfway between the North Pole and the Equator).

After a moment, the soldier came out of the guardhouse, handed Steve and me our stamped passports, and with a steely smile said, "*Fsee-VO He-RO-she-va*"—the Russian for "Good Luck."

On cracked, uneven pavement, our bicycles rumbled over the first miles of road on Soviet territory. The seventy pounds of equipment in our panniers, normally a burden, actually helped absorb shock. Still, pedaling faster than 15 miles per hour would mean broken spokes and flat tires. I remember looking around at the rolling fields; passing the occasional groves of birch trees; and, though the landscape looked exactly like the Rumanian countryside a mile behind us, feeling a surge of adrenalin when I thought, the Soviet Union—we made it!

We reached the small village of Leusheny at dusk. As we pedaled down the main street, several dozen children ran behind us announcing, "Americans! Americans."





Volodya stopped a man and asked him where we might camp for the night. "Camp!" exclaimed the man. "Please, you'll be honored guests in my home."

Like his neighbors, our host lived in a small concrete house with a yard full of growing vegetables and farm animals. The man's daughter drew water from a well for us to wash with while his wife prepared a dinner of borscht, pickled beets, goat cheese, and lamb—all grown in the backyard. After several hours of conversation, we were led to a room where four beds had been made up for us.

The next morning, the man thanked us for staying in his home and sent us away with a small sack of sugar. It seemed like a trivial gift until we rode away, and Volodya told me that our host had probably given away his family's weekly ration.

I won't weary you by recounting all the acts of kindness we experienced as we made our way across the Soviet Union. It's enough to say that I've pedaled over 30,000 miles through twenty-eight countries, and I've never seen finer hospitality. Out of 150 nights in the Soviet Union, we spent 120 of them in homes.

The value of these stays went far beyond the economic considerations of food and shelter (though in most of the rural USSR, restaurants and hotels are virtually nonexistent—concerns that aren't to be overlooked). When you stay in a Soviet home, you become part of the family. You drink vodka, eat the same food, talk over pressing problems, and sometimes help with the chores. In short, we lived a slice of Soviet life almost twelve hours every day. We gained insights about the Soviet Union that would have been impossible to get any other way.

Several things impressed me during the first month in the country, but the terrain was *not* one of them. Let me offer a cursory recollection of that first

2,000 miles, from Rumania to the Urals: I see the road bisecting a seemingly infinite plane—agricultural land as it were—and disappearing at a point on the horizon where asphalt meets blue sky. I feel a demoralizing head wind that gallops across the fields of unripened wheat. (It howls in the ears, sounding uncannily like "quiitt.") Huge soot-spewing trucks barrel down the highway. The big cities, Rostov-on-Don, Volgograd, Saratov, Kuibyshev, and Ufa melt together in an amalgam of block architecture, statues of Lenin, and factory smoke. In short, it is a bit like bicycling across Nebraska and through Detroit. Five times.

But this part of the Soviet Union is no place to assess by casual observation or aesthetics. For me, its allure lies in its foreignness and its way of life forgotten in the West—the complexity of its people and the quirky way they regard Westerners. These points of interest require time and, often, attention to minutiae. The bicycle, which rolls along at 12 miles per hour and stops frequently, is very well suited to these requirements.

Siberia. The very name evokes in the American mind images of prison camps, arctic windstorms, and reindeer pulling sleighs over endless miles of snow. For us, it was the most difficult leg of the trek, which had taken us over 6,500 miles thus far. Siberia also held the most ironies.

I, too, had imagined this place to be a frozen wasteland. I was only half right. One steamy afternoon on the Siberian steppe my key-chain thermometer read 102 degrees Fahrenheit. Around me, as far as I could see, stretched miles of brown, scrubby prairie or steppe. It looked much like a desert.

The dirt road we were following through this land had once been the path along which Russian prisoners were marched (including Fyodor Dostoyevsky) to serve long, hard sentences in labor camps. The asphalt had ended eighty miles back.

My 21-speed Raleigh rattled as I pedaled over the tennis ball-sized gravel with which the road was paved. By noon my hands had taken such a pummeling that they felt like blobs of flesh at the end of my arms. And there were 240 more miles of this wretched

Left, from top:
Venders on the road to
Krasnoyarsk. A small
girl near Chita. The
cyclists pose with a
group of grandmothers.
A retired villager
near Krasnoyarsk.

track before the asphalt would resume! We stopped in a hamlet called Selo-Ustorka to search for lunch. I asked a woman on the street where to find a *stolovaya* (workers canteen).

"There's no *stolovaya*," she replied.

"How about a store?"

"There's no store either."

"Doesn't this town have anything?"

"It's not a town; it's a regional center," she said. "There's nothing here but houses." Then she paused a second and corrected herself, "Well, nothing except the asphalt factory."

The ironies didn't stop when we reached the Siberian capital city, Novosibirsk. Though it's the center of one of the most sparsely populated regions on earth, its million-plus in-

habitants live practically on top of each other in boxlike prefab highrises. And in this city, which Americans might consider a godforsaken icebox, you can easily find Pepsi Cola but not ice cubes.

After Novosibirsk, the notorious Bog still lay ahead. Before reaching it, we would pedal another 1,975 miles of road (much of it dirt); raft 275 miles down the Shilka and Amur rivers; and, under KGB scrutiny, cycle a military road. We'd also heard warnings from an army general that we'd likely starve to death there or be bitten by the dreaded *kleshch*, a tick that delivers a lethal bite.

But notorious places rarely live up to their reputations. For only 200 of the 778 roadless miles we thought to be bog did we truly sink to our knees. The balance of that leg consisted of prairie (also known as winter road), footpaths, mud slough, and even dirt roads, which connected a few remote villages. Through some of the distance we walked our bikes along the Trans-Siberian Railroad.

The difficulties were all tempered by Eastern Siberia's rugged beauty:

still birch forests set ablaze by autumn's paintbrush with hues of orange and gold; pristine streams filled with trout steadying themselves against the crystal currents; and the occasional log-cabin settlement, where people live close to the earth, their life not cluttered by electronic entertainments or the tyranny of time. Moreover, we never saw a *kleshch*, and after the sixteen days it took us to traverse the region, we still had an adequate amount of rations left over.

On October 6, 124 days and 7,353 miles after leaving the Rumanian border, Volodya, Alexander, Steve, and I rolled our front wheels into the Pacific Ocean near Vladivostok. Sputnik, the sponsors that had tracked and expertly facilitated our progress throughout the country, had a press conference waiting for us. Twenty-one hundred miles of bicycling still lay ahead of us before we would complete our transglobal loop (12,888 miles all told). With the largest, and perhaps most fascinating country on earth at our backs, I knew our expedition had already been a huge success. ■

**Steve meets a truck
100 miles east of
Chita. Insets, top
to bottom: Wading
through a puddle
near Viatka. "The Bog"
between Chita and
Khabarovsk.**



Vita Longa, a movement born in Moscow four years ago, really is destined to have a long life because its members are committed professionals. So far there are only 300, including journalists, scientists, engineers, artists, and business people. The movement has three focuses—environmental, cultural, and peacemaking.

Vita Longa was born of perestroika, although neither its leaders nor its rank-and-file members are interested in power or in shaking the foundations of our already unstable system. The tyranny of the party bureaucracy has naturally influenced all aspects of Soviet life, including the environment. Vita Longa's members feel that professionals are the nucleus of our society, and that they have a responsibility to join together to resist bureaucracy.

The group's nongovernmental status enables it to criticize official reports about the condition of the air and water in Soviet cities and to carry out its own independent research, to demand that the central government and local authorities take urgent measures to save the Volga, and to establish unofficial contacts with foreign environmental movements.



VITA LONGA

By Alexander Tropkin
Photographs by Victor Borisov

PEOPLE TO PEOPLE CULTURAL EXCHANGES

ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION BUSINESS CONTACTS

Enthusiastic members of Vita Longa have covered thousands of kilometers in twelve Western European countries.





people. Vita Longa encourages
ns of real popular diplomacy.

year twenty-five Soviet envi-
talists, scientists, writers, jour-
and public figures made a bus-
velve European countries. Vita
ntroduced its noble goals to
y, Belgium, Great Britain,
ance, Switzerland, Italy, Aus-
choslovakia, and Hungary.
nately, there wasn't much time
niring the picturesque land-
of the Old World. The days
lled with the European move-
s' actions for peace and environ-
ental protection, with round-table
discussions, and with efforts to estab-
lish contacts between businesses.

Every international project is me-
ticulously prepared. The U.S. mara-
thon will be no exception. What is the
goal of Auto Rally-91? I put this ques-
tion to one of its organizers, the promi-
nent scientist Eduard Guirusov, who
is chairman of the Soviet Ecological
Foundation.

"Vita Longa's rally across America
will have two parts—Eastern and West-
ern. Our Eastern group will establish
broad cultural contacts because it will
comprise actors, painters, musicians,
and film directors. Americans will see
original exhibitions, movies, videos,
and musical performances, and meet
Soviet intellectuals.

"I will lead the Western, ecological,
group. Among its members are promi-
nent environmentalists, medical per-
sonnel, and journalists specializing in
environmental protection. We will visit
ecological disaster areas and national
parks, travel to Eskimo and Indian vil-
lages in Alaska and California, and
meet with American environmental-
ists and activists. We will be glad to
learn how the new ecological mental-
ity is taking shape in American schools
and universities.

"We would not be able to carry out
our plans, however, without the sup-
port of our American colleagues. In
our turn, we propose that our Ameri-
can friends and partners make a Soviet
tour in 1992. Of course, we will con-
sider all of their requests."

Vita Longa's U.S. tour is supported
by Rotary international branches in
Moscow and Irkutsk. ■



Vita Longa journalists (above and right).

Members concentrating on cultural affairs organized a film marathon a year ago, which included noncommercial and little-known films. Audiences saw 130 Soviet films and films from the United States, Canada, Finland, Turkey, Bulgaria, and Sri Lanka. This year the film marathon will be expanded to include music, theater, poetry readings, and mass media events. They will be accessible to people of all ages and nationalities, to experts and lay people, and to old and new friends from abroad.

One of Vita Longa's best projects is regular automobile rallies. The group's first international auto rally was held two years ago in Eastern Europe, when Germany was still divided by the Berlin Wall and Rumania was governed by the dictator Nicolae Ceausescu. Nevertheless, Vita Longa chose those particular countries and told the people living there the truth about perestroika, its successes and failures. Strange as it may seem, these self-appointed Soviet diplomats were believed more than the journalists who specialize in slandering Gorbachev's program.

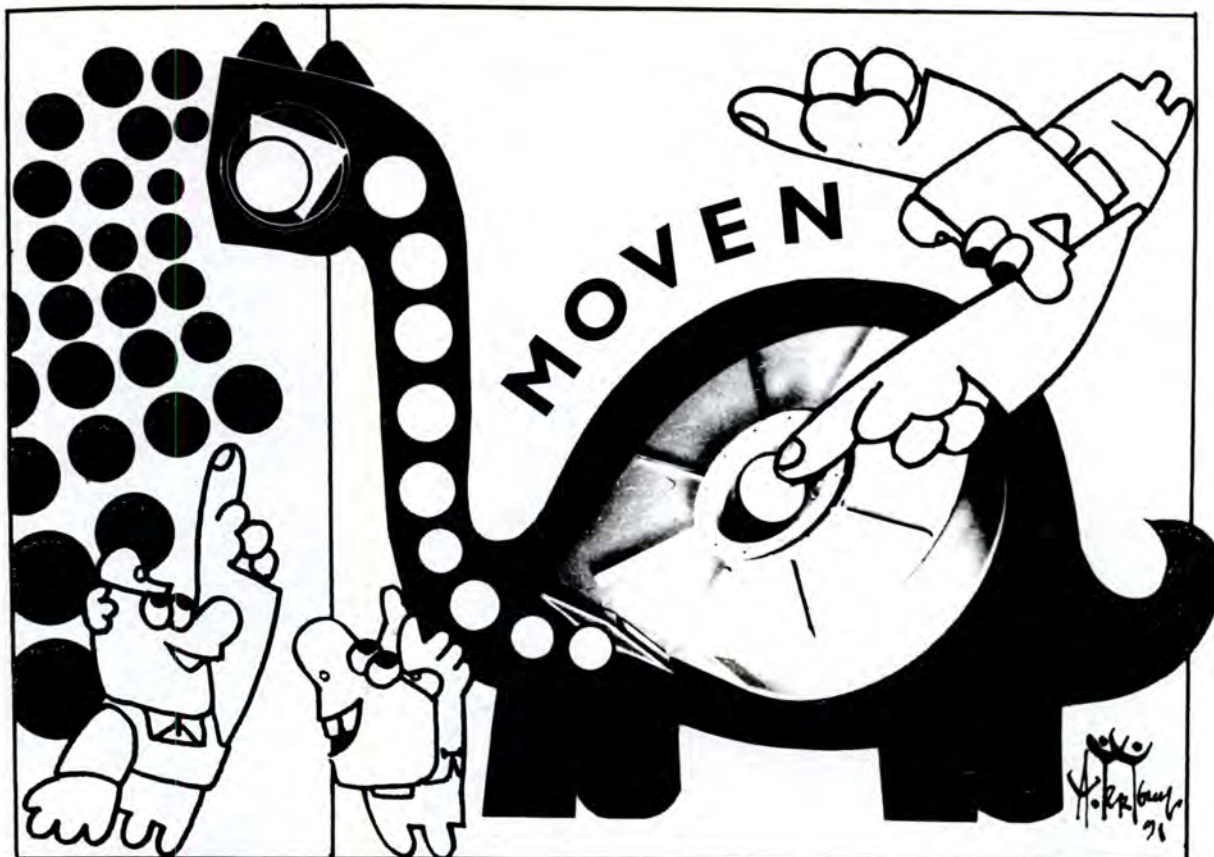
In its peacemaking work, Vita Longa has refused to accept the services of the traditional groups. For decades the peace movement in the Soviet Union had been in the hands of well-groomed bureaucrats from the Soviet Peace Committee, the Soviet Peace Fund, and the Union of Soviet Friendship Societies, which had nothing to do with ordi-



Music often speaks louder than words.



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The Moscow Ventilator Factory (Moven) is now owned by its 500 workers. A fully private shareholding society, with authorized capital of thirteen million rubles, the factory is completely independent of any state agencies. It has the right to conclude foreign trade agreements and to represent the interests of leading Soviet manufacturers of electric motors. Moven has a data bank on all ventilator-producing enterprises in the USSR. The factory has a working area of 19,000 square meters with up-to-date equipment and highly trained specialists to ensure high-quality, flexible, and efficient production. Output increased by 30 per cent in 1990. Moven offers industrial fans, electric motors, stamping auxiliaries, and engineering services, selling its output to Great Britain, the Netherlands, and other countries. It is currently negotiating with firms in the United States, Germany, and Denmark. Please send requests and proposals to:

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Telex: 411390 METR

A curious and in some ways sensational press conference was held in Budapest, Hungary, not long ago in connection with the publication of Ishtvan Nemery's book, *Gagarin and the Great Space Fraud*. What caused all the fuss? The author claims to have obtained information proving that Yuri Gagarin, the first man in space, never in fact left the ground. Informed sources, however, who attended the press conference simply shrugged off Nemery's claim as "absurd and ridiculous." But, despite its unfoundedness, the allegation was latched onto and embellished upon, with some people even believing it.

Why did Nemery write such a fallacious book? Who knows? But for readers who haven't had the chance to read the book, let me summarize the central points of Nemery's version of the truth.

According to Nemery, Soviet test pilot Vladimir Ilyushin—not Yuri Gagarin—should be known as the first man in space. By way of proof, the author offers reports that the launch of the *Vostok* spacecraft actually took place several days before the date that we all remember, April 12, 1961. However, during the spacecraft's landing, there was an accident, and Ilyushin was injured. To cover up the mishap, the authorities decided to appoint a substitute pilot, that is, Yuri Gagarin. Thus, he became the world's first cosmonaut without ever leaving the ground. Here's where Nemery's theory assumes a sinister quality. To ensure that the cover-up would never be revealed, the people who created it decided that all of the involved parties must be done away with.

A fatal car accident was allegedly fabricated for Ilyushin in 1961 (let me interject, however, that a very-much-alive Ilyushin was promoted to Major General of the Soviet Air Force in November 1973), while Gagarin met his tragic fate during a training flight in March 1968, that is, seven years after the supposed cover-up.

To convince readers that his information is well founded, Nemery confidentially states that he spent many years in Moscow, meeting with "people in the know" and digging up the facts. It would appear that Nemery's claims are so obviously lies that they would



WAS IT THE GREAT SPACE HOAX?

*That's what author
Ishtvan Nemery
asserts in his book
about the first man
in space, Soviet
Cosmonaut Yuri
Gagarin.
Correspondent
Mikhail Rebrov
takes a close look
at Nemery's claims.*

need no reply, but the farcical press conference in Budapest brought back the events of that last spring, when some of Gagarin's own compatriots tried to cast aspersions on his name and his fate. Rumors cropped up alleging that our top cosmonaut was a victim of Leonid Brezhnev's resentment, which grew out of an apparently bitter quarrel between them, and that Gagarin was consequently incarcerated in a psychiatric hospital, where he reportedly died in the spring of 1990. Such "information," like Nemery's, alluded to a "secret conspiracy," "plastic surgery," and the appearance of a "Gagarin look-alike." Other rumors were circulated in articles in the newspaper *Top Secret* and other publications. But the most astonishing thing is that people actually fell for these obvious fabrications. For instance, one rumor claimed that Gagarin was a descendent of the Gagarin princes, while another stated that after the death of cosmonaut Valentin Bodarenko, Gagarin had refused to take part in the preparation for the *Vostok* flight.

Last September my colleague from the Bulgarian newspaper *Popular Army* Nikolai Krasin introduced me to the famous clairvoyant Vangelia Gushterova, who lives in the Bulgarian town of Petrich. Nikolai told Granny Vanga, as she is affectionately called, I was a friend of Yuri Gagarin's. The blind old woman was silent for a long time as if she were listening to an inner voice and then said:

"Everybody thinks that Gagarin died in an air crash. They're wrong; he's still alive and lives somewhere in America."

I'm not going to try and dispute what I heard. Granny Vanga didn't feel well that day, and our meeting was very brief. I do, however, know to the last detail the chronology of events of our top cosmonaut's last day. I know when the MIG-15 trainer carrying the number eighteen went airborne, how much fuel it had in its tank and how long it would last, what the commission revealed at the crash site, the names of the experts—both scientists and technicians—who were there, and what conclusions they came to. The facts pertaining to the catastrophe are not in doubt.

I got to know Yuri Gagarin quite

well. We were on friendly terms. We met when twenty young military pilots were selected as the first space cadets. Later fate gave me the chance to spend time with the men during their training in Stellar Town during the years when Sergei Korolyov nurtured the idea of sending a journalist into space. Bondarenko actually had died from burns that he had sustained in an altitude chamber, a bizarre and freak occurrence.

On the morning of April 12, 1961, I myself wasn't at Baikonur. But I was at the air force command post, where all commands were transmitted and where all information was broadcast from the launching pad. The prestart conversations of Korolyov with Gagarin over *Zarya* were conducted on an open channel. The communications channel between the *Vostok* and Earth was open for the whole flight.

The space era did not begin in a sudden blaze of glory. We made our way slowly, overcoming many obstacles on the way and resolving the most complicated scientific and technological problems. We weren't the only ones to be stirred by Konstantin Tsiolkovsky's belief that mankind would not remain forever on this Earth.

I remember that day well and how everyone was filled with enthusiasm and wonder. In October 1957, everybody, irrespective of their homeland, language, ethnic background, or beliefs—all of us were united by one general idea: We were fellow earthlings who had made a hitherto unforeseen step forward on the path of space exploration.

Then there was Gagarin's triumph as the first man to orbit the Earth in a spacecraft, spending 108 historic minutes in space. While politicians tried to comprehend what had happened, ignoring technological niceties, scientists were busy being amazed at the grandiose technological achievements.

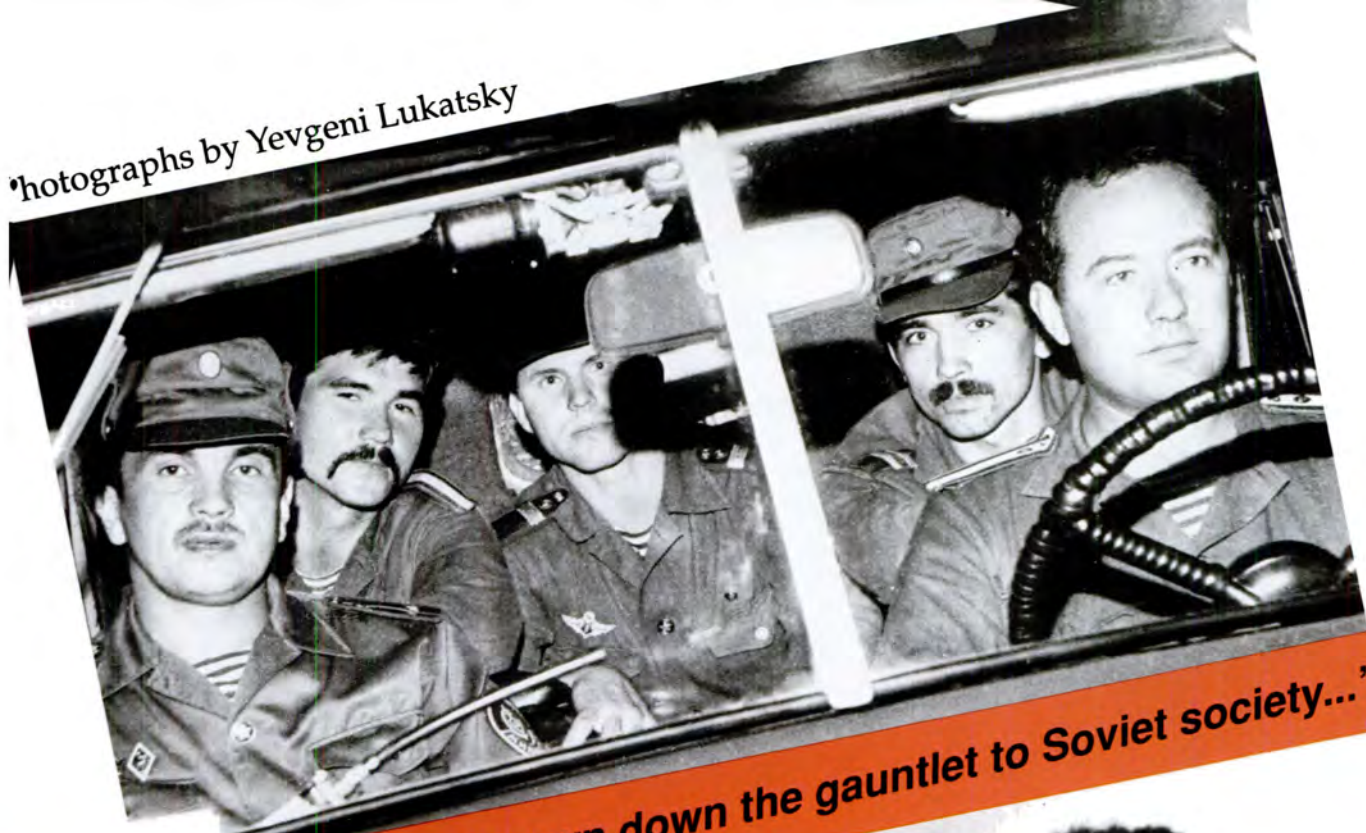
Life teaches us to concern ourselves with facts. You can't avoid them, hide them, or delete them. They exist and are well known to everyone. Yuri Gagarin's historic journey is exactly one of those facts. His name will go down in the annals of history as the first man in space, and no matter what writers may write, that fact is irrefutable, all thinking people agree. ■

law enforcement

COPS VS TOUGH GUYS

By Victor Bashkin

Photographs by Yevgeni Lukatsky



"Organized crime has thrown down the gauntlet to Soviet society..."



ver the past few years organized crime has become a serious destabilizing factor in the country. The number of groups involved in the transportation of stolen goods, drug trafficking, illegal currency transactions, racketeering, robbery, theft, fraud, and all

kinds of shady scams is growing. As their degree of technical expertise has increased, the underworld element is becoming more and more refined. Today's organized criminals are not only smart but also well armed.

In recent years an alarming new trend has emerged: The criminal element is showing an increased interest in establishing a foothold in the cooperative movement and is attempting to forge partnerships with corrupt officials. There are signs that the Soviet mafia is also trying to exploit interethnic strife to its own end and to prove itself a full-fledged player in the international underworld arena. In essence, organized crime has thrown down the gauntlet to Soviet society, and Soviet law enforcement is answering the challenge.

Today the war against organized crime has become a top priority of our law enforcement bodies. A recent resolution passed by the Second Session of the USSR Congress of



Left: A search of this individual produced a large cache of money.

Above: The task force on a surveillance.

Right: An undercover officer gets ready for an assignment.



People's Deputies concerns reinforcing the fight against organized crime. As the resolution states: "The fight against crime, especially its organized forms, is one of the most important tasks facing the government. The outcome of the fight will greatly affect the moral and political climate of Soviet society and the success of perestroika." The USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, the KGB, and the USSR Procurator's Office in cooperation with other interested ministries and groups are taking decisive steps to uncover organized crime groups and to put an end to their activities. This is the first time in Soviet history that the problem has been addressed at such a high level.

A special crime-fighting task force set up within the Ministry of Internal Affairs includes the most highly qualified and experienced people in Soviet law enforcement. Similar divisions and groups have been established on the

Above: Officers of the special crime-fighting unit capture a man who is wanted for murder. Right: Arresting a gang of men involved in a used auto parts racket.



republic level and in regions around major cities. All of the crime-fighting divisions have been outfitted with the latest transportation, computer, and technological devices.

The active support of special militia units has been commandeered to help the newly formed groups fighting organized crime. The first squads to be enlisted into service were made up of men in regular militia units whose specialization was patrolling and guarding. The main function of these units was to provide crowd control at major events, such as in stadiums, parks, city squares, and so on.

Today the men in these units are called upon to perform the most dangerous assignment: to apprehend and arrest members of organized crime groups. These law-enforce-

ment officers are not only well trained but well equipped.

The photographs on these and the previous two pages show only a few scenes of what the members of the special crime-fighting unit attached to the Kiev Militia Department face in their line of duty. Last year alone this group apprehended more than seventy criminal gangs that were linked to robberies, extortion plots, murder-for-hire schemes, and racketeering, among other serious crimes. In all, the special units have succeeded in putting a stop to the activities of more than 2,000 crime groups.

It might be true that the criminals are tough, but so are the officers whose job it is to stop them, and the criminals know it. ■

"...and Soviet law enforcement is answering the challenge."





OUR MYTHS ABOUT AMERICA

By Pyotr Vail

Despite the fact that perestroika is the great myth destroyer, some myths stubbornly refuse to go away and instead seem to become more entrenched in the USSR. These myths concern the West, in particular the United States.

Your typical Russian always looks at the West from two angles, respectfully and contemptuously, though his views of America have undergone a complex evolution since the end of World War II. The cold war did not come about simply because of propaganda. When the propaganda created an image of the enemy, it made the United States look like a country bursting with chickens, aircraft carriers, nylon shirts, and hostile attacks. Our potential enemies were inhabiting an earthly paradise.

Perestroika quickly destroyed the enemy idea, leaving only the earthly paradise. America is always cited as the example to follow. Soviet newspapers give me the feeling that they are talking about some other country, certainly not the country Americans know.

We have apparently lost all realistic ideas about what the West is like. Dostoyevsky wrote: "How passionate have been the tales we tell about America! Even those woven by statesmen!" In my presence a female journalist assured a doctor friend that you cannot be dismissed from your job in America because labor laws watch over your interests. The doctor was similarly convinced that anyone can be

sacked at any time there. My attempts to intervene, with the remark that there are different cases and circumstances, were ignored. I was stunned at the time, but later on I came to realize that many people perceived things only in black and white.

For example, for every person who is confident that the United States is a nation of teetotalers, you will always find someone else who is sure that hard drinking is far more a problem there than in the USSR, that Americans drink, even if just a little, every day and also mix their drinks with water, which is bad for you.

In the United States people don't lock their homes or their cars; in the United States it's so dangerous people never go out on the street.

America is a puritanical country; in America depravity is the norm.

American prisons are like sanatoriums; American prisons are worse than even Kolyma in the Far North.

And so on. All of these assertions are to a certain extent true. Basically the level of material prosperity is very high, but manners and customs, which should also depend on this, do not.

The swift transformation of enemy into friend has put everything into black and white. It's one or the other. *There Is No Other*—even in the title of this perestroika book, which was popular a few years ago, the unconditional nature of the statement shines through. The path of democratization is remarkable, but there are, in fact, other paths,

too, which I don't support. The categorical nature of the book title is obvious. And perhaps this is particularly noticeable in the way we treat America, which is not so easy to consider from so far away.

I want, in particular, to talk about the popular notion in the Soviet Union that people in the West suffer from lack of spirituality.

I think that tales about American lack of spirituality have their roots in America's wealth. Or, to put it more simply: If you have access to fifty varieties of sausage, that means that you don't read books. The absurdity of similar deductions is quite plain to see, but this formula works; it yields results. The brain that is used to simplicity, after many years of inertia, develops a compensatory idea, expressed satirically in a famous song by a popular Soviet bard: "But we make spacecraft, build dams on the Yenisei, and are also ahead of the whole planet in the field of ballet." A compensatory mechanism has been worked out: Being materially worse off means that we are far more spiritual.

In Zagorsk, the center of Russian Orthodoxy, I saw, to my astonishment, that the water from the miracle-working well was being poured into empty Jack Daniels bottles. Why? A beautiful label on a bottle with a cork. I was tempted to perceive in this act an ironic symbolism: American materialism suffused with Russian spirituality. ■

Courtesy of the weekly *Sobesednik*

Children of Chernobyl



By Natalya Buldyk
Photographs by Yevgeni Koktysh and IAN

Children and adults in Minsk, the capital of Byelorussia, participate in a 1989 march organized by the Byelorussian Popular Front.



The Chernobyl disaster took place in the spring of 1986 on the territory of the Ukraine, but the radioactive fallout affected neighboring Byelorussia.

"I start preparing myself for my treatment a week ahead of time. I try to persuade myself that it won't hurt at all. When I get to the hospital, I even try to joke with the doctors. Sometimes I can stand it, but often I can't—I cry when the needle enters my spinal cord."

Larisa, a frail thirteen-year-old from Minsk, has acute leukemia. The doctors have stopped concealing from her the fact that they are almost powerless to do anything. She may need a bone marrow transplant, and such operations are not performed in the Soviet Union.



Larisa, like dozens of other children who now have leukemia, is a victim of the Chernobyl accident. After April 1986 the number of young patients at the Minsk Hematology Center doubled. Some of the victims had spent their summer holidays in the countryside, where they ate mushrooms and berries contaminated by radioactivity. Others drank the fresh milk from their grandmother's cow. Still others, like Larisa, were simply walking under warm spring rains.

Larisa was not the only one unaware

*In a Minsk
oncology clinic.*





of what had happened. Radioactive fallout had already poisoned forests, soil, and water, contaminated grain, milk, and meat long before we were aware of the danger. The great tragedy for Byelorussia was not only that it received 70 per cent of the fallout, but also that it had to endure a criminal silence about the accident for three long years.

When the veil of secrecy was at last lifted, the truth shocked everyone. The radiation had contaminated one-fifth of the republic, including the most beautiful and fertile lands. No less than half a million children, whose bodies absorb radionuclides several times faster than the bodies of adults, are affected.

During the first eight days after the disaster, iodine treatment was not carried out everywhere. For instance, it was not conducted in Minsk, even though the radiation recorded at its peak here, hundreds of miles from Chernobyl, amounted to 2,800 microroentgens per hour on April 28! (The natural level is



Family pictures from a village in the fallout zone. Top: Young marcher carries banner reading: "Papa, I want to live!"

fifteen microroentgens; the safety level is sixty microroentgens per hour.) Small wonder that cases of thyroid disorder are now widespread, that thyroid cancer is now common and sometimes fatal.

People live and work in contaminated areas; they raise livestock and harvest crops. Moreover, they deliver foodstuffs to all parts of Byelorussia and beyond its borders. The result is that radioactive nuclides are recorded not only among residents of contaminated areas, but also among residents of Minsk, Grodno, and Vitebsk.

The government likened the natural demand of Byelorussians—that they be protected from radiation—to a mutiny. Ministries did not want to acknowledge responsibility or to pay for the tragedy. Although they were silent about the true scale of the catastrophe, the republic's leaders did try to take some measures. In the first days after the tragedy, about 25,000 people were evacuated from settlements and villages lying not far



*Young patients
undergoing
treatment.
Below: Larisa
and dog.*

Two young casualties.

from Chernobyl. Soon twenty state and collective farms there were disbanded.

During this period supervision of foodstuffs and agricultural products was arranged, thousands underwent medical screening, and many people also received medical treatment.

The republic has worked out its own state program for eliminating the consequences of the accident. It envisages a range of measures: the construction of new population centers, the evacuation of residents from contaminated areas, and the setting up of new clinics and research centers.

The work is not always efficient, however. Even decontamination does not always have the desired effect. The soil is cleansed of radioactivity, but in three or four months the previous radiation level has returned.

The situation in several new settlements is similar. They are comfortable, beautiful, with shops and kindergartens, but they are not suitable for living. They stand on soil that is clean of radiation, but radiation exists all around them.

Health services need improvement. Many doctors who understood earlier



than others the danger to life have left the contaminated areas. Now doctors work in shifts, with teams of specialists moving from region to region. But problems of chronic large-scale shortages of medical equipment, medical preparations, and vitamins remain.

People are suffering. Gomel and Mogilev regions have recorded increases in upper respiratory, gastrointestinal, and cardiovascular diseases and in the incidence of cancer and birth defects.

Soviet medicine has been quite unprepared for the sharp increase in the number of cases of acute leukemia. It does not have the facilities for bone marrow transplantation.

"Yes, we are often powerless," admits hematologist Olga Aleinikova. "We place our hope in foreign colleagues with whom contacts are at last being established. Many people want to help us."

Byelorussia does not rely only on aid from foreigners. A new parliament has just been elected. The special Chernobyl Commission has been established by parliament. The commission includes new members who will not allow the truth to remain hidden.

But we realize that we cannot cope with such a disaster alone; we need international solidarity. From all parts of the world envoys of various organizations and public movements have started coming to our republic, which seemed doomed to remain poisoned forever.


*A patient in the
pediatric
hematology
department.*



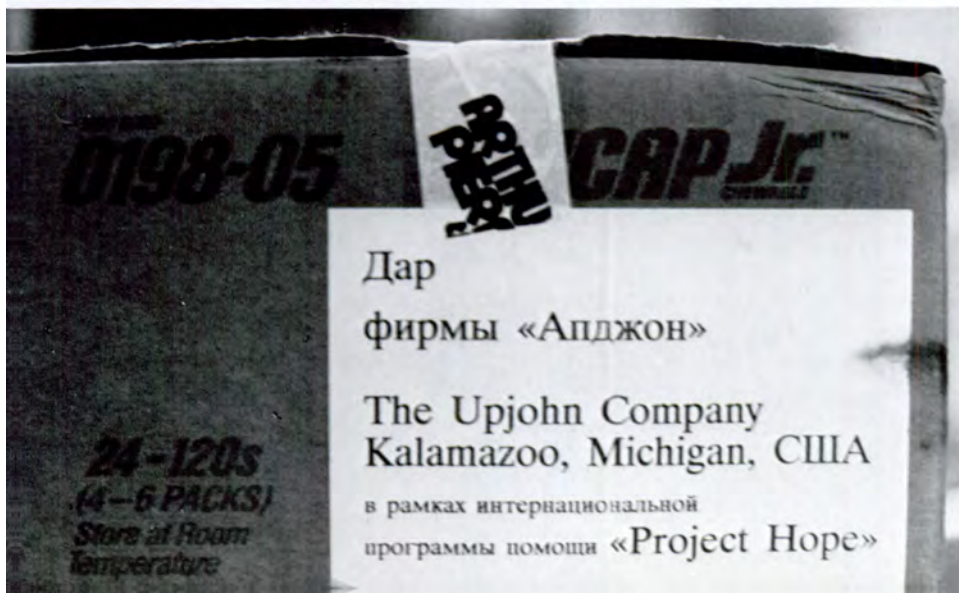
**Memorial service marking the
fourth anniversary of the
Chernobyl accident.**

The Austrian firm Volkshilfe provided thirty-six tons of baby food for Gomel and Mogilev. Christian Peace Service, a German organization, supplied medicine and medical equipment to Byelorussian clinics. Nationals of many countries have invited Byelorussian schoolchildren to scout camps.

Upjohn, an American pharmaceutical company, acting through Project Hope, filled seven enormous trucks with drugs and vitamins. This delivery (sixty tons, worth four million dollars) will be enough to treat 40,000 people in the course of a year.

International solidarity and the growing wish to help innocent people give rise to hope. We are not alone, and with help we will save our earth and our children. 





Help comes from many other nations. The Upjohn Company, Kalamazoo, Michigan, has sent medicines, vitamins, and food. Center: Children en route to Germany for rehabilitation. Facing page: The TV program "Vzglyad" interviews a doctor from the Minsk Hematology Center (upper left). Ales Adamovich, a well-known Byelorussian writer, and Gennadi Grushchov, chairman of the Chernobyl Children Committee of the Byelorussian Popular Front (center left).

DEMOCRATIC

What Does

Pushkin Square is one of the busiest places in Moscow. In its underground pedestrian passageways, the representatives of different parties and movements peddle their papers. Groups of people discuss the latest news or listen to a self-styled public speaker. The square is always crowded. In the center of the square is a monument to the great Russian poet Alexander Pushkin, and this is the favorite meeting place of the Democratic Alliance (DA). As Alexander Solzhenitsyn put it, the political atmosphere is the crisp air of mutiny. DA assemblies are rarely authorized. That is why they end, as a rule, with the arrest of activists and the application of administrative measures against the organizers. Nevertheless, the DA leaders pose as martyrs of consciousness. They are convinced of the rightness of their "missionary" activities.

The DA was the first public organization in the USSR to proclaim itself a political party. This happened during the group's founding congress in Moscow in May 1988. The congress was attended by more than 100 people representing fifteen Soviet cities. The following January the second DA congress, held in Riga, adopted a number of program documents. "Creating the Democratic Alliance, we hereby take the necessary step toward the formation of the political infrastructure of civic society. We do not intend 'to rule in the CPSU's place and better than the CPSU.' In our opinion the very essence of the present system of rule is false," reads the Declaration of this party.

The Democratic Alliance is built on a confederative principle. It rejects centralism in any form. Its grassroots organizations enjoy a sufficient degree of autonomy, and the decisions passed by its leading bodies are more recommendation than instruction. The cementing elements of this organization are fundamental political principles,

general democratic ideals, and "the free spirit of camaraderie." There are no formal leaders, but the most active DA members, including Valeria Novodvorskaya and Igor Tsarkov, compose the council of this party.

Novodvorskaya is one of the founders of the Democratic Alliance. She is a member of the Moscow Coordinating Council and probably the best known of the DA activists.

Born in 1950 into a family of dedicated Communist Party members, Novodvorskaya considers herself a professional revolutionary. She makes it clear from the very beginning that she opposes violence. She says that she has been a convinced opponent of the existing state system since the age of 17 and has been waging an irreconcilable ideological struggle against the system for twenty years. She has been



Demonstrators at a rally in Moscow.

ALLIANCE

It Stand For?

By Victor Bashkin



arrested more than once by the authorities. She was arrested the first time in 1969 for disseminating leaflets in the hall of the Kremlin Palace of Congresses during the performance of the opera *October*. Novodvorskaya was sentenced to two years in prison in accordance with Article 70 of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation (anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda—this article has now been repealed). In 1978

she was arrested again for attempting to set up independent trade unions. She was arrested again in 1985 and in 1986 for massive distributions of anti-communist leaflets. Recently Novodvorskaya has been repeatedly subjected to administrative arrests (up to fifteen days) and fined for organizing and participating in unauthorized meetings.

Novodvorskaya has experienced

different prisons across the Russian Federation, and she prefers the Lefortovo prison in Moscow. The walls of its bathrooms, she says, are covered with beautiful tiles, linen is changed once a week, and there are many interesting books in the prison library. When in prison, Novodvorskaya usually goes on a hunger strike as a sign of protest.

On September 20, 1990, in the presence of her lawyer, Novodvorskaya was formally charged with insulting and slandering the Soviet President in public. She wrote an article in the DA paper *Svobodnoye slovo* (*Free Word*) under the title "Heil, Herr President!" and called the Soviet head of state "fascist" and "a nazi criminal" in speeches at public rallies. These actions are punishable under Section 2, Article 1 of the Law of the USSR on the Protection of the Honor and Dignity of the President of the USSR. The Procurator's Office issued a warrant placing Novodvorskaya in Moscow's Kashchenko Mental Hospital for a formal expert examination. This is not the first time Novodvorskaya has been subjected to such examination. In 1970 a group of experts from the Serbsky Institute of Forensic Psychiatry diagnosed her psychic disorder as sluggish schizophrenia. Later she was placed in mental hospitals several times for examination. Experts from the Kashchenko Mental Hospital and the Independent Psychiatric Association jointly concluded last year that Novodvorskaya was perfectly sane. The same day, September 25, she was released from the hospital. She is now home, waiting for the trial.

Novodvorskaya's defense lawyer, Yelena Komarova, contends that, regardless of future developments, the Procurator's Office has already rubber-stamped a new hero. Previously only thousands of people had heard about Novodvorskaya; now she will be known to millions. If there is a trial, it will be an open trial. During the

proceedings Novodvorskaya will repeat everything that has been said at the DA meetings. There will be a full-scale campaign in her defense. Since she was arrested on September 17, 1990, the Democratic Alliance has already held several rallies under the slogan, "Freedom to Valeria Novodvorskaya!"

"There has been no legitimate power in this country since the Bolsheviks dispersed the Constituent Assembly," says Novodvorskaya. The main goal of the Democratic Alliance, which is codified in its program, is to change the state system in a peaceful, revolutionary-democratic way. The Alliance regards the present renewal processes in Soviet society as merely an attempt to freshen up the facade of a totalitarian system. It calls on all the democratic forces to pool their efforts on a common political demand—the convocation of the Constituent Assembly—creating "a democratic alternative to the catastrophe-prone efforts to restructure the totalitarian system."

The DA leaders publicly state that they fight not for but against power and for a fundamental change of the social, economic, and political structure. In their opinion a new society should be based on the ideals of humanism, democracy, and pluralism, with the emphasis on the freedom of the individual and inalienable human rights. "A man is born free. There is no ideology or social ideal that could make up for the loss of this freedom. People have the eternal right to doubt, to search, and to disagree with the majority and the right to uphold their concepts," the DA platform proclaims.

How is the DA proposing to carry out this social ideal? In the economic field it stands for creating conditions for the existence and equality of varied forms of property ownership—state, collective, private, and cooperative—and of economic activity. It suggests terminating centralized planning and disbanding the existing industrial ministries or depriving them of command functions. In agriculture, it favors private farms (along with state and cooperative farms) with the use of hired labor within the limits set by law.

"Yes, we are for varied forms of economic activity, privatization, and denationalization of property," says Novodvorskaya. "Land should be

given to peasants for private ownership with the right to sell it. Peasants should get back the cattle and machinery that were taken away from them as a result of collectivization. Debts should be paid."

In the political field, the DA stands for public control over foreign policy activities, disbanding the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO, reducing the Soviet Armed Forces, and creating a professional army. The DA program calls "for the immediate dissolution of the KGB and the creation of a new security service within the framework of existing national law."

The Alliance advocates transforming the USSR into a democratic confederation of sovereign states and the complete freedom and self-determination

The main goal of the Democratic Alliance, which is codified in its program, is to change the state system in a peaceful, revolutionary-democratic way.

of each constituent republic. According to the DA program, it is possible to reach national concord on the basis of "the right of the basic nationality of a state entity to recognize its language as the state language; the recognition of the right of the ethnic groups living in a different ethnic environment to cultural and national autonomy;" and the right of every republic to have its own army units.

In the field of legal reform, one of the top priorities of the Alliance is to work for the independence of the judiciary, the introduction of trial by jury, abolition of the death penalty, elimination of the system of passports and permanent residence permits, the liberation and rehabilitation of all victims

of Soviet bureaucracy and the right to freely leave the country and return.

The Alliance's proclaimed program goals seem to be more or less consistent, despite certain radical provisions, with the ongoing changes in the Soviet Union. Why then is the DA considered the extreme pole of the democratic movement in the USSR? As often happens in politics, words do not necessarily coincide with deeds. Attending the noisy meetings of the DA, it is difficult to believe the sincerity of its leaders' statements about allegiance to the ideas of pluralism and a law-based state, as well as simple common sense. Calls to topple the Communist Party, storm the KGB building, and launch campaigns of civil disobedience, public execution of Lenin's portraits, the burning of the Soviet national flag and, finally, slandering accusations leveled at the Soviet President can hardly be called anything but extremism.

None of the present political leaders, left or right, considers the DA a serious political force. According to the Moscow Coordinating Council, the Alliance has around 2,000 members. Although there are DA grassroots organizations in 40 cities, their membership is small. Organizationally the DA is a mess; there are internal conflicts and disagreements as a result of which some members quit the party.

Yevgenia Debryanskaya is a DA member who left. She was one of Novodvorskaya's closest supporters, but she now heads a Libertarian Party. Alexander Chuyev, another Coordinating Council member, has also discontinued his membership in the DA. He is the author of a book called *New Pages from the Life of the Democratic Alliance, or Revelations of a Former Member of the Central Coordinating Council*. In this book he offers a character sketch of his former comrades.

In the opinion of many political scientists, the Democratic Alliance is a party with neither a present nor a future. It is being forced into the background by numerous parties and movements that are emerging on the Soviet scene. Nonetheless, the DA members are rather optimistic. The right to express their ideas and to disagree with some reality or other is what matters to them. This right is granted unless the law is broken. ■

AT&T in Moscow

It looks as if Moscow's numerous bureaucrats will from now on use Spirit Telephone Systems of AT&T in their offices. The Moscow City Telephone Exchange (MCTE), the official representative of AT&T in the Soviet Union, announced the new arrangement in March, following the successful testing of Spirit base models. It is classified as a small automatic telephone system.

Igor Pribylov, who works in the MCTE International Department, thinks the hallmark of the American systems is high quality and relatively easy adaptation to the Soviet telephone network.

All settlements—between the clients and the U.S. firm and its Moscow representative—will be in dollars.

MCTE specialists expect orders for Spirit to come mostly from small and medium-sized businesses. The first clients, however, as Pribylov said, are government institutions, trade centers, and a number of Western news media offices.

Superstore in Moscow

General Resources International—Imperial of the United States and Invalyutorg of the USSR—opened its first joint-venture superstore in Moscow at the end of February. It offers everything from beer and cigarettes to state-of-the-art computers—for Western currency only.

Company spokesman George Bogushevsky says that the Americans are ready to sell for rubles as well, however. Similar offers have come from General Electric, Admiral, and the German Telefunken. According to Bogushevsky, the snag is that the ruble is not convertible, and foreign firms are not allowed to take part in hard-currency auctions in Moscow.

Originally, the Americans planned the store to be part of the U.S. system of retailing on Soviet soil. But a number of problems they have run into show that not everything is that simple. There are purely technical obstacles, which, however, can be removed.

Joint Passport

A new magazine, *Passport to the USSR*, is now available in and outside the USSR. This is the first Soviet hotel periodical published by a joint venture called The Soviet-American Advertising Agency, which is planning to put out six issues in 1991. The magazine is the initiative of the American firm the Zigzag Venture Group and Intourreklama of the USSR.

The first issue makes it clear that the advertising policy with respect to *Passport* is traditional, with the emphasis on prestigious trade ads.

The magazine is to be funded exclusively from advertising revenues. It is published in English and directed exclusively at the Western reader.

Taking into account the press run of the first issue (30,000 copies), the cost of one issue (three dollars), and the average rate charged for advertising space, the editorial board is expecting more than 150,000 dollars in profits from the issue, which is already out. *Passport to the USSR* is hoping that in the future it will be able to increase its annual press run to five million copies, with every issue returning up to half a million dollars in profit.

Design American Style

The American firms Hewlett Packard USSR and Mentor Graphics have begun to produce and sell in the Soviet Union automated systems for designing electronic technology. The firms' spokesmen say that the systems, the presentation of which took place in Moscow in March, will be sold for hard currency.

The Soviet-Swiss joint venture Serveco provides the connecting link between the American firms and the Soviet market. The installation of one system will cost at least 10,000 dollars, of which 20 per cent will accrue to Serveco.

According to company director Andrei Karev, they could sell for rubles too, but it would be a loss-making business on account of high taxes.

**NEXT
ISSUE**



RUSSIA'S NORTHWEST

Near the White Sea, an ancient community of ethnic Russians called the Pomory has lived since time immemorial. Their ancestors came from Novgorod in the eleventh century. Our next issue will give a glimpse of modern Pomor life.



SECRET COSMODROME

The town of Mirny is not marked on any Soviet map: It's the kind of town they call "closed," or secret, in plain language. The reason is that it is the home of a secret space center, the Plesetsk Cosmodrome. The first Soviet nuclear-tipped ballistic missile was installed there in the 1950s. But peaceful projects—including business arrangements with the West—compose most of the launches from Plesetsk now.

COMING SOON

**A New Look at the
Nazi Attack on the USSR**

Brain Drain

Can We Cope?

Western experts predict that after the Law on Free Exit is adopted, no less than eight million people will leave the USSR, including a considerable number of scientists. Novosti correspondent Svetlana Soldatenkova discusses some aspects of the problem with Yuri Osipian, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Q: What do members of the Academy of Sciences think about the possible departure to other countries of a large number of Soviet specialists?

A: We encountered that problem several years ago. There are reasons for this situation, and one of them is the poor living conditions in the USSR.

Scientists, having extensive contacts abroad, have a very good idea of the difference in living and working conditions in this country and abroad. The salaries of foreign scientists are five or ten times higher than those of their counterparts in the USSR. The most highly placed scientist, for instance, a director of an academic institute, acting member of the Academy of Sciences, an important scientist in the prime of life, who has hundreds and sometimes thousands of people working under him—he gets an academic stipend of 500 rubles plus a salary of 1,000 rubles. That amounts to 1,500 rubles a month, about 18,000 rubles a year. At the commercial rate of exchange, that's about 1,000 dollars a year. Scientists of that category in the United States get more than 100,000 dollars a year.

Another example. My son, who is thirty and a Candidate of Science, has a wife and two children, gets 350 rubles a month, or 4,200 rubles a year. In the

West a specialist like him gets about 30,000–35,000 dollars. Add to that our galloping inflation, the shortage of goods, and social and ethnic problems. The Jewish emigration is connected to a certain extent with anti-Semitism. Ethnic strife among Armenians, Azerbaijanians, Moldavians, Ukrainians, Kirghiz, and Uzbeks also complicates life in each concrete case.

*If significant results
in pure science are
obtained in the USSR,
they become the
property of the whole
world. If they are
obtained in another
country, they also
become common
property.*

All these factors undoubtedly prompt scientists to go abroad.

The problem has another very important aspect—the creative aspect—since conditions for scientific activities in the USSR are far inferior to those abroad. Government allocations for science in the USSR are considerably smaller than in the large capitalist countries. The modest sum received from the state for the development of science is apportioned among a large number of scientific organizations. As a result, talented people are robbed of the possibility of working efficiently. You often hear conversations like the following among scientists: "I've com-

pleted one project in three years, while my student, who went to the United States, has completed four in the same period, though he has less knowledge and experience than I have."

Besides, Soviet scientists know that in the United States their colleagues have the best equipment and facilities, and they can get everything they need for their experiments. All those factors are very important to scientists, and they often influence their decision to emigrate.

Q: Are there any big names among the scientists who have already gone?

A: I'm sorry to say there are. But I would like to point out that a person's departure to work in another country should not be taken as an irreparable misfortune. Science is international. What I mean is not special questions that are connected less with science and have to do with technical utilization, that is, secrets of a given industrial firm and state and military secrets. I am talking about pure science. If significant results in pure science are obtained in the USSR, they become the property of the whole world. If they are obtained in another country, they also become common property. Therefore, if a scientist has gone to another country and is doing research there, he or she should not break off contacts back home. I hope that many of the Soviet scientists who have gone abroad will return someday. That is corroborated by the history of the first and second Russian emigrations, when many people who went abroad subsequently returned to their homeland. I would like to stress once again that we should not consider the people who have left to be lost to Soviet science.

Furthermore, I hope the time will come when, parallel to the departure of Soviet scientists, foreign researchers will start coming to the USSR. Even now scores of foreign scientists are asking for permission to work for a year or more at the Institute of Solid-State Physics. The reason they are not permitted to do so is that the Soviet side cannot provide them with the standard of living they are accustomed to at home, though opportunities for research in some institutes are really very good. The minute living conditions improve, I am sure that foreign scientists will come to the USSR and two-way traffic will begin. Though the movement will not be of equal size in

end of their lives or to retirement age. Sometimes that takes years. It goes without saying that it is more of a problem for immigrants. Moreover, Soviet people are accustomed to social security, even though it may be imperfect. As a result, Soviet citizens are sure that the state or society is obliged to offer him or her a job. One of the shortcomings of socialism. That's quite true. Try to find anyone in the USSR who has been looking for a job for even five months! If there is such a person, you may be sure he or she has written countless letters to state and public organizations with complaints about such crass injustice. In the United States, however, if a person cannot find a job,

in a business that produces moral satisfaction, big money, good prospects, and the respect of society.

Similar types are appearing in the USSR as we move in the direction of a market economy. But our business people have not yet won the respect of our society. Soviet people often give them unflattering names because our public ethics are founded on principles that are different from those in the West. We have been indoctrinated with the idea that a poor man is good and honest, while a rich man is either a swindler, a thief, a shyster, or, it goes without saying, an exploiter.

Unfortunately, such an ethos is rooted in history, and it is impossible



Drawing by Tamara Novoselova

both directions, it will nevertheless be an important factor that will modify the negative consequences of the departure of experts from this country.

Q: Will all those who leave the country be able to find work abroad?

A: We should not think that every Candidate or Doctor of Science leaving this country will be offered a wide choice of jobs. On the contrary. It is a problem for the Americans or Europeans themselves to find a permanent creative job that will guarantee employment to the

there is no state agency to blame for it. A Soviet immigrant in this situation has to run around looking for a job—a brand-new experience. Then there are factors such as ignorance of the language and training—ours differs considerably from that offered in the West. In other countries the applied nature of science is considerably more pronounced.

A successful business person is the hero of Western society, a talented, enterprising individual who is self-confident and takes pleasure in engaging

to change such values in a single day or even in a year. That explains the prestige that attaches to areas such as science and art, though not everyone is suited for their pursuit. Soviet immigrants who never had any special gifts for fundamental science, but who claimed to have those gifts at home, find it difficult to get a job when they go abroad. Many of them change over to business. I don't think that should be viewed as failure; on the contrary, we could say that such a person has finally found the right niche in life. ■

PLAY BALL!

By Alexei Srebnitsky
Photographs by Igor Utkin



The American game of football may become popular in the USSR as quickly as did ice hockey because the main qualities it calls for, strength and courage, have always been displayed by Russian men," said Mikhail Zakharian, president of the first Soviet pro football club. The club's name is the Moscow Bears.

For a long time the American game of football, like baseball and professional boxing, was unofficially banned by Soviet sports bureaucrats, who considered it a "manifestation of violence and brutality and epitomizing man's inhumanity." In their view, these sports interfered with the healthy psychological development of citizens. Perestroika, however, has affected all fields of Soviet life, including sports.



*The USSR presently has about
fifty baseball teams.*



Baseball and the Russian game of rounders have something in common, though they have even more aspects that are different. Baseball was first allowed in 1987, a move that was strongly influenced by the fact that the game had joined the Olympics.

Rounders does not require costly equipment or a special surface. The players need only a small ball and simple homemade bats. The team at bat hits the ball as far as it can and then rushes forward. The other team tries to catch the ball and throw it for a direct hit on one of the sprinting opponents.

Sports committee officials had a hard time deciding which group of ball games baseball belonged to. They appointed as head of the Soviet national baseball team first a rugby coach, then a badminton trainer; meanwhile, col-

lege and varsity sports clubs set up their own baseball teams. Amateur coaches obtained and translated into Russian special literature and videos and contacted Western experts and athletes. Strangely enough, they didn't even think of turning to rounders' fanatics, but instead immediately began to recruit players from different sports, above all, from handball.

The USSR presently has about fifty baseball teams. Not everything is going smoothly, and we're bound to make mistakes. All baseball equipment is also currently being supplied by foreign sponsors. Production of baseball mitts has begun. Most matches have to be played on soccer fields because there are so few baseball diamonds. The teams may remain poor relations for some time. For baseball to become

popular, however, we will have to, sooner or later, take care of such problems ourselves. Foreign institutions are closely watching the progress of Soviet baseball and extending a helping hand. Tokyo University, for example, gave two million dollars for the construction of a baseball diamond on the campus of Moscow State University.

The Soviet national baseball team visited the United States in the summer of 1990 for a twenty-day training session. Soviet and American athletes worked out and sparred together.

Right after the tour the novices had their baptism of fire at the Seattle Goodwill Games. The local papers were unanimous in praising the beginners, even though they lost to the American, Japanese, and Mexican teams. But late last summer the Soviets won the European Group B tournament at Parma, Italy, and joined the top teams. The team will play in the Group A tournament in Rome in August 1991.

Compared with our youthful baseball, Soviet football is still in its infancy. There are fewer teams so far than in baseball, but that is not surprising since sixty people have to be outfitted with all the necessary equipment. The supply problems are the same as in baseball.

The larger teams have found sponsors who have provided them with the requisite equipment. Other teams still play in homemade clothes and motorcycle helmets. It's a risky business if you're not properly protected.

American football enthusiasts in the USSR have not yet formed a federation. But they aren't likely to wait until the sport is included in the Olympics. The Moscow Bears toured the United States in the fall of 1990. American coaches thought the Soviet players could reach international standards in just a few months.

The USSR now boasts a number of promising football teams. In other European countries, football started gaining a hold a mere seven years ago, yet today there are more than 1,000 teams on the continent. Soviet hopes are raised by similar developments. I am quite ready to agree with one of the pioneers of football in the USSR, Mikhail Zakharian: "I am sincerely convinced that football will have a great future in our country."

Ruins of one of the civilizations that has left its mark on the Crimean peninsula. Story begins on page 5.



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A GIFT FROM AN AMERICAN ARTIST

March 26, leading American artist Gregory Perillo donated his painting, *The Kingdom of Peace—Nations at Rest*, to the Soviet people. The painting expresses the artist's conviction that the nations' desire for peace and unity is the only way to ensure the survival of humanity. The canvas reflects ancient Biblical themes and principles, but it was inspired by current developments in the world.

The artist has devoted most of his works to the life of Native Americans. In recognition of his contribution to this cause, a museum named after him will soon open in the United States.

Today a small number of copies of Perillo's works has been made using special technology that makes it possible to reproduce the artist's hand with great precision. The artist wants to give these copies to all of the members of the United Nations Security Council, in order to remind them that the prosperity of our children and grandchil-

dren is possible only if there is peace.

The artist's sponsor and manager is the U.S. firm Atlantic J.S. Corporation. This firm is also the founder of the Dynamo-Atlantic Soviet-American joint venture, which promoted the creation of the painting and its copies. Atlantic J.S. Corporation and Dynamo-Atlantic are introducing a system of internal and external mail-order trade, which is new to the USSR. As the first step, Soviet and American art lovers were offered copies of the above-mentioned painting, signed by the artist. The bulk of the money raised in this way will be donated to charity.

In the Kremlin, Gregory Perillo (left) was met by Ivan Laptev and Rafik Nishanov, chairmen of the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities—the two chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet—respectively. The artist said that he wanted it to show the unity of the nations in their striving for peace. ■

EDITOR'S NOTES

There's been so much talk about politics and survival after the recent price hikes that we're instinctively drawn to stories with a human touch. Luckily, not long ago I heard a story which, if handled by a novelist, would have sounded like a Christmas fairy tale. But this story is true. I heard it from an energetic young American businessman named Jeffrey Zeiger, who is a co-owner of the Moscow restaurant TrenMos. Perhaps our readers remember that last November we published an article about this restaurant.

I made Jeffrey's acquaintance a few days ago, completely by accident. I gave him an issue of our magazine and we talked about various things. His restaurant is doing very well. There's a dire shortage of foodstuffs in Moscow, he said, but he gets by, and even donates meals to orphaned children, pensioners, and disabled people. And then he told me the story of his father, Shelley Zeiger, also a businessman.

Shelley Zeiger was born in the Ukrainian town of Zborov. During World War II, when he was a teenager, the town was occupied by Nazi invaders. The Zeiger family, like other Jewish families, would have been shot if their neighbor, Ukrainian Anton Sukhinsky, had not helped them. Risking his and his family's lives, Sukhinsky kept the Zeigers in his basement for twenty-six months, until Zborov was liberated.

After the war, the Zeigers emigrated to America. Shelley grew up and became a businessman, but he has never forgotten the man who saved his family's life. In 1973 he went to the Soviet Union and found Anton Sukhinsky. Subsequently, Jeffrey, too, visited Zborov. Several months ago, he set out for America on his regular leave. With him was Anton Sukhinsky, who is now eighty-six years old. Now Sukhinsky lives in Jeffrey's house in New Jersey, not far from Trenton.

"Will he stay there long?" I asked. "That depends on him. If he likes the place, he can live there till the end of his life."

Robert Tsfasman

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Front Cover: Grandfather and grandson
belong to a community of ethnic Russians
called the Pomory, who live near the White
Sea. Photograph by Alexander Lyskin.

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the Apostle of Alaska.

A Secret Space Center Opens Its Doors

By Gennadi Vedernikov
Photographs by Andrei Solomonov



“We’ve begun commercial operations with foreign firms on our own. We’re capable of carrying out any task using the vast scientific and technical potential of the space center. All we need are specific orders from customers.”



Above: General Ivan Oleinik, head of the Plesetsk Cosmodrome. Facing page: A space photograph of Central Asian mountains. Inset: Engraving a map from a space photograph.

You won't find this northern Russian town on any Soviet map. Nor will you be able to buy a train or airplane ticket to go there, even though it has a railway station and an airport. The town of Mirny and the Plesetsk Cosmodrome are situated in a lakeside pine forest, surrounded by barbed wire. The only access road is blocked by a checkpoint, where soldiers carefully examine even school-children's documents.

The first Soviet ballistic missile with a nuclear warhead was installed here in the late 1950s. All that remains is a photograph in the local museum; the silo and the missile have been destroyed in compliance with a top-level political decision. Now Mirny, which means "peaceful" in Russian, is increasingly justifying its name—70 per cent of Soviet launches for peaceful purposes are made here.

This clean, cozy town has a population of 40,000. Young mothers push strollers along the streets. There are schools, kindergartens, and sports centers. The climate is very severe, but a large complex of greenhouses provides the town with vegetables and flowers. Evidence of the "cosmic" origin of Mirny can be seen on its streets, in the form of various monuments: a memorial to Academician Mikhail Yangel, one of the creators of Soviet missiles; an old ballistic missile mounted on a concrete plinth; and an eternal flame at a monument to several dozen people who died in an explosion during the fueling of a rocket. Mounted in the central square of the town is a sphere with two windows that melted descending to Earth through the denser layers of the atmosphere. This is *Cosmos 2000*. The first *Cosmos* spacecraft was launched from Mirny in 1966; its 2000th model was launched in 1989. It was also in 1989 that *Cosmos 2000* performed the first-ever overflight of the South and North poles—a tremendously difficult technical task. Onboard equipment took pictures of Antarctica that revealed its subglacial relief and geological structure. After that the spacecraft returned "home" safely, but not just to become a monument. One specialist told me, "We rescue satellites almost like we rescue people." This is


because the equipment installed in them costs too much to use only once.

Every year about 200 rockets are launched from Earth into space—on average, one every two days. Recently Soviet space programs have been opened up to the public. Several billion rubles are spent on them annually, but the profit they bring is much more modest. Hence the question: Does our country really need such programs, and if so, how can we make them less expensive?

"In a market economy we need a more flexible organization," said General Ivan Oleinik, head of the Plesetsk Cosmodrome, or space center. "So far we've managed to maintain extremely high reliability and technological standards in our space research programs, and we intend to keep doing so. To cut spending, the way parliament wants us to do, would mean to be left behind forever."

Admittedly, the local people are less than happy about living next door to a space center that occupies a large, closed zone. For one thing, used rocket stages sometimes fall out of the sky. But under new economic conditions this neighbor might be able to benefit the local residents. A resolution passed by the Russian Federation on the cosmodrome says that part of the revenues from commercial launches will go to the regional soviet as a local tax.

In September 1990 Ivan Silayev, Prime Minister of the Russian Federation, came to Arkhangelsk, the center of the region where the cosmodrome is located. At that time the head of the space center proposed several projects that would benefit both the northwestern region of Russia and the republic as a whole. The projects were approved a month later by the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation.

The first project is a satellite-based telephone network for Arkhangelsk Region (to be expanded subsequently to serve the whole northwest of Russia). It won't be necessary to lay cables for the network; comparatively cheap and simple peripheral equipment will suffice. Every settlement in the region, even the reindeer-breeding teams that roam the Arctic tundra, 

Most of the work at the space center, including hothouse gardening, is done by members of the armed services.



will have cellular telephones that will connect them via satellite with the national—and international—telephone network. "If the cosmodrome does that, we'll exempt it from paying rent for its land forever!" said Yuri Guskov, chairman of the Arkhangelsk Regional Soviet.

The second project involves the use of Resource-F satellites for monitoring the environment and searching for minerals. Arkhangelsk geologists, who are looking for diamonds and oil, are especially interested in this.

"We've begun commercial operations with foreign firms on our own," said General Oleinik. "We're capable of carrying out any task using the vast scientific and technical potential of the space center. All we need are specific orders from customers. It doesn't come easy to us; we don't have any experience with business negotiations. But we're trying to learn. The main thing is that we do have something that might be of interest to serious partners."

Rocket boosters launched from the space center have been lifting foreign

equipment and devices as commercial loads for a long time. Until recently all agreements with foreign firms were concluded by the central agency, Glavkosmos of Moscow, which also appropriated all the hard currency thus earned. Now the center is setting up direct contacts with foreign firms. And it will keep the commercial launch fees for itself—minus taxes, of course. Thus in mid-1991 the center plans to launch a rocket as part of a vast program of exploring the magnetosphere. Half a dozen countries will install various devices in the rocket and will also pay the expenses for liftoff.

Plesetsk is a major intellectual center, as I found out when I visited its scientific and technical center (STC) and talked with its director, Dr. Alexander Galkevich.

STC is an independent, self-financing agency, which was set up to put technology developed by the military space program to commercial use. For several hours I wandered with Galkevich through the labyrinth of surface and underground workshops equipped with state-of-the-art technology: high-accuracy communications systems, superfast computers that are upgraded every six months, huge rocket assembly and testing facilities, and more. With all the chaos that has been caused by the transitional period in our country, it is almost unbelievable to see a well-organized production facility running like clockwork. Here, strictly on schedule, a regular "product" is launched into space.

Galkevich is known among Soviet missile experts as a specialist in math and radioelectronics. He quit the army, where he served as a senior officer, to devote his life to the creation of STC.

"We're working in several directions," he said. "For example, now we're preparing to establish a powerful communications channel with Scandinavia via satellite. For centuries the Russian North had had direct economic ties with Finland, Norway, and Sweden. Then Moscow monopolized them. Now direct ties are being restored, and it is vitally important for business people to have a sound telephone and fax network. Our work in



Mirny's playgrounds are built in the style of ancient northern Russian traditions.

this direction is nearing completion. We'll be ready to open a 'radio window' on Europe almost as soon as the government gives the go-ahead, on a commercial basis, of course."

Besides that, STC has set up the Informatika Consortium, which comprises several large enterprises and banks in Arkhangelsk Region. The idea is to create local information networks with an eye to their further integration into national ones.

Now, as the veil of secrecy is lifted, foreign tourists can come and see launches at the cosmodrome. Fortunately there is a very good airport in Mirny, just one hour's flight from Arkhangelsk. The helicopters at the space center can also take tourists to out-of-the-way fishing and hunting sites.

I also visited the northern subsidiary of the Priroda (Nature) State Center, which is working on the materials obtained by the Plesetsk Cosmodrome. I was received by the head of the facility, Alexander Stepanenko. Stepanenko's desk is piled high with photographs, each showing a section of the Earth's surface shot from space. The commercial price of such a picture is \$20,000. Stepanenko, who has been in the space photography business for twenty years, says that the Priroda Center's pictures are the most informative and of the highest quality on the world market. They are taken with sophisticated cameras from Re-

source-F satellites launched from Plesetsk.

"Using space photographs, we can make any map at a customer's request," he said. "For Arkhangelsk Region, for example, we make maps of forests, ice, and glacial cover; for the Central Asian republics, we make maps that clarify the ecological condition of the territories."

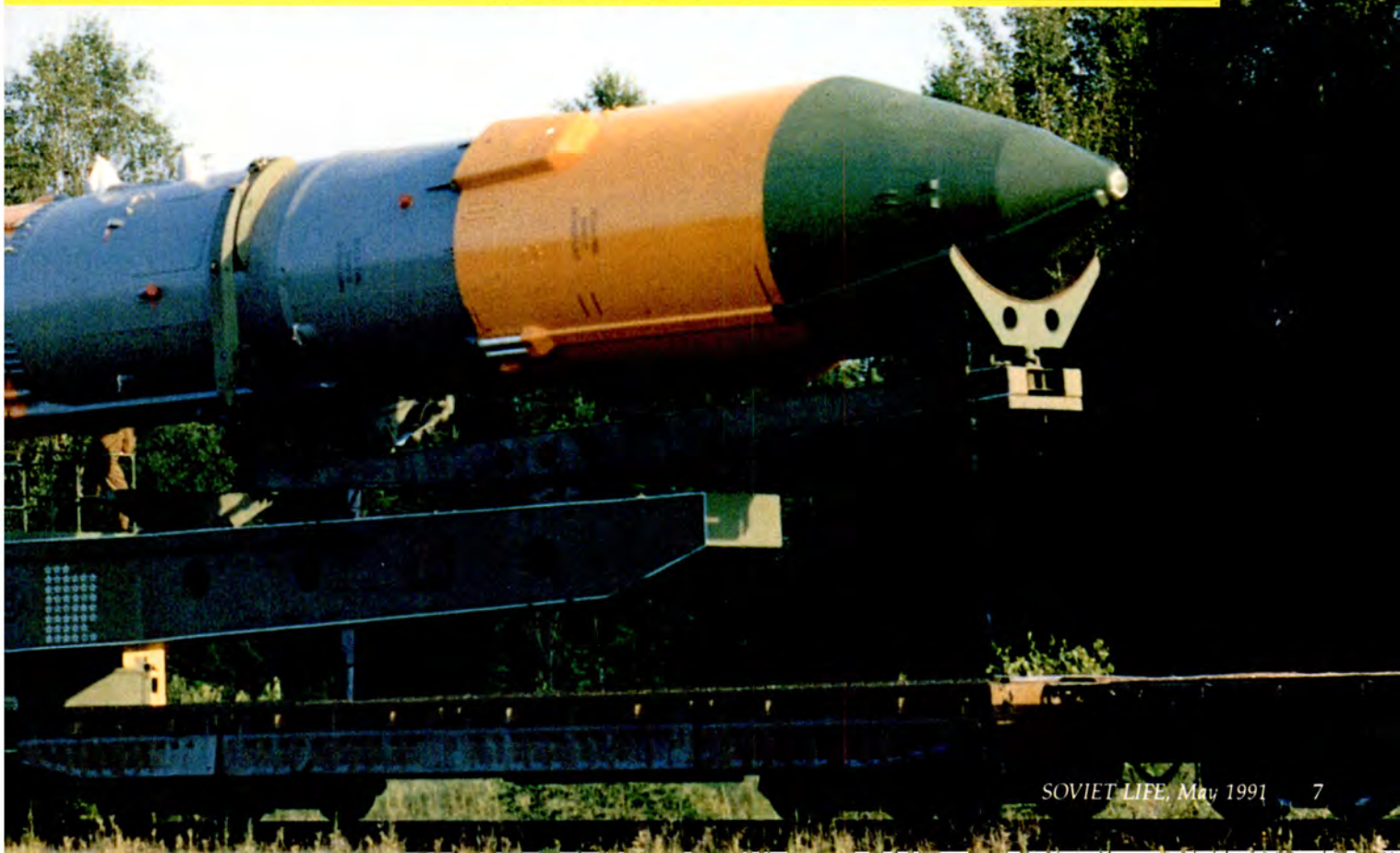
The Priroda Center, the STC, the Informatika Consortium, and other commercial firms contribute a considerable part of their revenues to the space center, said Ivan Oleinik. "Now we're even collecting the burned-out rocket stages that used to be scattered across the tundra. They're made of excellent aluminum. So we're collecting and recasting them."

General Oleinik believes that the time may come when a civilian, not a general, will head the cosmodrome. So far it is the Ministry of Defense that mostly runs the center and maintains order there. The military can carry out these functions at a much lower cost than a private enterprise could, because much of the work is performed by soldiers. But as a specialist who has devoted almost all his life to this branch of the military-industrial complex, General Oleinik is sure that in a few years the space center, which for more than three decades has been state-financed, will not only start paying off, but will also show a profit. ■





Clockwise from left: Mirny. A Greenpeace ship in the port of Arkhangelsk. A booster rocket on its way to the launching pad. Foreign reporters visited Plesetsk for the launching of the *Meteor* and *Molniya* satellites under international programs.



ARMENIA

New Leader—New Hope

By Julietta Amirkhanyan



With the parliamentary elections in the Armenian Republic last summer has come new optimism. One person responsible for the new feeling is the recently elected head of the Armenian Supreme Soviet—Levon Ter-Petrosyan.

I first met Levon Ter-Petrosyan, the head of the Armenian parliament, ten years ago, when his wife, Lyusya, a journalist and radio reporter, invited me to spend a summer evening at their place. The Ter-Petrosyans are a wonderful couple whose marriage is sealed by mutual love. They have a son, David, who is now sixteen. A woman of strong and independent character, Lyusya has consciously chosen to remain in the shadow of her politically involved husband.

Lyusya told me the history of Levon's family. Levon was born in 1945 in Syria. His father, Akop, who is now eighty-two, was a founding member of the Politburo of the Lebanese and Syrian Communist Party. During World War II, he headed an underground party organization in Aleppo, Syria. In 1946, the Ter-Petrosyans arrived in Yerevan, Armenia, on the first train of repatriating Armenians. Levon grew up there, attended local schools, and later graduated from the history department of Yerevan State University. In 1965 he took part in the organization and staging of a major, unofficially sanctioned, demonstration commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the tragic 1915 deportation of Armenians from Turkey.

That same year, he was arrested and held in detention for fifteen days with other activists from the Armenian Culture Club, a grassroots organization that had been set up at the university by Vazghen Manukyan, the current Armenian prime minister. The club, it seems, was more interested in discussing the future of Armenia than cultural issues.

Levon defended his doctoral dissertation in Leningrad. He is a recognized expert on the connection between Assyrian and Armenian culture, and he has written a number of monographs on the subject. Before he was elected head of the Armenian parliament in August 1990, he worked as a scientific secretary at the Yerevan Institute of Ancient Manuscripts, or Matenadaran.

In 1988 Levon's life changed dramatically. "I wasn't surprised to learn that Levon was involved in the Karabakh movement," Lyusya said. "I know how strongly he feels about his people and his homeland. He couldn't help himself. He just had to join the committee seeking Nagorny Karabakh's reunion with Armenia. Nagorny Karabakh is now an enclave within the neighboring republic of Azerbaijan. He sees the movement as a broad struggle for justice, national self-awareness, and respect for people's rights. Sure, I know how he thinks about how things are and how they have to change. I'm proud that he has decided to devote himself to the struggle."

"What made me change my way of life and put aside my scholarly pursuits for the time being," said Ter-Petrosyan, "was the sense of duty I feel toward my people. I became involved in the

struggle and, by a turn of fate, became its leader. When I see that I can no longer play a useful role, I'll resume my studies or take a less prominent role in the movement."


Late in 1988, Levon and other members of the Karabakh Committee were arrested and sent to prison in Moscow without a trial. Six months later Levon was released, largely due to the public outcry that his arrest evoked and the lack of evidence to support the charges against him. Not long after that, he returned to Yerevan to head the National Armenian Movement (NAM). A public organization that arose from the Karabakh Committee, NAM continues its efforts to affirm the right to self-determination of Armenians living in Nagorny Karabakh.

"On the face of it," said Ter-Petrosyan, "we must have looked like extremists. Our slogans were confrontational, and the authorities considered our activities unlawful. But we hoped that the people themselves would understand. We had our finger on the pulse of our community, and, therefore, we did our best not to let the community down."

The months of detention, which undermined Levon's health, and the complicated operation he had to undergo in France are now in the past, as are the first genuinely free elections to the republic's Supreme Soviet. The elections to the parliament, many people hope, marked the end of the old ways of governing in the republic and the beginning of the new.

Also now in the past are the first democratic elections to fill the office of chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet. Previously, the person who held this position was appointed by the leaders of the ruling party. Thus, community activist Ter-Petrosyan has evolved from a quasi-legal status of "street opposition" into a mainline statesman who is responsible for deciding his nation's future.

Before Ter-Petrosyan was elected to the parliament, opinions varied as to his competence as a prospective head of the Supreme Soviet. But even his most ardent opponents could find nothing in his record that would compromise or discredit him. Though his model biography and excellent personal qualities showed promise, some people were still apprehensive. That's why even now the skeptics and observers watch and analyze his every step. Being under such close scrutiny doesn't seem to bother the parliamentarian very much. Ter-Petrosyan believes that skeptics and political opponents are necessary factors in a political leader's evolution.

So, on August 4, 1990, after two days of unrelenting struggle in parliament, People's Deputy 

Levon Ter-Petrosyan believes that skeptics and political opponents are necessary factors in a political leader's evolution.

Levon Ter-Petrosyan was elected chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet. The elections were held in a critical situation. The ruling elite went out of its way to prevent the democratic forces from coming to power. Having failed to do that, it demanded that the members of parliament vote to postpone their first session. But, clearly, the former leadership had run out of time.

I asked Levon how he felt when he learned about his victory.

"I was happy," he explained, "but an inner voice warned me to watch my step because, as the head of the Supreme Soviet of the republic, I had become the most vulnerable man in Armenia. I was no longer the critic, but the object of criticism. The spirit of opposition is still present in the entire National Armenian Movement. The recent victories of the democratic forces in the elections to the local soviets have promoted the integrity and fullness of the present power, and we will surely become

increasingly more confident of ourselves."

Levon Ter-Petrosyan is not afraid of being misunderstood when he speaks about the need for strong power. He is convinced that the democratic processes under way in the republic are irreversible and that there is, therefore, no danger of dictatorship on the part of a single political force or party. As for

strong power, that's necessary for the nation's consolidation.

The very first months under the new leadership stabilized to some extent the political and social situation in the republic, and there are no longer grounds for considering the situation there as explosive as it has been in the past. Illegal armed units have been disbanded. In his very first speech in parliament, Levon Ter-Petrosyan declared that prospective members of the government would be selected according to their personal and professional qualities, rather than their party or political affiliations. Together with Vazghen Manukyan, Levon Ter-Petrosyan gave up his seat on the governing board of NAM in order to avoid any dependence on narrow party interests.

Today the Armenian parliament is providing the legal foundations for the republic's painless transition to new economic relations and state independence. Though the democratic forces have tightened their grip on executive power in the republic, they still have to contend with the consequences of the former bureaucracy's decisions. Still at issue are Nagorny Karabakh, the 1988 earthquake area,

a host of economic and social problems, and the hundreds of thousands of refugees who have come from Azerbaijan. The nation's leader must display the utmost flexibility and common sense in working out policies to consolidate the nation.

The idea of national reconciliation gives Levon Ter-Petrosyan energy and confidence in his right to act boldly when circumstances require it. It was like that when, on August 29, 1990, the Armenian parliament introduced a state of emergency and a curfew throughout the republic.

Ter-Petrosyan explained: "We actually prevented a civil war. We also prevented the army from interfering in our internal affairs. Had clashes broken out in Armenia, the military would have been brought in, and blood would have been spilled."

Soon after his election, Ter-Petrosyan met with Boris Yeltsin, his Russian counterpart. The two leaders agreed on the need to preserve direct ties between Russia and Armenia. As for the prospects for a new union treaty, their opinions differ on that issue.

"We think of the treaty in terms of cooperation between nations," said Ter-Petrosyan. That means no common constitution, no common laws, and no common central government. And, finally, no vertical—top down—economic ties between the center and the republics. The relationship must be replaced by horizontal ties, that is, by bilateral treaties between republics. These are our requirements for the treaty. If they are met, we will probably sign it."

It is possible that by the time this article is published, Armenia will have signed direct bilateral treaties, not only with Russia, but with Georgia, the Ukraine, the Baltic republics, and republics in Central Asia. What about Azerbaijan? Will there be an end to the ethnic strife taking its toll on hundreds of lives and dooming thousands to the bitter lot of refugees? Will Nagorny Karabakh ever see peace?

As the leader of the Armenian Supreme Soviet said: "We need negotiations; confrontation has exhausted itself. The right to national self-determination offers a political solution to the issue. Hopefully, the broadening of the political rights of autonomous formations will finally enable Nagorny Karabakh to exercise its political choice by constitutional means."

Headed by Levon Ter-Petrosyan, the Armenian parliament is getting ready to establish direct diplomatic and economic ties with several foreign countries, first and foremost, with countries neighboring it. Everyone agrees that relations with Turkey are historically sensitive, but the deep-rooted contradictions between the two sides should not stand in the way of political compromise and mutually beneficial economic exchange, Ter-Petrosyan maintains. ■

The nation's leader must display the utmost flexibility and common sense in working out policies.

THE SPECTER OF CIVIL WAR

By Pyotr Mikhailov

On the second Sunday of last March 600,000 demonstrators rallied outside the Kremlin in Moscow. When they began to disperse, a hit song about our Civil War, amplified by the public address system, resounded over the huge square: "Lieutenant Golytsin—hand out the munitions! Ensign Obolensky—fill up the glasses!" No, munitions were not handed out in the square. But it was clear that the crowd, which represented the largest antigovernment demonstration that had ever taken place since the October 1917 Revolution, was electrified to near-explosion point.

About seventy-four years ago, similar public tensions triggered Russia's bloody Civil War. That conflict became known as the "Russian Apocalypse" in and outside Russia. And for good reason: Over the five years of its duration, from 1917 to 1922, the Civil War reduced the population of the former Russian Empire by thirteen million people, including two million who left the country for good.

The number of lives that have been claimed by ethnic and other conflicts over the course of perestroika's six turbulent years totals just over 1,000. This figure is just a drop in the ocean compared with the sea of blood that was shed during the Civil War. But in the wake of the January 1991 clashes in Vilnius and Riga, which resulted in deaths and injury, the words "civil war" began to be used increasingly often by various political leaders. By then, these words referred to a possible outcome of tragic developments traceable to perestroika.

The possibility of civil war worries Mikhail Gorbachev, too. Its specter arose more than once when the President talked to scientists and artists in Minsk, Byelorussia, in late February.

On the struggle for power, the President said, "As long as this factor, which is detrimental to society and the state, exists, the crisis will worsen and possi-

bly be transformed into civil war." The Soviet leader dissociated himself from the unconstitutional actions of the so-called Lithuanian National Salvation Committee, which had attempted a takeover with the army's help. Gorbachev called for the continuation of perestroika through revolutionary reforms rather than confrontation or civil war. "We should not allow a split in society, leading to civil conflicts and victims," he said. The President emphatically condemned any attempts at another forcible takeover, which would be followed almost inevitably by a civil war. "We can draw this conclusion from our own experience and that of others," Gorbachev added.

Gorbachev deplored the way some political leaders, as a cover for their own lust for power, have accused the central government of curbing the reform process. But there are politicians who, for the same purpose, allege that the current or projected reforms, especially those in the field of economics, have gone too far. For instance, the Communists in the Russian Federation, under the fundamentalist Ivan Polozkov, say that Russia "is now inseparable from the collectivist idea of social justice, solidarity, and comradeship"—that is, from communism. Polozkov's supporters try to intimidate us by saying that if we now start steering toward a market economy, we will reach not the Swedish model but "an early, primitive form of capitalism dominated by a crime-prone bourgeoisie."

To save socialism and the country, Polozkov says that we should concentrate on our national roots, the state mechanism, and patriotism. His party has begun a campaign "for a great and indivisible Russia." Incidentally, this was the slogan of the counterrevolutionary extremists during the Civil War.

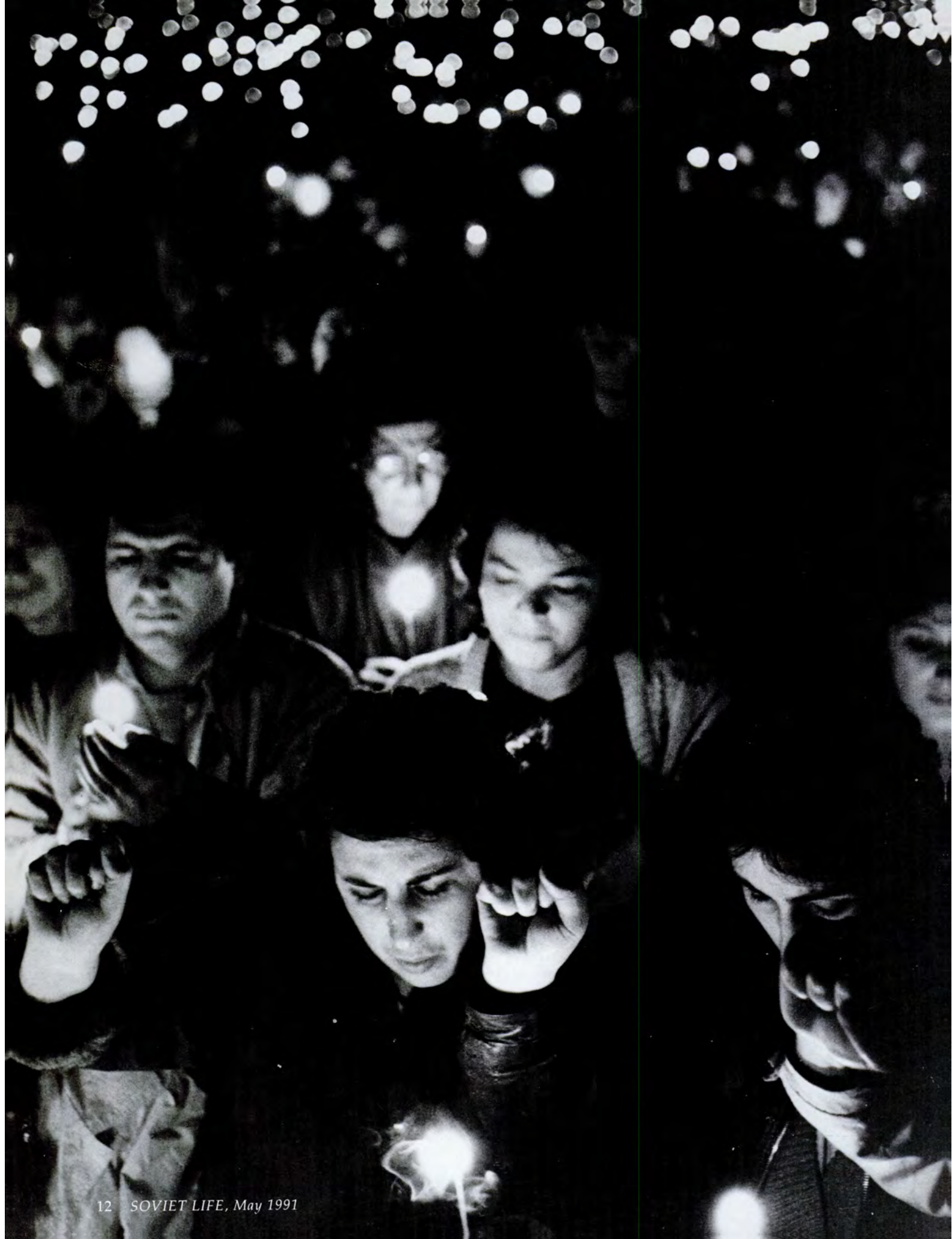
Extremes meet. So it's no wonder that the right-wing extremist organization Pamyat (Memory) also stands for Russian ethnocentrism, which the

group's supporters call patriotism.

Valeri Skurlatov, who leads the Russian National Front (RNF), does not see many options either. He believes that a National Salvation Committee (NSC), consisting of a few dozen young Russians, will explode "the Soviet-communist monster" from within. In his own words: "The NSC gains power, declares a state of emergency, smashes the resistance of 'ethnic minority border areas,' and then restores public order." After Nietzsche, he extols war: "Escalation of civil war, which is today's objective situation...facilitates the shaping of a new Russian nation in the flame of bloody internecine wars." Means used toward this end—bloodshed, in particular—are no obstacle to Skurlatov. He once told the RNF newspaper *Rossiiskoe vozrozhdenie* (*Russia's Revival*): "We get down to dirty political work."

Resolute action is also urged by the Centrist Bloc, which brings together more than twenty political parties and movements. They, too, expect to take power via a National Salvation Committee. They have a clear program of action: first, freezing the entire political setup; second, disbanding all political organizations and parties; then, under the NSC, they believe, the country will begin to calm down. For this purpose, according to one of the leaders of the Centrist Bloc, a full-scale state of emergency will be introduced in the regions where riots and demonstrations are being staged. If this is not enough, agitators and demonstrators will be arrested without delay and put in jail.

Another vivid figure on the Soviet political stage is Colonel Victor Alksnis, a forty-year-old aircraft electronics engineer and a people's deputy of the USSR. Alksnis leads the Soyuz faction, which unites hard-liners in the federal parliament. Soyuz is believed to have hatched a plot against Interior Minister Vadim Bakatin and Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze. Although



both these statesmen were Gorbachev's protégés, they had to step down. A colonels' plot—that is how journalists described the activities of Alksnis and his colleagues.

The colonel/deputy told the *Washington Post* that Gorbachev should dissolve the federal and republican parliaments, "using force if necessary," and install a coalition National Salvation Committee in power "for about ten years." If this calls for the arrest of Lithuanian President Landsbergis and other advocates of republics' independence, "then we should do so," said Alksnis. The *Washington Post* tells us that Alksnis was on the Latvian National Salvation Committee, which made an abortive attempt to topple the parliament that Latvia elected under its constitution. "Unless the USSR remains a single whole, we will plunge into civil war or even a third world war," the colonel said. Speaking to the Italian weekly *Europeo*, he did not rule out a military coup if "political stagnation" continued in the USSR.

While political leaders were talking about civil war in the future, many thought it had already begun. And not because people were shooting; because they were talking. Gorbachev's old headache, Boris Yeltsin, who chairs the Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet, had delivered a bolt from the blue. Winding up a long, tense discussion with a television interviewer, Yeltsin suddenly made a statement that many saw as a declaration of war on the central government: "I dissociate myself from the stand and policy of the President, and I am for his immediate resignation."

Time magazine printed a story on Yeltsin's remarks under the headline, "A Call to Civil War?"

The radical and unpredictable Yeltsin immediately became the object of a flood of accusations in the media. In particular, he was accused of provoking civil war by his deeds and words. Yeltsin had no choice but to expose the falsehood of these allegations and clarify other aspects of his

Facing page: A candlelight vigil in Tbilisi, Georgia, in memory of the peaceful demonstrators who were killed in an April 1989 rally.

policy in *Komsomolskaya pravda*, a liberal youth daily with a circulation of seventeen million copies, and over Radio Russia. Yeltsin said he was not calling for civil war—that was unthinkable in the USSR.

However, Yeltsin's opponents knew what they were doing in choosing this bugbear. The idea of civil war still terrifies the Soviet population. Bloody ethnic conflicts over perestroika's six years have become a vivid illustration of what took place in the country between 1917 and 1922 on a large scale.

It may be argued that a revolution started from above is unlikely to lead to a civil war. Doesn't the predominance of intellectuals in leadership positions in the various political orga-

Yeltsin's opponents knew what they were doing in choosing this bugbear. The idea of civil war still terrifies the Soviet population.

nizations guarantee a peaceful revolution? History shows that it does not. Many intellectuals on both sides of our Civil War were anything but peace-makers. They were sometimes capable of rationalizing even brutality.

For instance, Admiral Alexander Kolchak, a naval scholar who led an expedition to the Arctic Ocean, proclaimed himself "the Supreme Ruler of Russia" during the Civil War and exercised savage terror on the territory under his control.

The intellectuals on the other side of the barricades were also brutal. Leon Trotsky, the most popular orator of the October 1917 Revolution and one of its leaders, wrote, in an effort to justify his merciless orders that claimed many lives: "'Extremes' are rooted in the Revolution, which itself is an 'extreme' of history. Let those who want to, reject, in their journalistic articles, the Revolution for this very reason. I will not reject it."

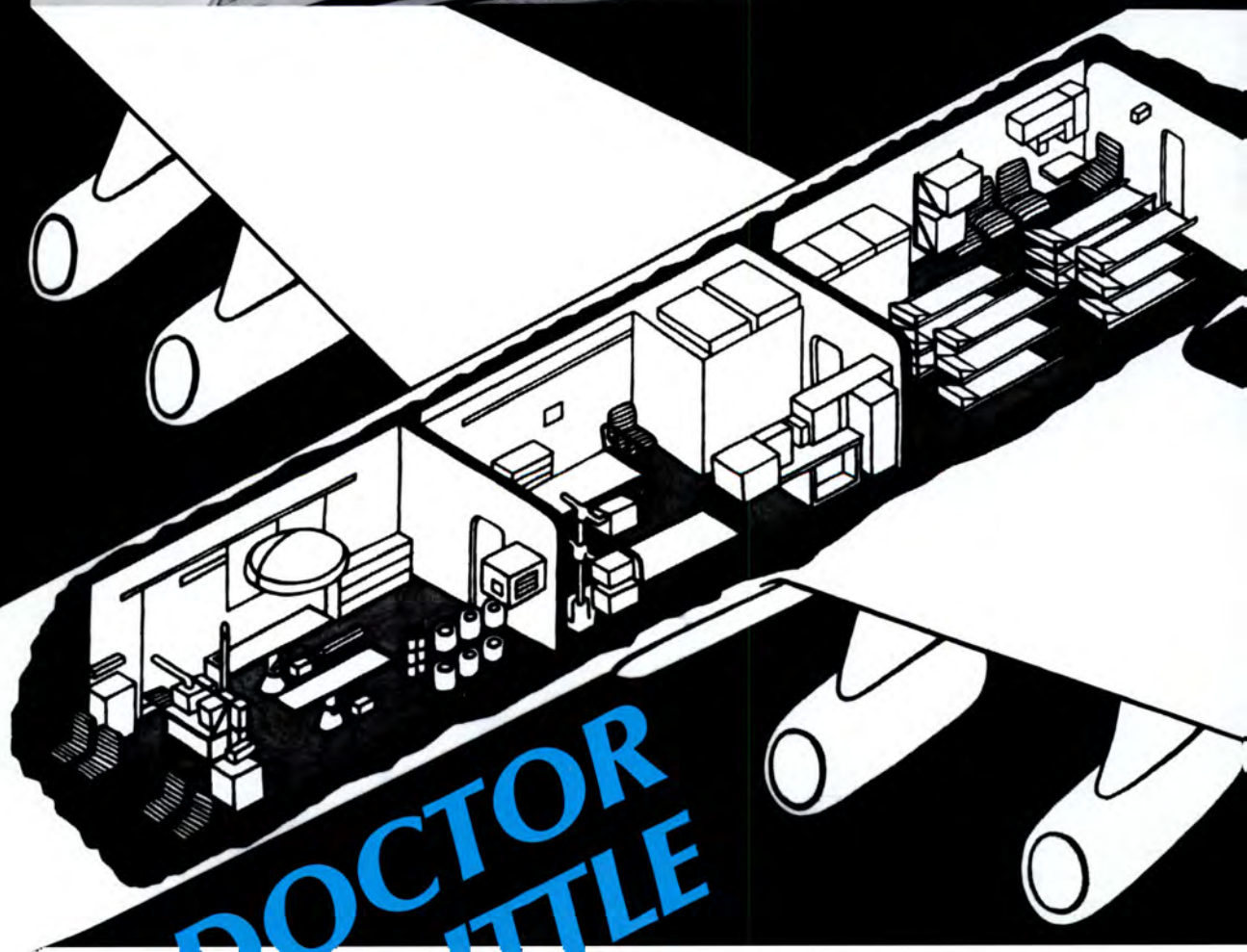
Why this Russian intellectual's disregard for the suffering and need of the people? Claiming dedication to the country and the people, how could

intellectuals remain indifferent to the misfortunes of the nation? The answer is given in the collection of articles *Vekhi (Milestones)*, prepared by prominent Russian intellectuals and published in 1909, between two Russian revolutions. In his article "The Ethics of Nihilism," philosopher Semyon Frank wrote about the intellectual's motivation and role in a revolution: "He also strives for human happiness. However, he adores not the people but his idea, the idea of mankind's happiness. Sacrificing himself to this idea, he does not hesitate to sacrifice others, too.... His hatred for the enemies of the people constitutes the concrete and effective psychological foundation of his life. The adoration of a future mankind generates great hatred for people. The passion for a paradise on earth becomes the passion for destruction."

What can we do to prevent the whole country from being engulfed in civil war? Last March 17, when the referendum on the future of a renewed Soviet federation was held, Gorbachev spoke to the press, and he defined his role in preventing a civil war:

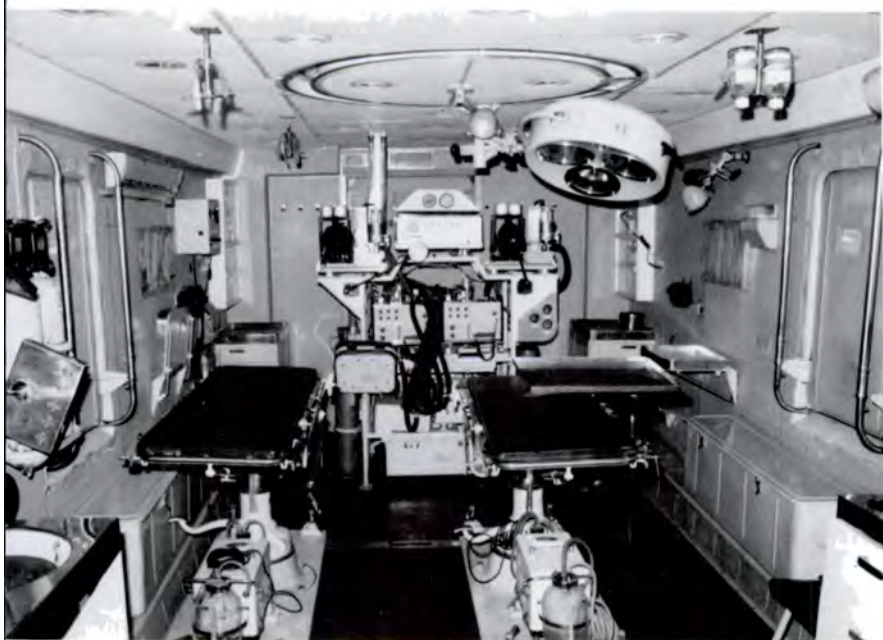
"It is the duty of politicians to warn the public about the implications of such a turn of events—political, economic, military, and other implications. I will do everything to go on with genuinely democratic reforms, and I will use all my powers if developments threaten the future of the people, the state, and the Constitution. I am convinced that we can reach our goals without the situation deteriorating, let alone allowing civil conflicts, which would split the nation."

Perestroika's six years have shown that numerous civil conflicts do lead to splits in the nation. This was vividly revealed in the referendum results, in the correlation of those voting for and against a renewed union. In order to prevent the split leading to civil war, all leaders heading all kinds of fronts, movements, parties, and other formations should stop fanning the flames of discord. They should not demand that the President hasten radical reforms. Gorbachev's caution has sometimes been mistaken for indecision. But perhaps we have just this caution to thank for the fact that the human toll taken during perestroika's six years has been as low as it has. ■



CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL IN THE SKY

By Alexei Kusurgashev and
Vladimir Maltsev
Photographs by
Nikolai Stremedlovsky



Unfortunately, no system of insurance coverage exists in our country to provide Soviet citizens with protection against natural disasters and catastrophes. After the Chernobyl nuclear accident, the Armenian earthquake, and explosions in Arzamas, Sverdlovsk, and Bashkiria, immediate emergency aid was required to save children in danger.

The Soviet Children's Fund has come to the rescue of children in Armenia, Bashkiria, and other regions, providing assistance within hours of the actual occurrence of the disasters. But deficiencies in the Soviet health-care infrastructure made it extremely difficult for the fund to help the children expertly and promptly. The disasters required virtually superhuman efforts to save children's lives and led the Children's Fund to consider for the first time a special system of immediate emergency aid.

At last the first component of such a comprehensive system of emergency aid is being created in the Soviet Union. The project is called "Dr. Dolittle." It features a specially equipped IL-76MD plane that the Children's Fund is going to receive from the Soviet Ministry of Defense. The plane's new mission will be to promptly deliver doctors and medical equipment to any disaster area on Soviet territory. The team will be able to administer aid to the victims on the spot or to fly them to a hospital. The plane will be equipped to give emergency aid in the air as well. It could also be used for various disease-prevention campaigns.

The Children's Fund and the Ministry of Health of the USSR developed the medical and technical principles behind the fund's flying ambulance in collaboration with the Ministry of Defense's Military Institute of Medical Technology. Let's see what four of

the experts who have been participating in this unusual project have to say about it.

Inga Grebesheva, chairwoman of the Soviet Children's Fund's Bureau for Children's Medical and Social Protection:

"Currently, the Soviet system of health care for children is poorly equipped technically. Whenever we have had to save children during natural disasters or catastrophes, we have been unable to find adequate equipment on the spot. If we could render prompt and expert help both on the spot and during the transportation of disaster victims, we would be able to save more children.

"What exactly is our flying hospital? The *Dr. Dolittle* is a plane equipped with the most up-to-date medical technology. With its help we will be able to save people who were previously considered to be terminal cases, either because domestically manufactured equipment was ineffective or the necessary equipment wasn't available at all.

"No doubt there are people who would argue that accidents of the kind witnessed in Bashkiria don't happen every day and that we can't afford to maintain such expensive equipment and pay doctors' salaries even when they have no work to do. But in fact neither the doctors nor the equipment will remain idle. Our flying hospital is not just for major disasters. The plane will also be used to take doctors to Soviet Central Asian republics, where the child mortality rate is very high during the summer, and to the remotest regions of the country for routine checkups. Even if the plane is used to save the life of only one child, the financial cost will still be worthwhile. For who can decide how much a human life is worth, and especially that of a child?"

Colonel Alexander Shmorgunov, department head of the Military Institute of Medical Technology of the Ministry of Defense:

"We designed the *Dr. Dolittle* with five modules: for surgery, resuscitation, intensive care, clinical diagnosis, and evacuation. The plane can carry up to three modules at one time.

"A special team of civilian doctors will staff the flying hospital, and a military air crew will probably pilot it. The *Dr. Dolittle* will be stationed either at Moscow's Sheremetyevo Airport or at a suburban military airfield, where special hangars for storing medical equipment will be built.

"The plane itself is already under construction. The project will cost fifteen million rubles. The Soviet Ministry of Defense will pay twelve million. That will be our contribution to the Soviet Children's Fund. The re-

"For a long time, we doctors have dreamed about a medical complex like the *Dr. Dolittle*. If we had only had it earlier, we could have saved the lives of many children and adults."

maining three million will be paid by the fund."

Radii Popovsky, main designer of the Ilyushin Design Bureau:

"The IL-76 will make an extremely good flying hospital. This model has a number of important features. It can accommodate a large number of patients and the requisite medical equipment. It only needs a short takeoff and landing strip, which makes it possible to use the plane in distant and otherwise inaccessible areas, where there are no proper roads.

"Some have said that the IL-76 made a poor showing last year, when there were two crashes, at Leninakan

and near Sumgait. But I assure you that those catastrophes had nothing to do with any technical faults in the plane. The crashes occurred for different reasons. No plane can be made completely proof against accidents, whether caused by unfavorable climatic conditions or human error.

"I think that the decision of the Ministry of Defense to build an IL-76 for the Children's Fund is a real example of the actual conversion of military hardware to peaceful use."

Alexander Baranov, USSR Deputy Minister of Health:

"For a long time, we doctors have dreamed about a medical complex like the *Dr. Dolittle*. If we had only had it earlier, we could have saved the lives of many children and adults. Nowadays, we are never sure whether we'll be able to give emergency aid to anyone who might need it, because the ambulance planes we have now are not properly equipped. The *Dr. Dolittle* will have everything it takes to save children's lives.

"The medical crews of the plane will comprise highly qualified doctors and paramedics: surgeons, toxicologists, neonatologists, and others. We will place high demands on our workers: They must be not only extremely competent professionals, but also selfless and courageous, and they must be ready to fly to any spot.

"We are now in the process of working out the details of how the medical staff of the *Dr. Dolittle* will work. Most probably the doctors and paramedics we select will continue to work at their own hospitals. At the same time, in accordance with a set timetable, one or several teams will always be on call. Their salary is still being considered. No business can prosper on enthusiasm alone."

The *Dr. Dolittle* can also be used to deliver emergency aid to children in other countries. The Soviet Children's Fund invites foreign firms, especially ones that have offices in Moscow or other Soviet cities, to take part in financing the project. The project's account number is 70700001 at the USSR Vnesheconombank. ■

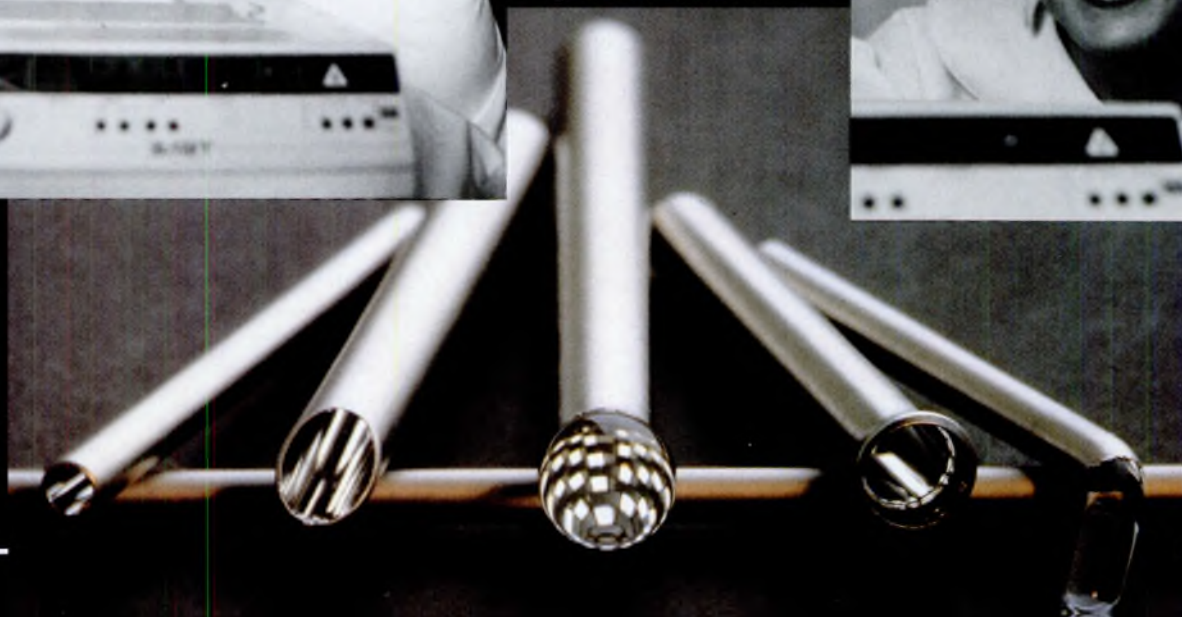
Courtesy of the magazine *Semya* (Family)

THE HEALING LASER

By Yuri Zaritovsky
Photographs by
Vladimir Fedorenko

The Medical Radiology Research Institute of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences began to study laser therapy some four years ago after one defense factory undergoing conversion to civilian production suggested medical applications for its gallium arsenide laser, which was designed for use in the range finders of rockets, artillery pieces, and other military hardware. Since the beam from this laser can penetrate human tissue to a depth of six to eight centimeters, researchers hoped that it could be used to treat internal organs without the need for surgery. Laser infrared radiation, when acting on the cell membranes, changes them in such a way that the activity of different cells (of the heart, liver, bone marrow, immune system, among others) rises sharply. Based on these studies, unique methods using lasers have been worked out for the treatment of ischemic disease of the heart, stenocardia, chronic pneumonia, bronchitis, peptic ulcers, colitis, gastritis, osteochondrosis, and a number of gynecological diseases. Lasers may also be effective in easing pain during the postoperative period. Not long ago the Udar-ELAT laser device went into production in the USSR. A joint project of scientists at the Medical Radiology Research Institute, the medical institute in Ivanovo, and the Medium Company, also based in Ivanovo, the device is being manufactured by the Signal Instrument-Making Plant in Obninsk. The patent for the invention is pending.

A patient receives treatment with the Udar-ELAT laser device. Right: A technician displays a hand-held control unit. Below: Several of the device's light-guide attachments.



WHEN WE WERE ALLIES

PART II

By Pyotr Petrov
Candidate of Science (History)

Continued from the March issue of SOVIET LIFE



Above: The hangar in Fairbanks, Alaska, where aircraft for the Red Army wait to be flown to the Soviet Union. Right: An Air Cobra fighter plane, built with money raised by a group of high-school students and teachers in Buffalo, New York, is delivered to a Soviet Air Force representative in Fairbanks.



President Franklin D. Roosevelt stressed in his statements that the Russians deserved increased aid and supplies, and he informed Joseph Stalin in a letter in February 1942 of a second advance of a billion dollars. At the same time he indicated his intention to revise the initial fiscal terms under which the credits were extended. Somewhat later, in April, he notified the Soviet leadership of a very important proposal—to use U.S. forces to ease the critical situation on the Soviet-German front. In other words, he was referring to a second front.

But despite its good intentions, the United States postponed further deliveries in the summer of 1942, after two convoys dispatched to the Soviet Union along the northern route in May and June 1942 suffered great losses from German attacks.

The Red Army was supplied with Soviet-manufactured weapons: As of the summer of 1942, following the massive evacuation of production facilities from the western part of the country to its eastern regions, weapons production grew steadily.

In late May 1942, USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs Vyacheslav Molotov flew to Washington and London. After talks with President Roosevelt, U.S. Army Chief of Staff General George Marshall, and other officials, Molotov said that full understanding had been reached with regard to the urgent tasks of creating a second front in Europe in 1942, so as to distract at least forty German divisions from the Soviet-German front. During Molotov's sojourn in Washington, a second one-year protocol was drafted, which covered the period between July 1, 1942, and June 30, 1943. Initially, eight million tons of military hardware, materials, and so forth were to be delivered to the USSR. During the last meeting on June 1, however, the U.S. President said that supplies would be reduced by more than two-thirds once a second front was created (in actual fact, it did not appear that year).

Importantly, during Molotov's visit to Washington, the parties signed an official agreement, whereby the So-

viet Union received most-favored-nation status. The United States gave up its formal demand that the loan be repaid within five years after the war ended, and it put material assistance to the USSR on the same lend-lease basis as Great Britain.

Despite these understandings, however, the U.S. invasion into Europe was postponed until 1943 and then until 1944. As for U.S. military hardware and arms supplies, they were of a modest scale in the summer of 1942.

Edward Stettinius, who was first in charge of lend-lease supplies and then became U.S. Secretary of State, later assessed the possible consequences of the battle at Stalingrad: He wrote that the American people should remember that they were on the brink of disaster in 1942. If the Soviet Union had failed to hold on its fronts, the Germans would have been in a position to conquer Great Britain. They would have been able to overrun Africa, too, and in this event they could have established a foothold in Latin America.

During 1942, the United States shipped to the Soviet Union 2,505 planes, 3,023 tanks, and 78,964 motorized vehicles.

The situation on the Soviet-German front changed in mid-1943: The Red Army launched an offensive along the entire front. In the second half of the year, when industrial production in the United States had increased substantially, the main flow of lend-lease supplies to the USSR started coming in. By that time, the Soviet Union's requirements for military hardware and commodities had changed somewhat. The USSR needed motorized vehicles and other transportation, telecommunications facilities, apparel, medical equipment, explosives, and foodstuffs rather than tanks, artillery, and ammunition. The United States, acting jointly with Great Britain and Canada, supplied all that was required to the Soviet Union, pursuant to the third protocol.

From 1941 to 1944, the Soviet Union took delivery of more than 2.5 million metric tons of foodstuffs shipped by the United States, Great Britain, and Canada under the lend-lease arrangement. The average an-

nual export of flour, cereals, and grain from the United States to the USSR totaled 235,000 metric tons.

In early 1944, the parties negotiated a fourth protocol on supplies, covering the period from July 1, 1944, to June 30, 1945. Roosevelt stressed yet again that the Soviet Union remained the chief guarantor of Nazi Germany's defeat and called for maximum supplies, although he could not fail to see that the sentiment was changing among members of the U.S. power elite.

Averell Harriman, who was appointed U.S. Ambassador to the USSR in October 1943 and who had previously favored diverse material assistance to the Soviet Union in growing amounts, now changed his mind: "The time has come when we must make clear what we expect of them as the price of our good will."

The U.S. President, however, continued to say that America stood to gain from lend-lease and ordered on January 5, 1945, the drafting of a fifth protocol for the period between July 1, 1945, and June 30, 1946. But after President Roosevelt's death on April 12, 1945, opponents of aid to the Soviet Union, seeing that the final defeat of Germany was at hand, succeeded in arranging for the termination of deliveries after V-E Day.

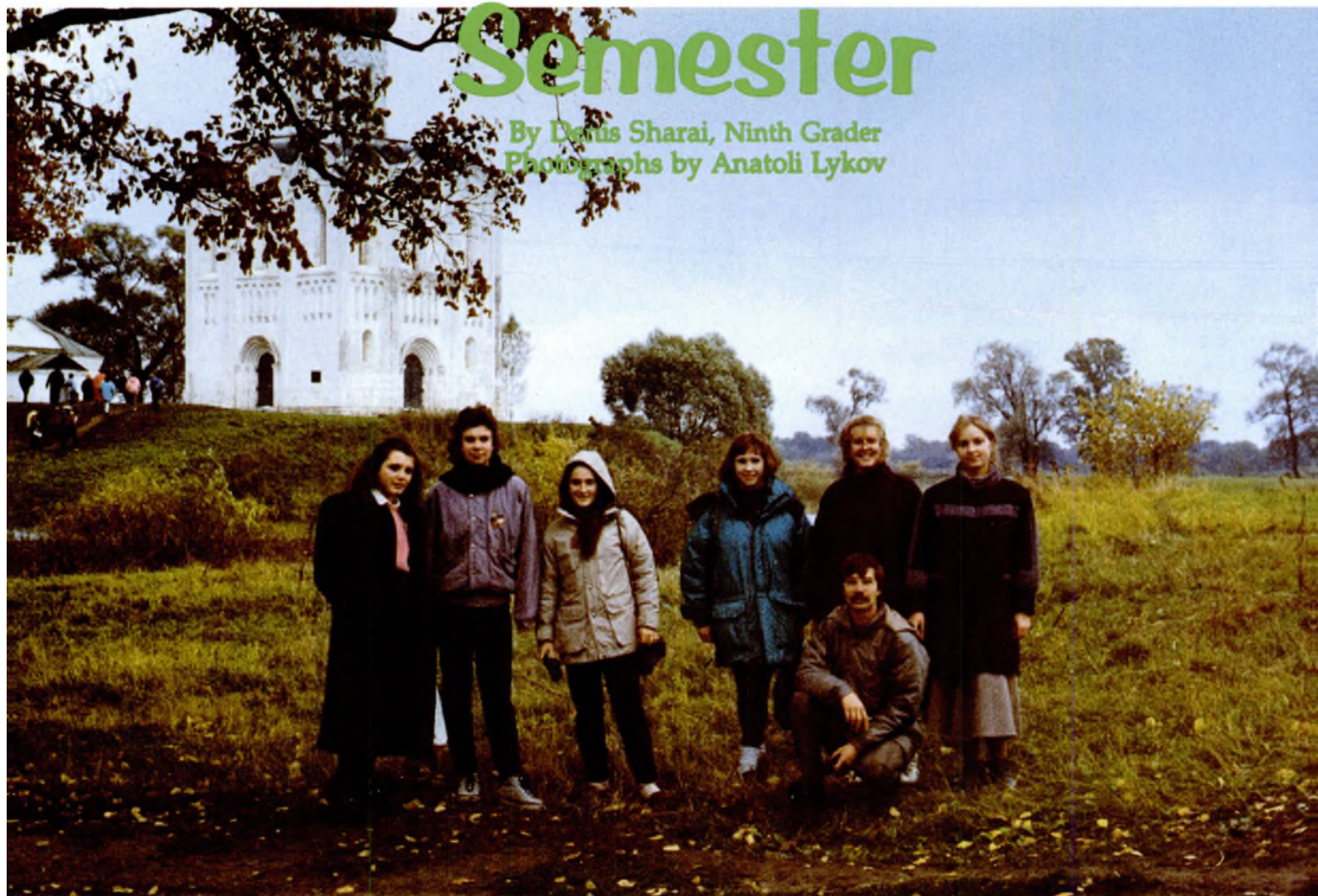
Harry S. Truman, who became President of the United States, signed an executive order on May 12, 1945 (four days after the victory over Germany), terminating supplies to the Soviet Union without warning and in violation of Allied commitments.

Though the manufactured goods supplied to the USSR by the Allies accounted for only about 4 per cent of domestic production of similar goods, such aid should not be underestimated. According to American estimates, the United States received from the USSR through reverse lend-lease arrangements, commodities, foodstuffs, and diverse military equipment worth approximately three million dollars.

Even Harry Truman, his enmity toward the USSR notwithstanding, recognized that "the Russians, though fighting for their own survival, had saved us many lives in the war against the Germans."

Schoolmates for a Semester

By Denis Sharai, Ninth Grader
Photographs by Anatoli Lykov



One rainy August day last year, four American students appeared in our once-forbidden city. We live in Kaliningrad, Moscow Region, home of several aerospace industry factories. Until recently our city was closed to foreign visitors.

But last August, three American girls and one boy came to study for six months at our ordinary Soviet secondary school, School No. 11. Their journey across the ocean was organized by Open Door, an international

association of exchanges based in New York.

Before the Americans appeared in Kaliningrad, four students from our school made a trip to the United States. In January 1990, the Soviet students flew across the Atlantic, where they were met by representatives of Open Door. After spending several days in New York City with other students from all over the world who had come to study in the United States, our travelers set off for different states. For six months they lived with American families and studied in

American schools, demonstrating their skills in all subjects, especially English. The first experiment was a success, and by the beginning of the next school year Open Door had organized an American return visit to the USSR.

Finally, here they were—our American guests. Accompanied by a teacher, they wandered around the noisy school, checking out its sights. We were nervous and couldn't decide whether to approach the Americans or not. I studied them from a safe distance for days and came to an un-



Top to bottom: Tanya Cerullo (second from left) was taken with the traditional Russian evening tea. Katie Cunningham (center) loves to watch Soviet movies. Fred Burkhardt and his parents (seated), who came to the Soviet Union to visit their son at his Russian family's house. Alicia Wolf (second from left) was very impressed after her trip to the Bolshoi Theater.



expected conclusion: No matter what anyone says, Americans are different from us. Their athletic builds, the healthy glow on their faces, the whiteness of their teeth, the casual and comfortable clothes they wear—all this is the best possible advertisement for American prosperity.

In the cafeteria the Americans were offered a different menu from ours. We continued to line up for our favorite Soviet cafeteria concoctions, and the Americans' privileged position in no way helped us to establish friendly contacts with them.

Finally, though, I overcame my shyness and approached the students. After all, we had to get to know them sometime!

Fred

The first to introduce himself was Frederick Burkhardt, from Urbana, Illinois. He's in the twelfth grade at the University of Illinois High School. Fred had studied Russian for five years when he wrote a letter to Open Door, asking to be sent to the USSR. That took some bravery on his part. The papers were full of alarming reports about the unstable situation in our country: about encounters between demonstrators and the militia, about ethnic conflicts, about food shortages, about the rise in crime. Now Fred informed me with touching relief: "It's not dangerous to live in Kaliningrad."

I feel a real bond with Fred, and I want to point out how much he has accomplished during these first four months of the exchange: He has traveled to Moscow and Smolensk, Leningrad and Tbilisi. He was delighted by the collections at the Hermitage and the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, and by the masterpieces at the Holy Trinity Monastery of Saint Sergius in Zagorsk.

Fred had a lot of problems during his first days here, especially with the language, despite the fact that he'd studied Russian before. One day during math class, when he had been called to the board to solve a problem, he got so nervous that he forgot how to say all the math terms in Russian. The problem was an easy one,

Continued on page 42



KOMI: The "Other Maine" Half a World Away

Text and Photographs by Carol-Lynn Rössel Waugh

How can a place that looks so much like home be so different? This paradox haunted the twenty Maine delegates visiting Maine's Soviet "sister state," the Komi Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, last fall. The Komi Autonomous Republic takes its name from the indigenous Komi people, who are now a minority on its territory.

Komi is five times the size of Maine. An hour and a half's flight northeast of Moscow, it crosses the Arctic Circle at the north. Lumbering is its biggest business and it boasts Europe's largest paper mill. From the air, the golden-leaved birch forests and the lakes and rivers signaled

"home." But our stern-faced flight attendant disabused us of that notion by dishing out our first "taste" of Komi.

I sniffed the deep-brown, sluggishly fizzing liquid, then braved a sip. A mixture of Moxie, Dr. Pepper, and cream soda? Nope. Castoria.

I tugged the sleeve of Andrei, our guide, for help.

His eyes gleamed with pride. "Ah! That is Bakmor," he said. "It's a Komi drink made in Ukhta. It comes in green and brown. We call it 'lemonade.' It gets its great flavor from Bulgarian grasses."

Syktyvkar, Komi's capital, lies in the south and is about the size of Hartford. If one replaced Lenin's

statue with that of Paul Bunyan, it would look a lot like Bangor. The airport is convenient, smack in the center of town.

My hosts were Yelena Gabova, her husband, Pyotr Stolpovsky, and their two children, Paulina, 16, and Artyom, 11. A writer, a writer-editor, and two children. Just like home. The Komi Peace Committee had done its homework.

Everything seemed only a walk away from my hosts' apartment complex on Pushkin Street. And walk we did, particularly to and from their fifth-floor flat, which is quite comfortable by Komi standards. It has two bedrooms, a living room, a "compact" kitchen, a "tub closet," a "water

closet," and no trash baskets. Russians, apparently, throw nothing away.

"I am Komi," Yelena told me the first night. "Pyotr is Russian, like two-thirds of the people here. The children are a good mix." Her fair hair and blue eyes and Slavic-Scandinavian features, which I saw on many Komi natives, contrasted with Pyotr's dark coloring.

That evening, we strolled along the riverbank, and Yelena asked me about the treatment of Native Americans in Maine. I told her about our Penobscot, Passamaquoddy, and other tribes and their problems. She told me that life is similar for native Komi, a minority fiercely proud of its heritage and determined to preserve it. In Syktyvkar, Komi language and culture are studied in the scientific institute.

Pyotr repeatedly apologized for their lack of a *mashina*, a car, and wanted to know everything about our two, and about which American cars were best. He pored over every detail of my Winthrop photos. "It's so clean," he said. Russia, I'd already noticed, despite constant sweeping by the ubiquitous "witch broom" ladies, wore a perpetual mantle of grime. The price of unchecked pollution. At least Syktyvkar didn't smell of diesel, like Moscow.



Above: Sculpture dots the streets of Syktyvkar, Komi's capital. Left: "The crumbling castle," a diet-buster served to us in the town of Usinsk. Bottom: A traditional welcome.



Pyotr, like everyone I met, hungered for information about the States. In return, he offered hours of incisive, heartfelt discourses on every aspect of Russian life, from politics to sociology to literature. In rapid-fire Russian.

The Komi Peace Committee, in its wisdom, had decided that my 14-year-old, never-used, three-years-of-night-school Russian and Yelena's even shakier English were a firm basis for fluent communication.

Our first evening, we sat side by side on the little square benches in my hosts' little rectangular kitchen, Russian-English dictionaries planted on our laps, as Pyotr, into his second toast, smiled broadly, flashed his piercing dark eyes, and tried to make perfectly clear his fifteenth idea about Soviet and American society.

"We are on the list for a *mashina*,"



he was saying. "And we will get it in three years. We thought that, by hosting you, we might be put up closer to the top of the list. But, you see, we still must walk."

"But Pyotr," Yelena said, "because he is a writer, he is an important person. So we only wait three, not ten or twelve, years."

Pyotr smiled ironically. "We are valuable, we writers. Today there is a shortage of people who can use their minds, of the intellectuals. Stalin killed them all off. Now the country is brain-poor."

I discovered Yelena was a lot like me—she even looked like me. She loved writing for and about children, hated housework and cooking. She'd spent, she admitted, over a month cleaning for my arrival and was delighted to discover that messy was my idea of interesting interior decoration.

But, unlike me, she couldn't rely on fast foods. Or on any kind of food. The first morning, she apologized about the milkless kasha, the tomatoes, and the fatty hard salami.

"This, for us, is a very good meal," she said. "Without your being here, we would not have meat, cheese, or coffee. There is a special shop, for special people. Ordinary people like us can only buy there for weddings, funerals, or when you come. Please come often."



Top to bottom: A new home. Abandoned Orthodox churches are a common sight in Komi. Syktyvkar's Orthodox church has recently been returned to its congregation.

Part of our dinner was wild—and, she assured me, nonpoisonous—mushrooms. Everyone in Syktyvkar seemed to know about mushrooms and was amazed at our ignorance. "Pyotr gathered these," Yelena said. "I hope you like mushrooms."

I hate them. I ate them pickled, sautéed, in soups, in stews, never fresh. Fresh anything seemed suspect. Especially fresh water. Water is for bathing.

Yelena showed me—shades of World War II—ration *talons*, green coupons for September: for sugar, flour, macaroni, and the "wild card" shortage item of the month.

I explained my allergies: no dairy

products, no sugar, no caffeine, no eggs. She laughed. "You would have no problem here," she said. "In Komi we have no milk, sugar, coffee, or eggs."

People were already worried about the possibility of starving during the upcoming winter. It rained all but three days during my three-week stay, Russia's potato crops were rotting in the fields, and her moldering harvested grain awaited phantom railroad cars. Nothing would reach market shelves.

And yet, when the people of Komi threw a banquet, it was hardly hard salami and cabbage. We ate like kings, or better—like valuable diplomatic beings. A savvy woman in Usinsk put it this way, as she dug into "the crumbling castle," a diet-buster topped with enough meringue to have wiped out a generation of unborn chickens. "You wonder how we create food fantasies when there is no food? We are Russians. We have our ways."

The first night in Syktyvkar, Yelena and I popped into several shops. The grocery offered tea, salt, dried beans, and a watery juice, *sok*. *Sok* comes in yellow and pink.

The Vietnamese-sewn clothing in the *univermag*, or department store, makes K-Mart look Fifth-Avenue chic. Nobody I ran into wore that stuff.



Apparently, their duds come from the same place as the eggs.

Under Russia's old-style "communism," Komi was part of the *gulag*. Three years ago, Pyotr would never have been able to publish his novel, *Saboteurs*, a biting criticism of the system, or to make his comments to me. Even today Americans can't easily visit Komi. They still need an invitation. There seem to have been, and one suspects still are, whole towns in the "exile business," like Ishma, where one of our group was sent for two days. He reported that it just might win the award for "ugliest town in the world."

"Life here, today, is the way your people lived in the 1930s Depression," Pyotr told me. "Our people are depressed not only materially, but also emotionally. What good is looking toward the future, if the future cannot promise change?"

But change has come; Soviet citizens enjoy unimagined freedom of speech and of association, and now for the first time they have the possibility of opening trade and cultural doors with the West.

The Komi republic wants the influx of American expertise, technology,

and hard currency. In particular, Komi wants Maine business. "Our government, our city, our republic, and our citizens are ready to do business with you," the president of the City Soviet told us the first day. "We offer honest, two-way fair deals, and we no longer need permission from Moscow to do so."

With typical Russian charm, naiveté and earnestness, he offered us the ultimate carrot for investment. "For the first American to sign a business deal in Komi," he said, "we will erect a statue."

Currently, Auburn, Maine, furniture maker Thomas Moser is the most likely candidate. He'd preceded us to Komi by a week, following up contacts begun when the first contingent of Russian Bridges for Peace delegates traveled to Maine in April of last year. Moser is proposing an apprenticeship program to teach craftspeople from Komi to use traditional woodworking skills and Komi timber to produce upscale, world-market-level products.

Three central Mainers—Gabriela Schwartz and Brian Schulte of Augusta and Percival Gates of Rockport—all members of last year's first Bridges for Peace delegation, accepted official invitations to live in Syktyvkar this year. There they would offer expertise which, in time, could prove far more valuable than cash.

Change means risk, however. Perestroika is a double-edged sword. Freedom to succeed means freedom to fail. And there is a real question as to whether the Soviets will be exchanging the freedom to speak for the freedom to starve.

Presently, the Soviets don't have to worry about choosing what to do. There are no choices. In a restaurant, everyone gets the same meal, every day, until what they're serving is gone. In every area of life, you get what you get without question, or it's gone.

But if the market economy takes over, most Soviet workers, who have guaranteed employment, are in trouble. Few have any concept of competition, pride in accomplishment, or quality control; equal pay yields equal lethargy.

Both the privileged and the incompetent rightly fear democratization



Baba Yaga, the fairy-tale witch, in a park in Yezhva.

and the concept of merit pay. Can Soviet industries, without a work ethic, advertising experience, or comprehension of basic laws of supply and demand, compete in a free marketplace? Is it reasonable to expect a country that has always looked to a father figure (the czar, the Church, the state, the party) for answers—to overnight become a nation of savvy, independent risk-takers?

Many artists and writers like Yelena and Pyotr apparently welcome change. Pyotr said one night, "You can't imagine what this system does to creative people, to writers, and to artists. Until now, not only was excellence not rewarded, it was stifled. I can't tell you how many people, artists, and writers, I have known who have done away with themselves."

But presently, those good enough to join the artists and writers unions live on patronage. The state suggests subjects, buys their works, and finds them markets. A best seller, for example, is determined not by the number of books sold, but by the number printed. And old-guard editors, by and large, control press runs. What many people may not realize is that when they go free lance, only the best in every category, only those with in-

A kindergartner at work in her school's greenhouse.



genuity, self-confidence, and the ability to think independently and creatively, will survive.

A delightful, distressing naiveté pervades Komi's business community, most of whom have never collided with the sharks and sirens of the Western marketplace. The handful who came to Maine in April of last year returned with an overload of conflicting impressions.

Some of them, like the fellow who broke down in an Augusta grocery store when confronting unimagined food choices, returned home in cul-

ture shock. Still, one hopes such tastes of the formerly forbidden fruit of the market economy will spur the citizens of our sister state on.

In any case, the exchange has hardly been one-sided. The Russian people we came to know and love are warm, generous, emotional, and talented. Every one of our group felt this was the experience of a lifetime. We were pioneers, gently guided into places and experiences no Americans had ever known. Never have we felt more wanted, more welcome, even if, as Yelena admitted, "we were, at first,

afraid to host Americans. We didn't know what to expect. I thought you would be a serious person, a serious writer. But, after last night, when you and the others danced and sang with us, I realize you're just like me."

We learned, by living with the people of Komi, how intelligent and resourceful they are, how they prize family and adore their children and their culture. And we wondered, had we been in their places, would we have managed to survive as well as they?

Probably not. ■

CHILDHOOD BLOOMS IN A NORTHERN LAND

If you want to find the best food in our city, you must come to the schools, especially to the kindergartens," a teacher in Usinsk told me. "We are always preparing special treats for the students, even in these times of short food supply."

Sixteen years old, Usinsk exists for oil. Its winter nights are twenty-two hours long. Some days, children cannot brave the deadly cold to go to school. But when they do, even the youngest attend six days a week, because both of their young parents are building and digging on the tundra.

"Our children are here from seven in the morning to seven or eight at night," the principal of one of the many kindergartens tells me, hugging a five-year-old wearing an enormous Russian bow atop her blond curls. "We have special rooms for them to rest in, a classroom, and exercise rooms."

Putting finger to lips, she ushers us into a yellow-walled classroom. We perch on tiny chairs behind twenty-five tots facing a homemade puppet proscenium. A young woman dressed as a mushroom emerges and interacts with two brightly painted papier-mâché hand puppets.

"Our classes are too big," a teacher says. "But we have so many kids."

One-third of Usinsk is approximately kindergarten age. The average age in town is twenty-six.

We cross the walk to a glass-roofed marvel—the school greenhouse, where tots pass frigid night-days

growing plants and vegetables. Then we visit an exercise room, where kids with developmental problems are learning gymnastics.

We drive to the palace of culture and are led in to a wedding reception, which has been held up to wait for us. A tow-haired tot in cascades of white ruffles embraces us, and we kiss the bride and groom. The couple look sixteen.

"The children are impatient upstairs," we are told. Eight- to twelve-year-olds overflow the auditorium, waiting to practice their English on these two American ladies. "We teach colloquial English here, through skits and dialogues," the teacher explains. Self-conscious, puppet-wielding pairs march to the front of the auditorium to ask each other the price of "shipping a packet at the post office" or to recite rhymes in English.

The next day, Saturday, we visit an elementary-secondary school. The youngest students are competing noisily at tricycle races. Twelve- to fourteen-year-olds in an upstairs corridor entertain us with Spanish dances in costumes they have made themselves. "We have studied for five years," a dark-haired boy in orange says, then deftly takes his place.

We visit a mixed-age class of English students. The oldest girl has decided to become a teacher so she can return to her school. "They love it here that much," the teacher says. A boy in the back of the room says he wants to train in computer science,

but schooling is hard to get and far away, and the pay is low. Only one boy aspires to oil work, the town trade. The children know the long hours, the dirt, and the desperate cold that underwrite their parents' high salaries.

The schools in Syktyvkar, in Komi's south, are larger, crowded, on double session. My hostess's eleven-year-old son, Artyom, attends a school with 2,500 students.

Artyom is slender, fair, and quiet, like my son. He, like his parents, writes, and he is proud of his poetry. He plans on making a career of his passions—maps and rocks. But his mother worries. "Artyom does not like sports," she says. "But he needs sports to get strong for the army. All boys must go into the army."

Some of the soldiers I've seen in Moscow do look like boys, not much older than he.

Perhaps because it is so brief, childhood in the Soviet Union is cherished. By the time he reaches his early teens, a child is set on an academic course that determines his fate. When he is sixteen, he is considered an adult. He marries young, like the couple in Usinsk, and has children before the hardship of life makes him prematurely old.

I asked one Soviet about his hopes for the future.

"I only hope for my children," he said. "That they marry well and get good jobs. For them, the world can be a better place."

TWENTY-FOUR SOVIET WOMEN AND CHILDREN DISCOVER AMERICA

On Thursday, January 24, 1991, a delegation of twenty-four Soviet women and children citizen diplomats arrived at our nation's capital. They were there for part two of the MEND (Mothers Embracing Nuclear Disarmament) 1990-1991 Peace Educators Program (PEP). With not much regard for jet lag—there was just too much to accomplish—the Soviet diplomats were immersed in a rigorous schedule of meetings, discussions, and media interviews. By day, they met with such notables as Natalya Semenkina, First Secretary of the Soviet Embassy to the United States; Sharon Schuster, president of the American Association of University Women; and Kevin Klose, former *Washington Post* correspondent in the USSR. By night, the Soviet guests talked with their American host families and the colleagues, neighbors, and friends who were invited over to meet them. Though these meetings were more informal, the demands of articulating sophisticated thought in a foreign language were no less intense than the board room discussions of the day.

Irina Maslova, a university student; Vera Redkina, the grandmother of the delegation; and Galina Chernyavskaya, an economist, were guests for an hour and a half on "Cross Talk," a live Washington, D.C. radio talk show with a predominantly African-American audience. Callers posed questions regarding racial tensions, parenting, family structure, the educational system, the Baltic states, and cross-generational, as well as cross-cultural, issues. It was a grueling but fascinating exchange.

On Monday, January 28, Nonna Ranneva, Nadia Burova, and Maria Stepanova made their television debut on behalf of the delegation. In-

trigued viewers flooded the lines to a local Washington, D.C., call-in news program. Once again, the Soviets and the Peace Educators Program received an overwhelming reception from the American public. Our Soviet celebrities, over the course of their trip, assumed a more and more poised persona as they became increasingly comfortable with their numerous media engagements.

After two major delays, the Soviets finally flew in to San Diego, California, four hours after the scheduled time, at twelve midnight. They arrived to fanfare that had not waned in enthusiasm despite the hour. They were reunited with many American friends bearing flowers and banners and warm embraces. Fourteen of the twenty-three American women and children who had participated in the first part of the educational exchange with the Soviet Union reside in San Diego and were eager to reciprocate the hospitality the Soviets had shown them as their Moscow hosts last fall.

During the Soviets' visit to San Diego, the outreach campaign expanded with public forums at the University of California, San Diego (UCSD), San Diego State University (SDSU), and the YWCA.

"Since it is MEND's goal, through education and the opportunity for international exchange, to build cooperation between people and nations, we tried to provide these talented women with as many substantive professional linkages and collaborative opportunities as possible," noted Maureen Pecht King, MEND's executive director. For instance, Grossmont Hospital's women's center and gynecology-obstetrics department, and the Moscow hospital where Dr. Natalya Okhrimenko practices obstetrics, are working to establish an ongoing exchange program.

In conjunction with all the professional engagements, the Soviets had an opportunity to see the creative ways in which America deals with its social ills. At the Joan Kroc-St. Vincent de Paul Center, the Soviet guests witnessed an efficient and caring solution to San Diego's homeless issue. At the Junior League of San Diego, the Soviets, children and adults alike, were delighted by a performance of "Kids on the Block," puppets that represent children with emotional and physical disabilities in a sensitive and educational manner.

Despite the packed professional agenda, the Soviets were able to enjoy Southern California leisure as they experienced Western living, shopping, and recreation. Pyotr Okhrimenko, age thirteen, was introduced to the fine art of boogie-boarding on the surf by his buddy and host, Joe Chrisman, age eleven.

On their last afternoon on the West Coast, spirits were high as the Soviet delegation and their American hosts congregated at the home of Bobbe Aubert, American PEP participant, for a farewell gathering.

By the time the Soviets boarded their plane for Kennedy International Airport, en route to Moscow, the Soviets had, indeed, discovered a good part of America. The American media, academia, business, and individual citizens of varied occupations and social status across the country, had followed the delegation, eager to hear the Soviets' perspective on their domestic and international situation. The Soviets were weary of responding to the same questions over and over again. But in the final analysis, they found their experiences with the media, other American institutions, and especially the American people, very rewarding. And the feeling was mutual. ■

around the USSR

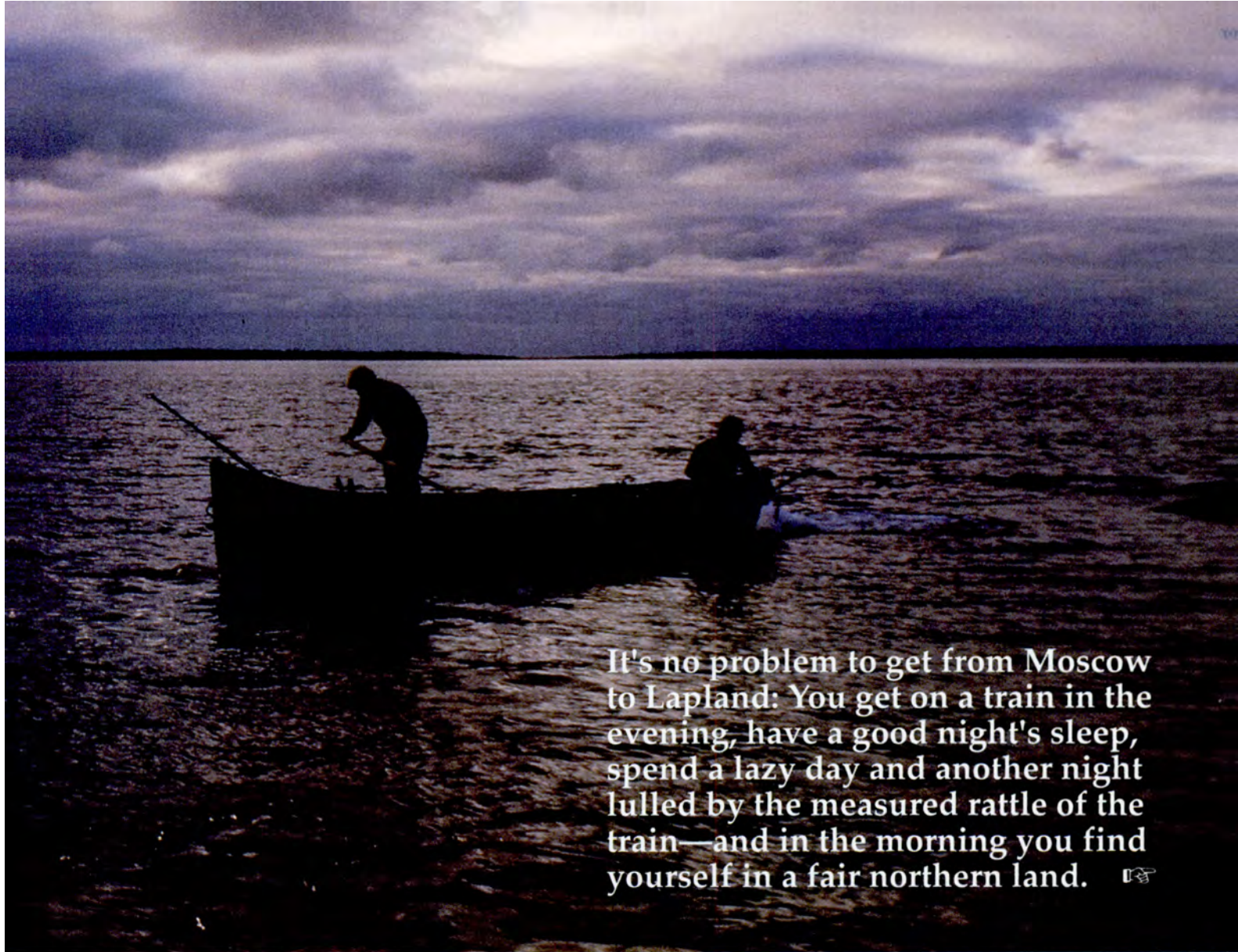
WHITE SEA COUNTRY

By Vladimir Belykh

Photographs by Alexander Lyskin



Above: The residents of the village of Kolezhl in their traditional holiday dress .



It's no problem to get from Moscow to Lapland: You get on a train in the evening, have a good night's sleep, spend a lazy day and another night lulled by the measured rattle of the train—and in the morning you find yourself in a fair northern land. 🐾



*Left: Pomor grandfather with his grandsons.
Above: A holiday game of tug of war.*

The northwest part of European Russia, near the White Sea, was known as Lapland up to the mid-nineteenth century, when its name was changed to the Kola Peninsula. It is the home of a tough, hard-working people. The first settlers from Novgorod came here in the eleventh century.

They were attracted by the White Sea, with its abundant fish and fabulous coastal hunting grounds. Many families established lone farmsteads; other households settled in groups of two or three. The settlers hunted, fished, and grew vegetables—a formidable job in this forbidding climate.

In the twelfth century they came to be called the Pomory, or sea folk. They well deserved the name. “A Pomor’s joys and sorrows all come from the sea,” went an old saying. The local people never used the word “drowned” for a lost sailor. “He was taken by the sea,” they said. Pomor houses face north, onto the sea.

The Pomory got down to business in their early teens. They worked long and hard until old age made work impossible. Toil brought its rewards, and the villagers lived a life of plenty. Hard work was universally respected, and shirkers were despised by the entire Pomor community.

Our car was approaching the village of Umba—a name that sounded like a drumbeat to my ears. As we got nearer, I wondered what life was like for the modern Pomory.

Umba has been known since the thirteenth century. It is a large, prosperous village with an old timber mill, one of the many in this land of world-renowned forests. The village also has a cannery and a fishery.

We dropped in to the local cultural center to see what movies were playing and unexpectedly got to see a choir rehearsal. The women of the local folk

song and dance company referred to themselves as “the girls,” even though the youngest was thirty-eight years old and the oldest threescore and ten. They have preserved their age-old songs and dances intact—the lyrics, tunes, and movements have been passed down by the oldest performers in the area.

We’d have loved to watch the re-

“In the 1960s an attack on the Pomor ways began. Our progressives talked a lot about advancing civilization and other fine things, but it turned out to be sheer destruction. They had nothing good to replace our old customs with.

“True, the trouble was rooted deeper. In the Second World War our men fought as brave Pomory should. Nineteen were killed in action—a great

number for a village like ours. Many others came back crippled. Our children were born into a desolate place, not like what it used to be.

“Then some terribly wise local boss discovered that coastal fishing didn’t pay—as if we hadn’t made a fine living of it for centuries! But he said the region would be better off with Murmansk-based trawlers. Funds for the local fishing kolkhoz were cut back dramatically. He never gave a thought to the village fishermen who had big families to support. You see, we’re faithful to the old ways in some respects—at least, most couples have seven or eight kids. So some of the fishermen took jobs in town, and others became lumberers.

Now their children have children of their own, but the village still has an attraction. Family after family is coming home. They’re repairing the old houses and settling down. But the old ways are already lost.

“Take our diets: The famous Pomor cuisine has been forgotten. We eat sausages, cheese, and canned

food, whenever there is any in the stores. No fish for us anymore—not since private fishing was outlawed.

“Another thing—our dialect is disappearing. The school, with its neutral standards, is its worst enemy. But I suppose I should just get used to it.”

I noticed that whenever the talk turned to the trades and crafts that once made the Russian North famous, the phrases used most often were “in the old days” and “used to.”



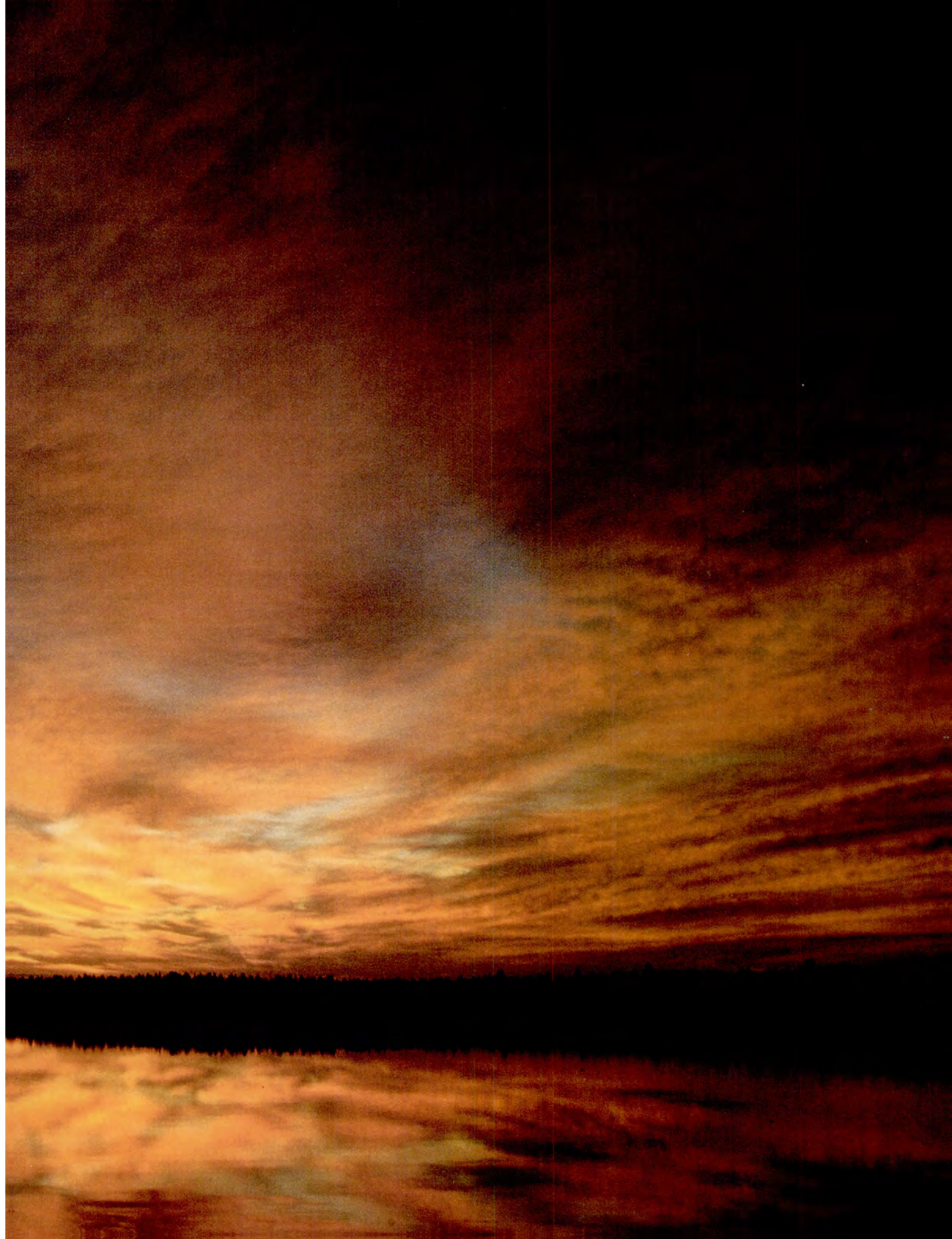
The wooden crosses that mark Pomor graves are made in the ancient Russian style.

Facing page: Pomor Yakov Dementyev has lived by the White Sea all his life.

hearsal to the end, but we had another appointment, with Yulia Popikhina, a school principal and an expert on local history. She told us the sad story of the Pomor way of life:



*Vivid, abundant colors
are typical of White Sea
sunsets.*



In the old days, a sailboat was a Pomor's greatest treasure. In summer, he ventured onto the high seas in it. In winter, when the sea froze, he mounted it on a sleigh to cover icebound miles as he hunted seal and polar bears. When he had to spend a night out, he turned it upside down to make a fine little cabin.

The best boats were made in the villages of Umba and Varzuga. The local shipwrights never needed drawings and formulas—they were guided by their instinct, formed through generations. Now this fine craft, too, is extinct.

The rivers Varzuga and Umba, from which the villages took their names, abound in pearls, small but of exquisite beauty and ranging in color from pink to steely and charcoal gray. Too sumptuous even for the richest, they were used only to adorn the ceremonial robes of royalty. Now that the royalty is gone, no one harvests the gems, which is fortunate only for the oysters.

The southern coast of the Kola Peninsula quite recently had thirteen fishing villages. Now there are only three. We visited one of them, Varzuga. It was the prettiest we had seen in the Russian North, sprawling across both banks of the pearl-rich river. In the sixteenth century, Varzuga was burned to the ground on the order of Ivan the Terrible, after the community refused to pay ruinous taxes. But the tough Pomory remained indomitable, and the village was built again. Today Varzuga is delightfully neat. We didn't see a single cigarette butt or candy wrapper in the streets, and the wooden sidewalks were scrubbed white.

The Assumption Church dominates the village, its cupola soaring into the sky. This fragile wooden structure doesn't have a single nail in it. It has somehow survived from the twelfth century. History has also preserved the name of its architect, Konstantin Fedorov, a local farmer.

Now the local collective farm will redecorate this place of worship at its own expense—an endeavor estimated at 200,000 rubles.

Our sightseeing done, we went to meet the collective farm manager, Svyatoslav Kalyuzhin. We found him to be a dynamic character with all the

makings of a businessman. The two years he has spent on this job have given him a thorough knowledge of Varzuga affairs and have inspired some breathtaking plans. He wants to set up a computer center, a jewelry factory, meat and fish canneries with Finnish-made refrigerators, a TV center, a restaurant, a clinic, and more!

Knowing how much it all would cost, we started our interview with the question whether it wouldn't be better to save the 200,000 rubles by asking the patriarchate to redecorate the Assumption Church. Kalyuzhin explained that he couldn't let this attraction slip out of his fingers: He was starting a tourist center in Varzuga, complete with a hotel, cafeteria, and swimming pool. Hard currency would be welcome—the farm needed a trawler, machines, and building materials.

We were talking at Kalyuzhin's office desk, piled high with technical books and manuals in English and German. This guy sure knew his business! The cannery, whose blueprints are ready, will bring in a net profit of

In the old days, a sailboat was a Pomor's greatest treasure.

six million rubles a year. Another plan concerns the school. The village school only goes up to the eighth grade. The kids who want to go on to secondary school have to move to the nearest town, which has a boarding school.

"It's an unacceptable situation. Boys and girls should be at home. Just wait—we'll start a fine secondary school here!" the manager said.

I think Kalyuzhin has the thrift and courage to deliver on all his promises. But don't think he's an angel—on the contrary, he's something of a petty tyrant. He doesn't ask anyone's advice before he makes a decision affecting the whole village, and he doesn't bat an eye when the farmers' paydays are put off again and again. He's a man of ascetic habits, and he thinks everyone ought to live the way he does. He is sure the villagers are doing fine with all their affairs in his strong hand. Not all of the village residents agree.

There isn't a single house in Varzuga with a lock on the front door—the Pomory are renowned for their honesty. If you leave home for a long time, you just prop a spade handle or a heavy stick against the door so the sea breeze doesn't blow it open while you're gone. Expensive motorboats lie casually on the shore. "What if somebody takes them?" I asked a villager. He just stared at me, and I blushed to have such a low opinion of humanity.

From Varzuga, we went on to another Pomor village, Chavanga. Fishing inspector Valentin Zaborshchikov was the first person we met there. Naturally, our conversation centered on his job. Zaborshchikov and his assistant are responsible for a huge territory stretching for 300 kilometers along the sea coast and 1,000 along the rivers, plus 300 square kilometers of lake country. Perestroika hasn't added any new problems to his life, but it hasn't solved the old ones either.

"My ancestors have lived here for 400 years," Zaborshchikov said. "My father fished and hunted, and my grandfather was a builder and fisherman. I chose this job because I couldn't stand it when I saw nature robbed and abused—I had to do something about it. If only I had any rights to speak of! As things are now, we inspectors have only responsibilities, and no authority to back us up."

He is a lone wolf. Even his closest relatives keep a safe distance from him, so severe is he.

"The scenery here is beautiful, but it's a tough place to live. It's a hell of a life! Sometimes I wonder why I don't just throw it all in. And sometimes when I'm at the end of my rope, I do make up my mind to quit. Once I even had a plane ticket in my pocket. But when I looked back at my village from the airfield, I realized I'd never leave. I felt like crying, believe it or not. I picked up my suitcase and came running back."

Our journey was over. We stood on the platform at Kandalaksha Station, waiting for our Moscow-bound train. French and Finnish could be heard on all sides: The Russian North is a great attraction for foreign tourists. I just wish we Russians could be as interested in this beautiful land. It needs our help and attention. ■

The big wooden Pomor houses usually face the sea. Below: These young Pomory spend the whole summer at the seashore, where they swim, fish, and sail with their parents.



Entrepreneur On the High Seas

By Gennadi Vedernikov
Photographs by Valeri Matytsin

Anton Makarenko, the owner of the Grumant, right, is bringing private enterprise to the Soviet Union's seas and waterways.

At the local museum in the port city of Arkhangelsk there is an early twentieth-century photograph of the port's embankment. The photograph shows dozens of ships and boats, all of which belonged to private owners. The captains were usually the owners of the vessels.

The October 1917 Revolution brought hard times to ship owners: Their property was forcibly socialized and the border officially closed. During the Stalinist repressions in the 1920s and 1930s, ship owners as a group

were singled out for special persecution, and the private merchant fleet was eliminated altogether.

For many decades, two state-owned companies have been functioning in Arkhangelsk, at sea and on the river. But for the most part both have been operating at a loss. How does their management see the companies' future in a market economy? Almost all the Arkhangelsk water transport workers are searching for an answer to this question. Almost, but not all. Because some of them have already made the





plunge into the market environment on their own. The first person to do this was Anton Makarenko.

Makarenko has been plowing the seas and oceans of the entire world for thirty-seven years. He began his career as a deck hand on a state-owned ship. He always dreamed of owning his own ship, no matter how small. During his vacations he would walk along the beaches of the White Sea, where he sometimes found broken-down, abandoned boats. He towed them to Arkhangelsk and then restored them. Although the boats didn't last long, Anton went out on them with his family. At that time, the commercial use of private water transport was strictly prohibited.

Perestroika has opened the way to private enterprise. Now retired, Makarenko has become the captain and owner of a large steamship with an unlimited range of voyage. He once noticed an old vessel that was slowly rusting in one of the bays. He tracked down the former owner of the vessel, purchased it as scrap metal, and then had it towed to his native port.

After two years of hard work, the ship, which had originally been built in Germany, looked completely different. The hull, made of Krupp steel, was in excellent condition. The 100-horsepower engine and the rest of the equipment had been ably restored. Makarenko called the boat the *Grumant* [the old Pomor name for the Spitzbergen Archipelago]. He gave us a detailed tour of the ship, proudly showing off its wheel house with its shining copper, nickel, and oak panels.

Inside the forty-meter-long hull there are several cabins, the crew's quarters, a galley, a smoking lounge, a dining room, and a storeroom. There are, of course, a bilge and an engine room. Besides a diesel engine, the ship has a 250-square-meter sail and is ca-

pable of sailing at ten knots an hour.

It cost Makarenko 17,000 rubles to overhaul the vessel, not to mention his own personal labor. On May 1, 1989, for the first time in many years, a private vessel owned by a Soviet individual set sail on a commercial venture. The ship has not only recouped all his expenses but has also brought him 40,000 rubles in profits.

"You'd be surprised at how many groups need to rent a small vessel that can make the trip to any shore," Makarenko says. "All kinds of people: geologists, meteorologists, ecologists,

**Below and facing page:
The *Grumant's* crew at work.**



and dozens of others. I charge 700 rubles for a day's voyage; state-owned companies charge thousands of rubles.

"I explored practically every corner on the White Sea coast during my first season and even ventured into the Arctic Ocean. Each expedition usually lasted for six or eight weeks. In between, I made the vessel available to Soviet and foreign travelers who wanted to see the White Sea coast."

The *Grumant* leaves the pier under the power of its diesel engine. Then the sails go up, and the ship sails on without burning any fuel. The crew is made up of the captain (Makarenko), and

four other members, all old friends of Makarenko's and experienced sailors.

The second commercial navigation was also quite a success. Meanwhile, Makarenko's company purchased another ship, which was brought from the ship cemetery in Arkhangelsk.

"The new ship is twice as big as the *Grumant*," Makarenko says. "I've ordered sails to be made for it, and a local ship repair shop has undertaken to make the necessary repairs. It will cost me 70,000 rubles. The ship will be ready by next spring."

The captain has received several lucrative commercial proposals from businesses. One of them, a Western travel agency, is interested in organizing a round-the-world ocean cruise. Another company wants to organize trips up and down the White Sea coast. Makarenko's previous clients also want to continue their business relationship.

Other local sailors, co-op members, and free-lance business people have followed Makarenko's example and are now also hunting for broken-down or rusting boats along the coast. Makarenko is not afraid of competition: The demand for water transportation services is very high in the Soviet Union. Makarenko is always willing to share his experience with prospective ship owners. And he is prepared to back up his experience and know-how with money. He plans to establish an association of ship owners to promote the rational use of private merchant fleets and to coordinate and plan passenger transportation.

Makarenko's son Alexei served as a deck hand on the *Grumant* last summer. He is to graduate from secondary school next spring and then wants to enter the Arkhangelsk maritime school.

"When Alexei graduates from the maritime school, I'll pass the *Grumant* on to him to start a business of his own," Makarenko said. ■



The Magazine Boom Goes Bust

By Lev Gudkov

For four years, the magazine industry in the Soviet Union experienced a boom. Now it is over, and its passing marks the end of an era. The circulation of almost all periodicals has decreased, and that of the literary journals in particular has fallen back dramatically, to its 1989 level.

The first groups to abandon the literary journals were those at the extreme ends of the educational spectrum: on the one hand, the intellectual elite; and on the other, the less-educated reader who had subscribed to highbrow journals for the first time during these years. The decline in circulation among the latter group is not terribly surprising, for two reasons. Less-educated readers, not in the habit of reading this kind of publication, lacked the staying power to keep up with the literary journals. Also, when journal prices were raised last year, this group was hit the hardest.

But the fact that the journals lost readers from among the intelligentsia was more important. It was the opinions of this group that had formed the basis of the magazine boom in the first place. Today the intelligentsia's attention is concentrated on other things; its needs have changed. The vanguard of the reading public—that segment of the readership that sets the fashions, deciding what is important and what is not—proved to be more critical and demanding than the editors themselves, whose level of understanding of our social, cultural, and literary problems had stayed more or less the same since 1987 or 1988.

The most common problem with our periodicals is a certain primitiveness. There's a dispiriting gap between the intellectual level of the

reading public and the editors' orientation toward "the average reader," whose intelligence turns out not to be terribly keen. The journals abound in repetition and tend to oversimplify our problems.

Another drawback is that too much of what is printed in the journals is not current. Over the past three to four years society has lived two or three lives, greatly changing psychologically and ideologically. The peri-

Journals became a substitute for books, losing their special functions.

odicals began to print works that had been banned in the USSR and published abroad—old, shelved manuscripts that reflected different periods in the country's history. Soon the journals were keeping their readers on a steady diet of this kind of material. People's attitudes toward these publications varied: The works dramatically broadened the intellectual and cultural horizons of some people, providing an initiation into an altogether different philosophy. But for other readers, those who had read the works before, only the fact of their publication was significant. A year or two ago my colleagues and I used to measure the progress of glasnost and the lifting of ideological taboos by watching the authors and titles that were allowed to be published. The last to come out were works like Alexander Zinoviev's biting satire *Yawning Heights* or Hitler's *Mein Kampf*. Now taboos are nonexistent.

The old authors coming out have killed all interest in trivial books by mediocre Soviet writers. The 10 or 15 writers who, according to librarians and sociologists, were popular since the early 1970s—writers like Anatoli Ivanov, Pyotr Proskurin, Georgi Markov, and Yuri Bondarev—had disappeared by 1986, never to be mentioned in a readers opinion poll or library research again.

But the stream of rediscovered authors proved to be too much. Journals became a substitute for books, losing their special functions. These works call for publication in other forms: in almanacs and special series, not in mainstream journals.

Besides, the journals themselves have been so late in coming out that they are no longer up to date. So they are losing their main function, of organizing the rhythm of the cultural process. The time gap between what is happening in society and its refraction in the literature, commentary, and essays that make up the essence of periodical journalism is killing the magazine industry as such. The conservative character of our culture has taken on an unexpected aspect in this connection; new and old authors, very good in themselves, are forced to compete against one another.

It is also worth mentioning that the readers' attention has shifted away from literary criticism, which had become a substitute for political commentary. As strange as it may seem, today's literary currents do not include literary analysis: Those works that lay in secret desk drawers, waiting for the time that they could be published, are perceived as above criticism. Solzhenitsyn, for instance, whose works appeared on the pages of every other journal last year, is more than a writer to his readers. He

is a preacher, a prophet, an opponent of the regime. His *Gulag Archipelago* was undoubtedly read by more people than any other book last year, and his article "How Are We to Organize Russia?" was read by no fewer than forty million people—many more than the combined readership of all the literary magazines.

In other words, the journals of the past year or two have been different from those published in the beginning of perestroika and in the 1960s, when magazines influenced public opinion, rather than vice versa. Today periodicals lag behind, and the public is desperately looking for a point of view relevant to today's society. Readers need an explanation of what is happening now, not a rehashing of events that society has already acknowledged and come to understand.

In spite of the years of persecution and terror, we still have our intellectual elite. Without the elite—and I do not mean the higher echelons of power—society would be a dead mass. The problem is that, for various reasons, we don't have a well-developed social group that can pick up on and absorb new ideas and innovations created by the elite. Without cultural and intellectual mediators in society, the very processes of social change take on a spasmodic character. Breakthroughs are quickly followed by collapse; new information saturates the public quickly, but it is digested slowly.

The meagerness of the intellectual element that is capable of consistent assimilation of new ideas sometimes leads to dramatic, and even tragic, consequences. It has been responsible not only for the systematic political lag on the part of the higher echelons of authority, but also for the lack of a proper team of assistants and experts there; the unpreparedness of the majority of deputies for effective work; and the general conservatism of our social development.

The gaps that are emerging between different population groups are dangerous primarily because the vacuum is immediately filled with the most conservative or aggressive sentiments, such as envy, lack of understanding, and prejudice. For example, judging by the public opinion polls,

the most serious and often bloody interethnic conflicts have taken place where interaction between intellectuals and the masses has been severed, where the educated groups in the middle have not had moral authority or are completely lacking. The masses were left to solve problems as best they could themselves.

In general, such gaps between the elite and the mediators between it and society are not inevitable or nationally predetermined. They are the logical result of the structure of society and its culture, including the system of book publishing, which is absolutely bankrupt today. Totalitarian supercentralization and the monopolization of resources and production have caused a terrible and constantly growing shortage of books, unequal access to information, disproportions in the development of national cultures, the shrinking of whole areas in

More than 90 per cent of all privately owned books are owned by one-third of the population.

literature (children's books, for example), and the destruction of printing facilities.

All that, especially the shortage of good books, helped usher in the magazine boom, as journals turned into mass-circulation publishing houses. But that also spelled the end of the journal as such.

According to the officials of the State Committee of the USSR for Publishing, Printing, and the Book Trade, the number of privately owned books in the Soviet Union is anywhere from 35 to 55 billion. These figures were arrived at simply by adding the editions of books published in the years of Soviet power and subtracting the public library funds (5.5 billion volumes). But a nationwide survey has produced more accurate figures. Today Soviet people own from 14 to 14.5 billion books. That means that two-thirds of the books that have been published in the last

15 to 20 years have ended up recycled as scrap paper or simply thrown out.

The survey shows that 32 to 33 per cent of all Soviet households have no books at all. In 32 per cent of households there are up to 100 books (for the most part these are children's textbooks, reference books, brochures, and so forth). Further, 21 to 22 per cent of families own from 100 to 300 books; 7 per cent have from 300 to 500 (these families make up the bulk of the subscribership of the literary journals); 4 per cent of all families have libraries of up to 1,000 books; 1 per cent own from 1,000 to 1,500; and a little more than 1 per cent have more than 1,500 books. In other words, more than 90 per cent of all privately owned books are owned by one-third of the population.

Of course, there is a significant connection between access to cultural resources, such as books in the home, and an interest in literature, commentary, and so on. Today 86 per cent of the population, to the extent that it reads at all, reads only publications like *Rabotnitsa* (*Working Woman*) or the humor magazine *Krokodil* (*Crocodile*). The centralized and monopolized structure of state distribution cuts off the broadest groups of readers from the current literary, cultural, and intellectual processes in society, which means from magazines as well.

When we consider that the future of society is determined not only by events of the very recent past, we come to the unhappy conclusion that it will fall to the next generation, which is better educated and not as intimidated as this one, to raise our country out of the abyss into which it has fallen. The six years of perestroika and draft reforms show that democratic ideas have been adopted with such difficulty because of the poverty and exhaustion of our intelligentsia.

As we bid farewell to the era of the magazine boom, we must sorrowfully acknowledge that its end is a symptom of the slowing down of the social, political, and intellectual processes in our country. We will have to wait for another breakthrough. ■

Courtesy of the newspaper *Literaturnaya gazeta*. Abridged.

Schoolmates

Continued from page 21

and he quickly solved it in his head, but no matter how hard he tried, he couldn't remember a single word. He stood at the board for a while, then finally excused himself and sat back down.

When we met, Fred had only one major problem left to cope with: how to get used to the Russian way of life. He was working on this problem with his Russian hosts in Kaliningrad. Fred is staying with a family of three—two parents and a son who is Fred's age. The family is fairly well off, by our standards—they have a two-bedroom apartment and a car. But Fred couldn't understand how three adults could stand to share one bathroom and two bedrooms. He also thought that one car for three people was not enough.

In his free time Fred loves to read books and meet Russian girls. I wish him success in conquering the hearts of our local beauties.

Tanya

One of the American girls had the Russian name Tanya. She interpreted my questioning glance correctly: "Yes, Russian blood flows in my veins—I am a third-generation Russian." Tanya Cerullo is in the eleventh grade at Benjamin Franklin School in New Orleans, Louisiana. She thinks the Soviet school system is more rational than the American system, where each subject is taught for only one year. She believes that because of this, students graduating from twelfth grade have already forgotten a lot of what they were taught from ninth through eleventh grade. In a Soviet school more core subjects, like chemistry, physics, and geography, are taught all the way up to graduation.

Tanya says that her experiences with her Soviet friends have enriched her knowledge of culture: Soviet secondary school students have a greater knowledge of literature, music, and theater than their American counterparts, according to Tanya.

Tanya's friends organized trips around the Soviet Union for her. The trips helped Tanya get an even better

idea of the country. She saw the ancient beauty of Suzdal, Vladimir, Zagorsk, and Kiev, the cold hauteur of Leningrad, the vivid life of Tbilisi, the Oriental uniqueness of Alma-Ata, and the Teutonic monumentality of the Lithuanian forts. In Moscow Tanya saw the opera *The Snow Maiden*, by Rimsky-Korsakov, at the Bolshoi Theater. She also went to the Sergei Obraztsov Puppet Theater and the circus.

In Kaliningrad Tanya lives with a family of five: a grandfather, mother, father, and two children, aged eight and fifteen. In the evenings everyone gathers around the table for the traditional tea. This is an entire ritual; everything is done in a particular way, beginning with the brewing of the tea and the way it is served. The tea is accompanied by jams, honey, cream, homemade pastries, cookies, and buns. Tanya plans to try the same thing at home.

In Tanya's opinion, the worst thing about living in the Soviet Union is the eternally overcrowded public transportation. We have gotten used to such things, but she sees a trip in a full-to-bursting bus as a real threat to her safety. One day the automatic doors of a bus caught her hair quite painfully. I must admit that even we, who are used to the crowding, also see it as a problem.

Katie

Californian Katie Cunningham had heard about Russian hospitality before she got to the Soviet Union, but she had no idea how delightful her encounters and life with a Soviet family would be.

She was assigned to a two-bedroom apartment in a new suburb of Kaliningrad and commuted to school by train every day, which she had never done in America. The first few days Katie could not get used to the crowd of rushing people and the automatic doors.

She had a short but memorable trip to the Baltic republics with her Soviet friends. Her favorite memory of the Baltics was the Museum of Devils in Kaunas—Katie had never seen anything like it in America.

In her free time Katie likes to listen to contemporary music and watch

videos and movies. She tries not to miss a single new Soviet film—they help her to understand the people and the problems of our country, which has been her home away from home these past months.

Alicia

Alicia Wolf, from Ashford, New York, is a person of many interests. She loves literature and art, but she's just as talented at chemistry and geometry, informatics and Russian. Alicia plays basketball and loves music. Her visit to the famous Bolshoi Theater impressed her greatly.

According to Alicia, the food they serve in the school cafeteria here is disgusting, and she can't eat anything. And this despite the special menu! Poor Alicia—what would happen if she tried to eat what the school cafeteria feeds us!

Alicia lives with a family of three, including a girl her own age. The family has a large, three-bedroom apartment. When I spoke with Alicia, she was getting ready for New Year. She had already chosen presents for her Soviet friends and was dreaming of spending the holiday around a large Christmas tree crowned with a bright star and eating the traditional Christmas goose, which would be just as good as the one her mom makes at home.

My talks with the Americans were interesting and open. I think that they had an easier time adapting to the USSR than the Soviet students had in the States. A lot of this is due to the amazing American self-confidence and lack of inhibitions. I have conducted many interviews with Soviet students, and I've noticed we have a hard time just chatting: We tend to feel embarrassed and constrained, and we would never, even under torture, reveal anything personal about ourselves. Americans are happy to talk on any topic and will even offer details of their lives that can't be printed in a family magazine!

The events that have taken place in our school give us hope that the Open Door exchange program will continue just as successfully in the future. It's nice to know you have friends in far-off America! ■

"From the Mouths of Babes . . ."

By Yuri Nikitin

Toward autumn, when it was already quite chilly on the river in the evenings, I traveled home on a boat going down the Volga. There are quicker and more convenient ways to get there, and I usually make use of them. But suddenly this time I chose the river route—for my own happiness and inner peace, it seemed to me.

We set sail in the evening. I was hungry, but the restaurant hadn't opened yet and I was forced to settle down in a wicker chair opposite the cabins and gaze thoughtlessly at the gray concrete shore, which sailed heavily by.

Soon the town began to fade away. The tall brick buildings were replaced by low-lying wooden cottages. But they couldn't keep up with the boat either. Golden reaches already stretched out before our eyes, and a steep bank became visible in the distance.

Meanwhile, the evening thickened. The water grew darker, and the shore seemed to draw closer. Beyond the bluff the forest hid.

For me, forests are a pleasure. I've roamed the steppes, seen three seas, and climbed mountains. But I'd never been in the forest. I'd had the urge to go there, it's true, and had even chosen where. Something always interfered, though.

That evening it seemed to me that all the powerful foliage that covered the bank and gently sloping hills belonged to a single tree, too large for the eye to grasp. I couldn't make out any tree trunks. There was no wind at all, and the forest slept. I couldn't take my eyes off it and felt a blissful warmth spreading through my soul as from some unexpected joy.

I don't know how long this enchantment lasted. I was brought back to the ship's deck by a child's abrupt cry, a loud and unpleasant sound like a gunshot in the night.

"What a little nuisance you are!" I distinctly heard a soft, even melodious, female voice. "It's too stuffy for you in the cabin and here you're cold. . . . Close your eyes and go to sleep!"

I was astounded by the voice. Such voices seem immediately to describe the whole person, who somehow even curses with tenderness and affection and rebukes with compassion. You don't come across such admirable female voices often anymore. They can still be heard in

wealthy Ukrainian villages and, perhaps, among the Russified hillswomen of the Caucasus, where an Oriental submissiveness blends extraordinarily with a northern rebelliousness.

The woman was sitting in a wicker chair two tables away from me. She held a child in her arms. The tiny boy crawled silently onto the deck. After a second's thought, he howled angrily and inconsolably.

"Watch out! or Uncle will pop you in his bag." I suddenly said the first silly thing that for some reason comes into one's head on such occasions. "And he'll take you far, far away."

The boy stopped howling. Not so much from fear, evidently, as from the unexpected sound. If he'd been frightened by my words, he would have immediately crawled onto his mother's lap and howled even louder than before. Instead he only turned and looked curiously at me.

The woman also glanced at me in astonishment, and for some moments we silently studied each other.

I saw large eyes in a dusky face, almost round, kind, and open. Individually each of her features was perhaps not especially beautiful or refined. But brought together in the same face, they suited one another so well that I wanted to look long and thankfully at them.

"Into the bag with him!" The woman unexpectedly burst out laughing. "Into the bag: He's become totally spoiled!"

The little boy now caught something menacing in her words, even through the laughter. He did not start howling but climbed silently and stubbornly onto her lap.

I got up and sat down closer to them. The boy gave me an unfriendly sideways look, and the woman kept laughing.

"He's a good boy," I said. "He's just sleepy. You want to go to sleep; isn't that right?"

"He doesn't talk yet," the mother answered for her son. "A year and two months and he won't say a word."

The boy began to whimper, and the woman, after excusing herself, took him to their cabin.

It was already quite dark a little way off, and to my right and left lights glowed on the deck. I looked toward the shore. It was as if a black curtain had been drawn over the forest. Again I was stricken by hunger pangs.



All the tables in the restaurant were taken, but I was given a place, a good one by the window. At first I ate hastily and then, when I'd satisfied my hunger, I leaned back in the chair and began to look dreamily around the room.

One difference between a hungry and a full person is that everything around the latter is pleasant and attractive. Only a few hours earlier I had not been in the mood for soothing meditation. I was visiting a distant relative in response to her strange appeal: "Come at once. Details on arrival." I had shown my wife the telegram. After reading it, she'd said: "We know all about these distant relatives and their details. You can stay with her for all I care."

It was a silly business. I was supposed to intimidate her dissolute son and impress him with my learned words. Instead of which we got into a bloody fistfight.

The distant relative was very disappointed in me. "They said you were a boss and the most educated man in the family," she told me, "but you're scruffy and skinny and almost broke my Vasya's nose, you bully!" Vasya saw me to the gate, made an impressive gesture, and added: "Get on out of here—and you don't even have a car, you phony." I heard him laughing after me for a long time.

"Your tea," said the waitress.

Raising my eyes, I glimpsed my passing acquaintance. She was standing by the entrance and looking into the restaurant. A place was found for her on the opposite side of the room. I kept looking at her, willing our eyes to meet, but it was no use: She didn't notice me. The light in the hall was bright. We have a habit of strongly illuminating just those places of relaxation that require dimmed lighting. Yet it was precisely because of this excessive illumination that I could gaze at my passing acquaintance to my heart's content.

What's the point in describing her again? It's better if you imagine a woman you're fond of and mentally cast over her features, like a veil, such a virginal plumpness—as though she's only just woken and, not fully awake, smiles at you without entirely recognizing your features.

Women only possess such extraordinary faces once: during early motherhood when, completely exhausted by their baby, they tear themselves away from the child and fall into a sweet daydream. Through this reverie there penetrate ever more imperatively other instincts, until then excluded and repressed, but now easing aside the powerful instinct of motherhood.

I don't know whether it was by accident or from the intensity of my gaze, but she turned her head. Once again her face was astonished, but now she immediately smiled. I nodded to

her, pointed to the exit, paid for the meal, and left.

The deck was empty. Music drifted across from the stern: People were dancing there.

She appeared more quickly than I expected.

"Well, have you tucked in the little treasure?" I asked her in a friendly way.

"I've tucked him in!" she answered, adopting the same tone.

We walked to the stern and were soon dancing. I held her the old-fashioned way, by her arm and shoulder, and she smiled all the time. It seemed to me, though, that her smile was directed somewhere inside, to her own thoughts and dreams.

"Why are you smiling so mysteriously?" I asked.

"Am I?" she said. "I would never have suspected that I knew how to smile mysteriously."

"There's still a lot you don't know about yourself," I blurted out unexpectedly. But she didn't develop the subject. She just shrugged her shoulders and looked me sweetly in the eye.

The music stopped. The dancing was over and the couples dispersed. The wind became more audible, and the thin tarpaulin above us whistled despairingly. We fell silent.

"Well then," she said uncertainly, "time to say good night?"

I had wondered if I should invite her to come back with me, but it came out feebly and unwillingly, as though I were carrying out an order or doing someone a favor. Later in my lonely cabin, I cursed for a long time. I convinced myself that she would have submissively and joyfully followed me, and that our night together would have been magical—just as it can be between strangers who are linked by a surface attraction and a desire to send all conventions to the devil.

The next day was overcast. Vast, dark clouds tirelessly chased behind us, threatening rain. I didn't know what to do with myself. I sat in the restaurant, wandered around the deck, and read, but the day was endless—more like a long, gloomy evening than a day.

I did run into my acquaintance, though. She told me hurriedly that the boy was ill.

Our enchanted kingdom only stirred to life after lunch, when someone drowned. I was the only one who saw what happened from beginning to end.

Below, not far from me, something plopped into the water. I didn't glance downward: It was a familiar, dull noise, like slops being tossed out of a bucket—what was there to look at? But then in the distant gray waves I immediately saw some object. It looked like a saucepan to me—it would have been strange to see anything else from the deck of the boat. I didn't immediately realize what kind of saucepan it was, even when

I had noticed a live movement in the water. The head disappeared from view and then came to the surface again.

"Someone's drowning!" I yelled.

My feet were heavy and I dumbly gazed into the distance, straining my eyes. The waves were covering the head, as if taking it forever.

But then, amid the tossing gray waters, a person could be indistinctly seen. The figure raised one hand, as if saying farewell or threatening someone, and then went under.

This all lasted no more than a minute, but to me it seemed an eternity while I ran along the deck and climbed onto the captain's bridge.

They heard what I had to say and led me to the captain. They stopped the boat and lowered the lifeboat. A crowd had already gathered on the deck. We went in search but found nothing but a short log. The waves rolled, hissing, one after the other. The rain gathered. We returned empty-handed. People looked derisively in my direction: I had unnecessarily alarmed them with my panic. Grumbling, someone put away his binoculars. Only two boys, who had responded to my cries earlier than the rest, still stood for a long time at the side of the boat. Putting their fists to their eyes, they took turns yelling: "There he is! There he is!" Then they turned to me, grinning without malice. Finally their parents came and chased them away from the deck.

I wasn't wrong about the weather. The rain soon began to lash the river, covering its surface with bubbles. It is hard to imagine a more depressing picture than rain on water.

"So that's where you are!" a voice suddenly rang out behind me.

I turned. A familiar face was looking at me from the window.

"You'll catch cold. Come and join us!" I quietly made my way to her cabin.

The boy was sleeping. We sat opposite him. I could only see the back of his head, covered in curls.

"We won't wake him up?" I quietly asked.

"You couldn't wake him with a cannon now," the woman answered. "You know, the doctor said he has colitis."

"Listen to doctors and you'll be sick all your life," I said to her.

"Do you have children?" she asked.

"No."

"Married?"

"Yes, I have a wife."

For some time we remained silent. Outside the window the rain rustled. In the cabin it was also gray and chilly.

"Yes..." said the woman, coming alive, as though she had remembered something impor-

tant. "What was all the noise about out there?"

I explained to her briefly: how I had stood and what I had seen, and how I informed the sailors on watch and the captain. Then the lifeboat, the log, and the binoculars.

"What do you think?" she asked unexpectedly. "Did he fall in by accident?"

"Don't know," I said. "Hardly..."

she "Brrr"! shuddered. "Awful. Whatever happened to make him... do that?"

This was not a new question for me. I had already asked myself the same thing, sitting alone in the chair on the wet deck. To my shame, I had even tried to imagine the log we had found instead of the head.

"To decide to do that! You'd need so much will power," she continued after a minute's pause.

"What will power?" I asked. "It must have been reckless and total despair. No will power involved."

"Despair, today?" she objected. "And bad enough to jump headfirst into the river? There were people all around."

"Yes, yes," I agreed, "a lot of people. He was probably drunk or insane, otherwise they would have stopped him, of course."

I talked to her with my eyes lowered. The worn carpet in her cabin was gray with dust, and the grayness all around oppressed me excessively. To begin with, I must admit, I was overjoyed by her invitation; now I was quite ready to run away.

"There's something not right here," she said reflectively, "you're holding something back."

The boy called out complainingly in his sleep, and the woman reached out and adjusted his blanket.

"Something is worrying you," she again said.

I nodded affirmatively.

"What?"

"It seems to me that I knew him. We were at school together. Afterward we only rarely met. He was a strange man... if it was him."

My confession had a deep effect on her. She turned her whole body toward me, and I saw eyes full of horror.

"What was he called?" she asked quietly.

"People called him different names," I answered. "His mother called him Mityasha, his wife Dmitri, and his friends Mitya or Dima."

It was obvious that she was having difficulty in grasping my answers. Meanwhile, some spring seemed to be working inside me, coiling and uncoiling, and I was no longer in control.

"In the eighth grade, after the exams," I continued, "we used to go out together and pick up girls. I ended up with a girl who liked to make fun of me. I listened and put up with it, but he burst out and told her that he wouldn't permit



her to mock his friend. And he dragged me away, although I didn't want to leave her at all. Then later, we fought a duel."

"A duel?" the woman asked, as if she had woken from hypnosis.

"Yes," I said, "a duel. He challenged me according to all the proper rules. He sent a second, who announced that if I did not object, we would fight to the first blood on Saturday at 6:30 A.M. on the vacant lot behind the streetcar depot. Naturally, with swords or rapiers... in other words, with sticks. I was requested not to worry about finding a weapon. What was there left for me to do? I also found myself a second, a kind-hearted delinquent by the name of Gut."

I fell silent, astonished by the richness of my memories. Everything that I had recalled at one go had long before been discarded as being of no value. And now even a last name had come back!

"So...?" The woman hurried me on.

"We fought," I said. "In the vacant lot, at 6:30 in the morning, until blood was drawn... Like a true duelist, I'd slept soundly the night before. A knock at the window woke me: My second, yawning, cursed me. In ten minutes we had reached the vacant lot. Honestly, I wasn't at all scared. The sun was still only just coming up. It was cool and the air was easy to breathe."

"And your opponent?"

"He was already waiting for me. He had a very dramatic appearance: a black sweater, black pants, and a pale face. He'd left a note behind at home—really! We didn't fight long. I hit his forehead and broke the skin. I gave him a permanent scar."

"It was over some girl?"

"No, some nonsense or other. He was quite intolerant of any trifling thing and imagined insults everywhere."

"Then what?"

"After school we parted ways. He studied to be an engineer, graduated, and worked in a design office and then an institute. Married well—and then suddenly gave everything up and went to the Far East, to Sakhalin. Then he came back. I didn't see him for years at a time, but when we did meet, I always noticed some change in him. Not external—he wasn't concerned about his appearance. But something inside him was constantly changing. I even thought he was changing his character, but he was only distorting it. Every time we met, I had the feeling that he was lost: He went steadily in one direction but didn't get to where he wanted at all. Or maybe he did arrive there but didn't realize it. I can't explain... In one's youth all these ideas about honor, good, evil, justice, and the purpose of life are very abstract. There good is always good, our aim in life unconditionally elevated—the univer-

sal good, no less. But then all of this is somehow cut down to size, focused and smoothed, and takes a clear form: not good in general but a particular good, not universal benefit but immediate pressing need. Life shapes and trims some people, and they become normal, complete people; others go on laboring with their ideals. But that's not so bad either. It's worse when you begin to doubt, when you want to make corrections but can't, and you can't overcome yourself. That's when people are driven to the noose. Or to deep water."

I fell silent. Outside the window, the rain fell as before. The boy slept, breathing evenly, and the woman sat without stirring.

"Lord..." she finally exclaimed with a sigh. "You actually invented all that about the drowning man, didn't you?"

The boy saved me from answering. Twisting around, he coughed, and the woman took him in her arms and began to rock him, offering him a tiny cup. Soon he was sitting between us, turning his head from side to side, first looking at one and then the other. I couldn't restrain myself and stroked his silky hair.

"Uncle Caca," said the boy, and smiled at me.

"Bad boy!" said the woman, shaking her finger at him. "Why were you rude to Uncle? Who taught you to say things like that?"

"Uncle Caca," repeated the boy, and we laughed.

Soon I left, noting that it was late, and again slept badly that night. My dreams were confused. I opened my eyes at times, not fully understanding where I was: awake or still dreaming? Then I went back to sleep and again woke up.

In the morning I saw them off, the woman and her son. The boy was in a good mood. I took him in my arms and he began to run his finger over my face. It was pleasant, although twice he almost poked me in the eye.

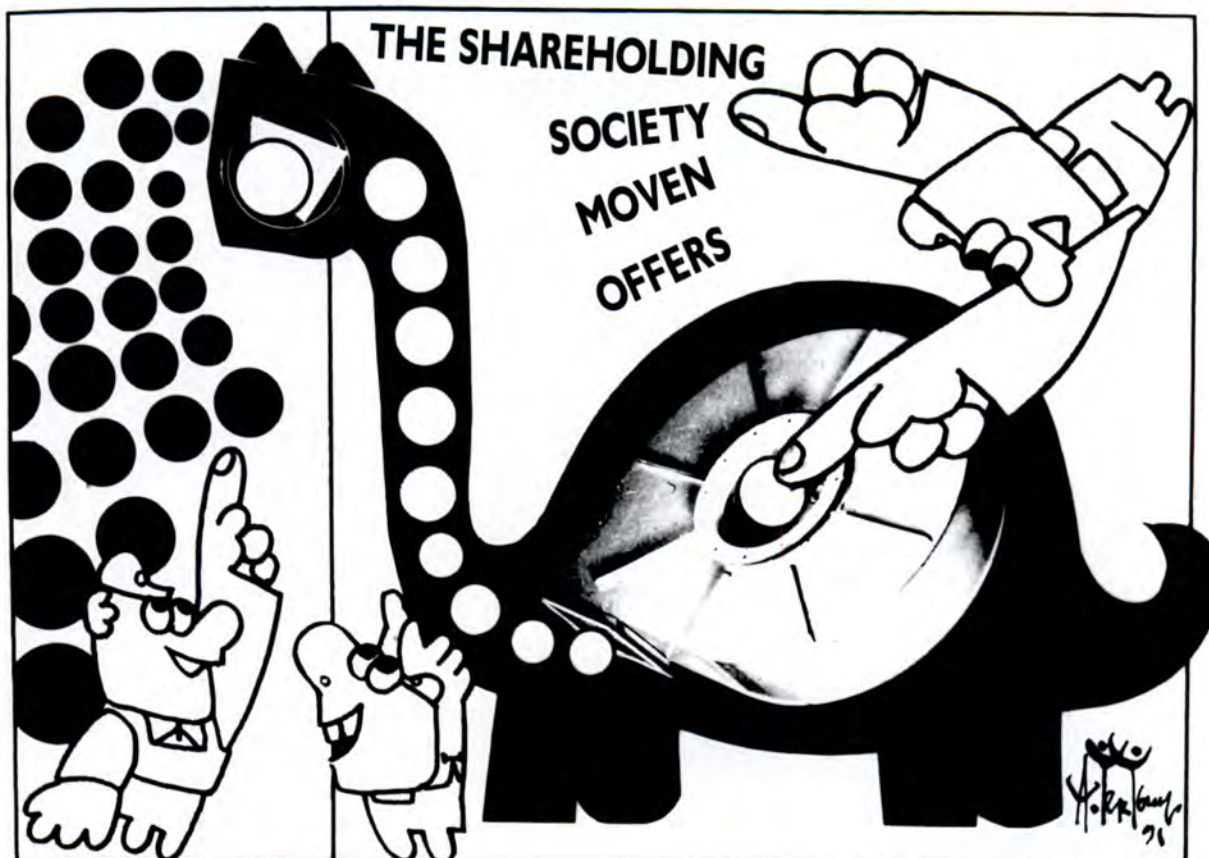
"You've also got a scar on your forehead," said the woman.

I said nothing in reply. I waved good-by and went back to the boat.

Seven hours later I reached home. Sitting at the table, I told my wife about the journey to my distant relative's house, and about the woman and her boy, the drowning, the forest, and the rain...

She didn't believe a single word I said. ■

Yuri Nikitin was born in 1946 in Astrakhan, on the Volga. He graduated from the Astrakhan Teachers Institute. Among his publications are his books Hologram, Soon There'll Be Spring, Burden of Desires, and Ransom. He lives in Astrakhan.



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ALASKA REMEMBERS ST. INNOCENT

By Alexander Khitrov

We have already written more than once about St. Innocent, the Apostle of Alaska (Ivan Popov-Veniaminov, 1797-1879). But even without the help of SOVIET LIFE, that outstanding missionary is remembered there better than in his home country.

That was the conclusion made by his namesake and great-great-grandson, Father Innokenti (Rostislav Veniaminov), after his last year's two-week tour of places associated with the missionary and educational activities of the Apostle of Alaska and the Aleutians. The saint's great-great-grandson was surprised to see that the people of Alaska hold the memory of his forebear dear and that the federal and local governments allocate money for the maintenance of archives and a museum related to St. Innocent.

The American chapter of St. Inno-



Above: St. Innocent in Moscow. Right: A modern icon of the saint. He is portrayed in the vestments of the Metropolitan of Moscow.





Left: This map of Russian America includes the Russian settlements in California (inset).


Sitka to San Francisco, California; the appointment of a new bishop with a fluent command of English; and the publication of Orthodox literature in English.

St. Innocent himself tried to learn the language of all of the peoples to whom he brought the Gospel. He wrote to the bishop of Yakutia: "Tell me—why didn't you, the compiler of the scientific program, mention the Yakutian language? Do you think that German and French will be more useful for Yakutian seminary students than their native tongue?"

Seeking to educate the Aleutians, St. Innocent translated the short Christian catechism and St. Matthew's Gospel into their language in 1831. Nearly every Aleutian family had these books by the turn of the twentieth century.

Many other Russian priests who served in the settlements of the Russian-American Company respected the local languages. Hieromonk Gideon, one of St. Innocent's forerunners, who served in the Kadyak mission from 1793 to 1799, translated the Lord's Prayer into Kadyak.

And what about Russia? Do we remember St. Innocent here? Regrettably, the saint's direct descendants in the USSR are struggling to keep the memory of their great forefather alive. Father Innokenti is trying to preserve the house in the village of Anginskoye, Irkutsk Region, in which Ivan Popov-Veniaminov is said to have been born and lived until his sixth birthday. The local authorities have not done anything to preserve the house, and it is actually falling apart.

But Father Innokenti believes that he will see the establishment of a museum of the Alaskan Apostle. The first harbinger of a brighter future was the invitation he received from the Executive Committee of the Petropavlovsk-Kamchatka City Soviet to the ceremony of naming one of the city's new streets after St. Innocent. The metropolitan's residence was headquartered in the city for a long time, 

cent's life lasted from 1833 till 1868, when he, then the Archbishop of Kamchatka and the Kuril and Aleutian islands, was called back to Russia and appointed successor to Metropolitan Filaret in Moscow. St. Innocent did not forget his former parishioners in the Far East and Alaska when he got back to Moscow. In 1869 he founded the Orthodox Missionary Society, which set to work in the Far East and Alaska with unmatched energy. The society had more resources at its disposal under the territory's new status—by that time Alaska and the Aleutians had become America's property.

St. Innocent welcomed the transfer of the territory of the Russian-American Company to the U.S. Government: He hoped that it would pave the way toward the proliferation of Orthodoxy across the United States. With this aim in view, St. Innocent initiated the restructuring of the parishes on the U.S. Pacific coast in 1870. This provided, in part, for the transfer of the bishop's residence from



Above: The Apostle of Alaska is buried in one of the cathedrals in St. Sergius Trinity Monastery in Zagorsk.

and St. Innocent started his career there. It was from that city that St. Innocent began his difficult and dangerous trip around the Russian settlements and local nomad encampments of Kamchatka, Yakutia, the Aleutian Islands, and Alaska.

Another promising development was the completion of the restoration of the saint's residence at the Church of Ilya the Prophet in the northeastern part of Moscow last summer. Until 1917 the building was used by Moscow's metropolitans. It was in that building that St. Innocent spent his last years and wrote many of his works. It appears that the local exposition will have exhibits about St. Innocent's life and work, too.

And lastly, Moscow publishers have remembered St. Innocent. By the end of this year they will publish a book about the holy man in Russian and English, as well as one of his forgotten theological treatises, "Some Ideas on the Education of Spiritual Youths." The compendium is being prepared by the publishing group Blagovest, with the biography of St. Innocent compiled by the Russian Orthodox Church outside Russia. The treatise "The Way to the Kingdom of God" (1833 reprint), well known to Orthodox Americans, will be published in a large edition.

St. Innocent was a versatile man, and he wrote a number of nontheological works. These have been overlooked. Of particular value are his literary works, as well as his notes about the weather, geology, growing vegetables in northern areas, and other topics. These were written in a lively language, understandable to all, and are complemented with profound analytical summaries. ■



THE SAINT'S SCION

During the years when religion was repressed in the Soviet Union, literature and the press were silent about the spiritual and human feats of St. Innocent, the Apostle of Alaska. The saint's descendants, too, preferred not to speak about their outstanding forefather. Now religion is no longer taboo. But the Alaskan saint's great-great-grandson, Archimandrite Innokenti (in secular life Rostislav Veniaminov), also wishes that his ancestry wasn't so well known, but for a different reason.

Rostislav's father, Sergei, had to take great pains to hide the real names of his noble family members from his coworkers, neighbors, and even from his own children. The fact that someone belonged to a family of "counterrevolutionary elements" could lead to all kinds of harassment and even to death in camps and prisons ("counterrevolutionary elements" included family employees of the czarist police and army, landowners, and clergymen).

But all Veniaminov's precautions couldn't save him from the prewar

purges. After his arrest and death in 1938, his wife was subjected to persecution and exiled to Siberia. Rostislav, then eleven years old, managed to avoid their tragic fate with the help of his uncle. Rostislav spent his childhood and youth like many other children of "enemies of the people." But he was able to get a higher education and start out on his marine doctor's career by hiding the facts of his family history. His father was posthumously rehabilitated in 1957.


After his retirement, Rostislav Veniaminov took his monastic vows and became a monk at the Trinity Monastery. But reporters discovered the family ties between Father Innokenti and St. Innocent, the Apostle of Alaska. This triggered a real popularity boom, which has irritated the monk. The endless flow of people wishing to meet the descendant of the saint and the invitations to various public meetings have become a trial and temptation, enticing the monk away from the seclusion he seeks.

THE BARANOV HOUSE

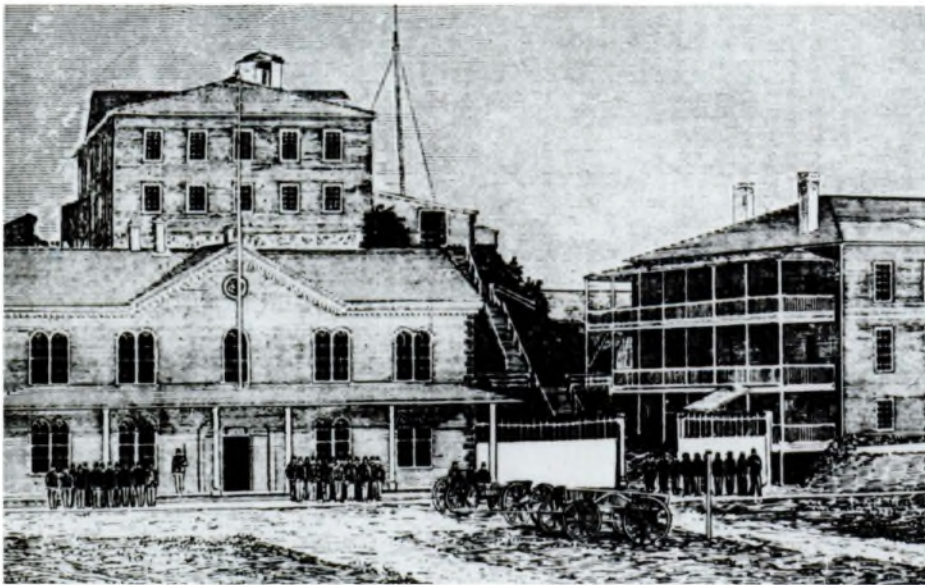
By Katerina Solovyova
Photographs from the Moscow Archives



Russian America's long history includes many smaller histories. One of these little histories is that of the house of Alexander Baranov, the first governor of the Russian lands in America. Like a person, the Baranov house has its own vital statistics. It was born in 1804. It was rebuilt several times. It died in 1894.

Many stories about the famous house circulated around the Russian-American community. Sailors looked forward eagerly to meeting it, as they would look forward to meeting an old friend. Lavrenti Zagoskin, an Alaskan 

Alexander Baranov, the first governor of the Russian settlements in Alaska. Above: The governor's mansion flying the flag of the Russian-American Company.



Below: Baranov's first log house was built in 1804. Left: The house witnessed the historic lowering of the Russian-American Company flag after Alaska was sold to the United States.



scholar, describes this moment: "When we had traversed Lazarus Island, I ordered the cannon to be fired. Not half an hour had passed when the lookouts on the fore- and quarter-decks shouted in unison, 'They saw the shot!' At the same time a light swam onto the horizon. It was the lighthouse in the building belonging to the governor of the colony. There are no words to describe the feelings that overwhelm a sailor when he sees this sign of solidarity from his fellow man. Then he sees that he is no longer alone on the ocean's waves; he sees that someone cares for him with a father's care—and where? Fifteen hundred miles away from his home, from his friends."

In 1799 Baranov, a Siberian merchant who became the director of the Russian-American Company, had ambitious plans: "To expand the holdings of Russia" to the south, along the western coast of North America, and to build new outposts for the motherland. The company had just received monopoly rights from Emperor Paul I himself to all the American land that it discovered.

The same year, commanding the ship *Olga*, Baranov landed on what was then called Sitka Island in the Alexander Archipelago (the island now bears the name Baranof Island). Baranov disembarked with a group of armed men and founded a fort seven miles to the north of what is now the city of Sitka. The land was purchased

In 1808 Baranov made Novoarkhangelsk the capital of the Russian holdings in America.

from the local Tlingit Indians "for a significant sum." Baranov wintered in the new fort and then departed for his residence on Kodiak Island.

In 1802 the warlike Tlingits, armed and incited by the corsairs who cruised the bays of the archipelago, attacked the Russian settlement and burned it to the ground, killing or taking captive the entire population. In 1804 Baranov once again founded a city on Sitka Island. He chose the new site for the city on the southern coast. A fort, comprising the house of the director, a barracks, and a large square with a flagstaff, was built on the high cliffs above the sea. Some of the company buildings were built outside the fort, at the base of the cliffs.

Baranov's first house was built of logs in 1804. It was extremely modest and small, but it welcomed under its roof the first precious visitors from St. Petersburg who had helped with the establishment of Russian America:

Nikolai Rezanov, a gentleman in waiting, and Yuri Lisnyanko, a world-famous seafarer.

Men gifted with a strong will and the willingness to assert it, far-seeing intelligence, and resourcefulness, were needed for the successful trade exploitation of the Aleutian Islands, Northwest America, and California. But whereas the Russian guests returned home after their dangerous toils, Baranov lived for twenty-eight years in America without being able to leave, a prisoner of his concerns about company profits and responsibility to the motherland.

Business required that the director of the company spend extended periods in the company's distant divisions. While he spent two years on Kodiak Island, from 1806 to 1808, his assistant and aide Ivan Kuskov had a comfortable new log house built in the beautiful but austere Russian style of wooden architecture. Logs measuring up to forty meters in length were used in its construction. This home served the first governor of Alaska well until the very day of his departure in 1818.

In 1808 Baranov made Novoarkhangelsk the capital of the Russian holdings in America. The governor's house became a center for trade, maritime, administrative, and cultural ties. It was from here that the process of settling the new Russian lands was controlled. Baranov was a champion of the politics of the Russian Govern-

ment and of Russian Orthodoxy. The main offices of the Russian-American Company were transferred into his own home.

All of the governors of Russian America paid especial attention to defense at all times. Baranov was concerned about the warring nature of the neighboring tribes. After meeting them in military encounters more than once and having been wounded, he ordered a set of light iron chain mail, which is now kept at the National Museum of American History in Washington.

Baranov tried to protect the city he had built with trusty armor similar to his own chain mail. He had high, fortified walls with corner towers built and had a battery set up at the base of the cliffs on the seaward side. The core of the town, where Baranov's house was located, began to look like an inaccessible fortress.

After the departure of the founder of Novoarkhangelsk, life within the walls of the main house took on a new aspect. Despite new events and worries, the essence of Baranov's work was carried on. After 1818, the company from St. Petersburg usually appointed as the main director of the Russian holdings in America experienced naval officers, usually for a period of five years. These were good organizers and educated men, and they brought a spirit of dependability and military discipline to the life of the colonial capital. For most of them the five-year term of service in America was an important stage in their naval careers: Upon their return to Russia, they were granted the rank of admiral.

In 1829 the sixth main director of the Russian-American Company arrived. He was Ferdinand Wrangel, and he had already visited Russian America twice while circumnavigating the globe. Wrangel was the first director who came to the bleak shores of the distant colony with his family. For the first time the mistress of the house was a refined woman with noble manners. The entire officer corps gathered nightly at the dinner table of the enlightened director. This helped to liven up their dull existence far from their homeland and tempered their colonial manners as well. All



New Russian-American Church

According to its architect, Muscovite Igor Kryukov, this magnificent building would look good in any city in Alaska. The snow-white tent, crowned with five golden domes, will house an Orthodox church and a large religious and community center. The building will honor St. Innocent, the Apostle of Alaska. The church will be decorated with murals, mosaics, and stained glass. It will be forty to seventy meters high and will accommodate 1,500 people.

company employees were allowed to use the large library and naval offices, which had been established and were continually supplied thanks to the charity of the Russian nobility.

During Wrangel's term as director, a great deal of attention was paid to educating children. A school for Native American boys provided them with a broad range of knowledge in the basic sciences, and the more promising boys were sent to Russia for further education. On returning home, many of these young people became famous researchers and missionaries in Alaska. Another school taught domestic skills and the Holy Writ to orphaned girls from the native tribes.

Thanks to Madame Wrangel's efforts, the governor's house became a cultural center, providing music classes for children, amateur theatricals, masquerades, and concerts. A contemporary wrote, "A small orchestra replaced the street organ, to which we had been dancing for twenty years straight." It was thought that music helped to overcome vices.

At Christmas time balls were replaced by masquerades, in which anywhere from ninety to one hundred fifty people took part, including "common people." New Year's parties and dances for children were held in the main hall. Lavrenti Zagoskin, who made extensive studies of the daily life and habits of the inhabitants of Russian America, wrote: "In personal, everyday life one may confidently consider Sitka to be closer to St. Petersburg than many of our provincial towns. . . . Here one is surrounded by educated people."

Each new master of the famous Novoarkhangelsk house expanded on the business begun by Baranov. They researched and settled new lands, built new settlements and missions, expanded trade and shipbuilding. Over a period of 126 years, Russians founded more than sixty settlements.

In 1837, during the term of Ivan Kupreyanov, the decrepit Baranov house was torn down. A new, larger house, with an iron roof, with servants' quarters and a kitchen below, and a mezzanine and a billiards room above the gates, was built in its place. New defense fortifications were built

around the house with special care. Also added were an arsenal, barracks, public baths, and residential houses.

Baranov had not allowed the indigenous people to settle near the city, or even on the nearby islands. During the day the Tlingits were allowed into the fort to trade, but at night they were driven out and the gates were locked behind them. When Matvei Muravyov was director, somewhere from 700 to 1,000 Tlingits were allowed to settle outside the northern walls of the fort. The twenty-one-gun northern battery was aimed in the direction of the Indian settlement. The director, gazing from the window of his luxurious house at the Tlingit shacks, once remarked that "when your property and your wives and your children are under the shadow

Thanks to Madame Wrangel's efforts, the governor's house became a cultural center.

of cannons, they serve as the best possible guarantees of safety."

A small Russian Orthodox church was erected for the indigenous population on a hill above the Indian settlement. A school for the native children was also built there.

In 1854 a battalion of 100 soldiers was summoned from Siberia to reinforce the town's defenses. This was a first for Russian America; previously guard duty had been performed by company employees. After a Tlingit attack on the Novoarkhangelsk fort in 1855, resulting in casualties on both sides, the fort was reinforced with yet another Siberian battalion.

But the fortifications on which so many hopes had been placed turned out to be insubstantial, especially when the danger arose of an attack on Novoarkhangelsk by the English and French fleets during the Crimean War (1853-1856).

This was one of the reasons behind the sale of Alaska. After years of talks, a deed was drawn up in 1867 for the sale of all the Russian-American territory, forts and settlements, and public and government buildings to the U.S. Government.

Much attention was given to the ceremony of handing over Russian America. On October 18, 1867, 100 Russian and 250 American soldiers lined up on the square outside the governor's house, which had seen so much in its day. A salute from the American vessel was answered by arms within the fort and from the Russian ships. The deed was read aloud, and then the Russians began to lower the company flag. Freezing rain began to fall. The wet flag stuck to the flagpole and would not budge. A Russian sailor had to climb the twenty-seven-meter flagpole. He got the job done quickly, and within five minutes the American stars and stripes flew over the cliff. Both flags were given a double salute. The legendary house of Baranov watched the entire proceedings in silence.

The house continued to stand on the high cliff, its log walls and high windows, narrow mezzanine, and bright lighthouse protection against winds and floods. For almost thirty more years it sheltered its occupants from cold and boredom. But one day the sturdy logs caught fire. Orange tongues of flame licked the house, illuminating the distant cliffs. The house perished like a guard at his post. This happened in 1894.

Novoarkhangelsk was renamed Sitka. It continued to be the capital of Alaska until 1900. Then the capital of these lands became the city of Juneau. In Sitka, the six buildings dating back to the period of Russian America that are still standing have been carefully preserved by the Alaska Regional Office of the National Park Service. Here a monument has been erected to Alexander Baranov, the legendary founder of Novoarkhangelsk and the first governor of Alaska. The Centennial Building preserves the memory of important directors of the colony and views of the former capital. One of the rooms of the Baranov fortress has been restored with furniture of the period. ■

HUMOR



Drawing by Victor Bogorad

THE RUBLE'S TWISTING PATH TO CONVERTIBILITY

By Anatoli Deryabin

One of the many paradoxes of the Soviet economy is that the ruble is becoming convertible, if only partially, amid a total lack of stabilization and recovery.

Despite recent increases in the prices of producer goods by 40 to 230 per cent and, since April 2, of consumer goods by 300 to 350 per cent or more, the shops are not filling up with consumer goods. Nor are we seeing more equipment and machinery on the market. The budget deficit over the first three months of this year reached 31.1 billion rubles, although it was not to exceed 26.7 billion throughout 1991 according to plan. The country is on the verge of a financial catastrophe, but experts expect the ruble's rate of exchange against hard currencies actually to go up in the near future.

The current situation is clearly not in the ruble's favor. Until late February, its rate at hard-currency auctions held by the USSR State Bank, Gosbank, was very close to the black market rate of twenty to twenty-one rubles to the dollar. But after the withdrawal of fifty-ruble and one-hundred-ruble bills from circulation, the ruble suddenly nosedived to an all-time low of thirty-five rubles to the dollar.

Some economists predicted the plight of the ruble months ago. But their forecasts indicated that it would plummet only in the event of real progress toward convertibility. Their prediction has come true: Moscow now has a stock exchange, where rubles can be bought and sold for any hard currency, the rate depending on supply and demand for foreign exchange. When the exchange closes after trading, which is held twice a week, the prevailing rate is fixed for the rest of the week.

The stock exchange will undoubtedly have a healing effect on the market and push up the ruble's rate of exchange. This should have a positive impact on foreign economic activities. But its role should not be exaggerated.

The main suppliers of hard currency to the Soviet market are a handful of organizations and enterprises in raw materials production and arms manufacturing, and they need rubles badly for pay increases and social benefits for their workers. Chances for earning large ruble sums on the domestic market are limited, and the only way to make a lot of rubles quickly is to auction off your dollars, if you have any. For example, every ruble invested in aluminum production yields one dollar in export revenues. If you pay all the taxes levied on hard-currency earnings, you still end up with a net profit of fourteen to fifteen rubles, provided the exchange rate is twenty-four rubles to the dollar. But with profits like that, the monopolistic producers would never be motivated to expand aluminum production, and would even try to cut it.

This explains why specialists in hard-currency transactions, while paying tribute to the newly created stock exchange, still see the main methods of converting rubles into dollars in so-called bank transfers of hard currency and disguised barter arrangements.

Under Soviet conditions, a bank transfer is a deal whereby Soviet and foreign commercial banks swap previously arranged sums in rubles and hard currencies. Such transactions are semilegal and are therefore usually disguised with formal contracts for mind-boggling sums of money. They offer terms that cannot be met under any circumstances and are doomed from the very beginning to failure. As a result, the Soviet side pays its foreign partner a fine in rubles, while the foreign partner pays the Soviet bank a fine in hard currency.

Barter deals are likewise not permitted by the Soviet Government, because the Soviet partner, as a rule, loses a great deal by exchanging raw materials at low prices for cheap consumer goods. There are other restrictions, such as the 40 per cent presidential tax on hard-currency earnings.

But paradoxical as it may seem, the newly emerging commercial structures in the Soviet Union, contrary to the expectations of those who devised the restrictions, have sharply increased their foreign trade turnover. Unlike state enterprises and organizations, they have obviously found some ways to by-pass the ban.

Experts see three ways of converting rubles into dollars in export arrangements. The first way is called "exports for rubles." A producer sells his products for rubles to a joint venture or a foreign company with a ruble account at a Soviet bank, but at a rate close to that prevailing at auctions or during stock trading. These rubles are then spent on hard-currency purchases at auctions.

The second method is known as a "coproduction agreement." Partners pretend that they manufacture something jointly (joint ventures are exempt from hard-currency taxation), although the role of the foreign partner may be limited to "label sticking."

The third method is called "exports through joint ventures." A Soviet company and a joint venture make a deal on the joint manufacturing of a product that subsequently becomes the property of the joint venture. The latter can export the product without paying the presidential tax. What matters in any such deal is not so much real manufacturing as consistent bookkeeping.

Hard-currency transfers and disguised barter deals make it possible to convert twenty to sixty billion rubles a year into hard currency. The amount exceeds by hundreds of times the sums officially sold during auctioning and exchange trading. Even if the government blocks these narrow pipelines for dollar traffic, business people will undoubtedly find new and probably more lucrative ways.

The ruble's hidden transition to convertibility is coming to light. But it is, regrettably, developing not with the help of the state but rather contrary to its wishes. ■

SOVIET LIVING STANDARDS

Despite the severe economic crisis in which the Soviet Union now finds itself, the country still commands tremendous production potential. The USSR is the world's leading producer of oil, iron ore, timber, mineral fertilizer, iron and steel, rolled metal, lathes, and so forth. It places second or third in the output of coal, electricity, and many chemicals. The Soviet Union has an oversized producer goods sector, at the expense of consumer goods. That is why the Soviet standard of living is among the lowest in Europe.

The average American consumes two to two and a half times as much meat, fruit, berries, and vegetable oil as the average Soviet citizen. Soviet purchases of durables (footwear, fabrics, knitwear, refrigerators, washing machines, and so forth) are also pitiful by Western standards. The household electronics industry is in its infancy in the USSR.

An underdeveloped consumer sector means that Soviet wages are very low—30 to 35 per cent of the national income, as compared to 60 to 80 per cent in Western Europe. A Soviet worker's real pay constitutes 10 to 20 per cent of the corresponding Western figure. The pay difference is larger for professionals (engineers, physicians, teachers, and so on), and even greater for journalists, artists, and other workers in the humanities.

For a long time Soviet citizens' relatively low pay was offset by very low and stable consumer prices. For instance, rents have not changed since 1928. The price of bread, pasta, and almost all durables has been the same since 1954. Until very recently, meat, milk, sugar, vegetable oil, and so on sold for the prices that were fixed in 1962. Formally, only luxuries were becoming more expensive: jewelry, furs, cars, alcohol, and tobacco.

But this stability was artificial. On April 2, 1991, prices went up 150 to 250 per cent and more. As a result, to buy the same quantity of potatoes,

milk, or fish, a Soviet has to work five times as long as an American. Or ten to fifteen times as long for meat, butter, and oranges. Or twenty-five to thirty times as long for eggs, rice, sugar, and chicken.

All civilized countries have an official subsistence level. All except the USSR. If we take the official minimum wage recently quoted by the government (180 rubles a month), more than half of the Soviet population proves to be below the poverty line.

Our low standard of living has been falling more and more rapidly over recent years. Take food sales in Moscow, the city long presented to foreigners as the model of socialist prosperity. Since 1975, bread sales have fallen 23 per cent (7 per cent since 1988); fruit and berry sales, 22 per cent and 25 per cent, respectively; dairy product sales, 14 per cent. Even the consumption of potatoes, the cheapest foodstuff here, has fallen 34 per cent. Since the multiple price hike, potatoes are no longer cheap.

For decades the government has tried to resolve the food problem with the help of various programs. In the 1980s several programs were initiated. All of them misfired.

The programs themselves were competently developed. They did not work, nor could they, because of the irrational economic environment. It seems that fast and steady denationalization is the only way to raise our living standards and settle other vital issues. Many reputable economists here and elsewhere believe that denationalization will prevent the country from plunging into an economic abyss.

True, denationalization will divide people by income level, property status, and so forth. And it will generate unemployment. However, property difference and unemployment have always existed in the USSR, albeit in concealed form. More importantly, there is no other way out.

THE QUEST FOR SELF-EXPRESSION

Like the phoenix rising from its own ashes, artistic self-expression in the Soviet Union has taken wing after years of repression. This rebirth of creativity is the subject of *The Quest for Self-Expression: Painting in Moscow and Leningrad, 1965-1990*. The book is by Yelena Kornetchuk, with an introduction by John E. Bowlt. Ninety-four works have been selected to represent the rich diversity of art that has emerged and survived during the past twenty-five years in the two major art centers of the Russian Federation. Forty-three artists of the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s are represented here.

Until now, the breadth and depth of artistic creation that existed outside the dictates of socialist realism have not received extensive consideration in American, European, or Soviet exhibitions. This handsome volume presents the work of both unofficial artists and their official colleagues, often nonconformist—or left-wing—union members. All were at some time or another blacklisted by the government. A number of artists are being introduced to the American public for the first time.

Soviet artists are especially affected by political climate, history, and aesthetic traditions of the past and present. Self-expression has been influenced in particular by the Russian icon and national folk traditions, the Russian avant-garde movement of the 1920s and 1930s, and Western modernist movements such as surrealism and pop art. Paintings reflecting this diversity of subjects and styles were chosen directly from artists' studios and from American, Canadian, European, and Soviet public and private collections. A portrait and statement in the artist's own words introduce each artist's work. A special section of artists' biographies is also included.

The price of the book is \$30.00, paperback only. For more information write: University of Washington Press, P.O. Box 50096, Seattle, Washington 98145-5096, USA. Telephone: (206) 543-4050. ■

downtown, the tortuous streets that wind among buildings of various styles observe no rules of symmetry. This is a special part of old Moscow.

There are many art studios here. Their interior decoration is as original as the life stories of the artists who have occupied them. I walk upstairs to the top floor of an impressive, early twentieth-century building on Krivokolenny Lane.

Graceful marble stairs...massive oak doors...high windows with sophisticated transoms in the Moscow modernist style. I ring the doorbell. The

the color of eternity

By Galina Marevicheva
Reproductions by Georgi
Melekhov and Vsevolod
Tarasevich

Still Life with Contemporary's Death Mask. 1985-1986.



Artist Irina Meshcheryakova. All the paintings shown here were done in oil on canvas.



Winter in Tarusa. 1981.



door is opened by painter Irina Meshcheryakova.

She ushers me into her apartment, which is next to her studio. Many pictures and photographs hang on the walls. There is also a huge table, old chairs, benches, sofas, a clock that doesn't seem to work, and a lamp with an impossible shade. And there are lots of other useful and useless things on the table and on the sideboard. If any one of them were taken away, the whole effect would be spoiled.

The painter's personal appearance is also striking for the strange harmony of its diverse elements: extravagance and naiveté, vulnerability and a desire to shock. Meshcheryakova has



Portrait of Zhenya Kasatkina. 1967.



Still Life with Toy Horse. 1972.

her own, immediately likable, kind of openness.

"What trend in painting do you belong to?" I asked.

"I'm interested in all of my contemporaries' discoveries, but I don't limit myself to any particular trend."

"Do you think our time is good for artists?"

"That depends on the artist. To survive, a painter needs enormous strength of will and God's blessing."

"What about commerce in art?"

"Of course, art can't be produced without money, but you also have to sacrifice for your ideals."

"Some of your works have made a deep impression on me: *The Year 1981*, painted at the close of the Brezhnev era; *Still Life with Contemporary's Death* 🐾

Mask, devoted to a friend who had died young; *The Year 1985*, about the war in Afghanistan. All of them reveal a strong social bias. What's your own opinion of them?"

"What I absolutely cannot discuss is my pictures. Not because painting is a subconscious process. I always

hands of Russian painters, discoveries lose the taste of challenge, and extremes wane because the deeply rooted national tradition is too strong."

"What do the words 'the Russian people' mean to you?"

"I don't understand Russians who believe that to be called Russian is all

most important. For me the color white is the color of eternity."

Our conversation is over, and Meshcheryakova invites me to her studio. The studio seems enormous. There are several easels in it, canvases, brushes and palettes, boards and frames. The window affords a marvel-



Morning. 1980.

know what I'm doing. Social bias is inevitable in a painter. We live and work in a definite time, and we speak the language of our time even when we reject it."

"What's your attitude toward Russian painting in general?"

"Russian painting has gone through all the discoveries and extremes of art nouveau, but in the

anyone needs. I despise people who are obsessed with nationalism."

"Lately you've been working a great deal with the color white, which is one of the most difficult media for painters. Very few artists have ventured to experiment with it. How do you explain your choice?"

"I would like to free myself from daily routine and concentrate on what's

ous view. The ringing of church bells fills the air.

I have been following Irina Meshcheryakova's work closely for a long time. Her pictures are different but always recognizable. The spiritual content of her work has become richer with time. Her art is permeated with an anticipation of events and destinies. That's what makes it so enigmatic. ■

Composition on a Subject. 1991.





"People like Yevgeni are often hard to handle. He's impatient, and he's a lot more driven than most of his colleagues."



PENTATHLETE, JOURNALIST, IDEA MAN

By Yelena Titova
Photographs by Sergei Titov



I spent my childhood in Tashkent, the capital of Uzbekistan. I was a classic underachiever," recalls sports journalist Yevgeni Lepetukhin. "I skipped a lot of classes in school, and my grades were terrible. My favorite thing to do was to skip class, take my bicycle, and go tearing off to the racetrack on the other side of town, just so I could look at the horses."

Lepetukhin wanted to become a jockey. He mounted a horse for the first time when he was thirteen. At first he was only allowed to lead the horses off the track after races; then, while he was still young and light, he began to train young racehorses. But when he was fifteen he became fascinated by the modern pentathlon. Its diversity appealed to him: The fact that he could ride, fence, shoot, swim, and run made him feel like a superman.

Lepetukhin graduated from secondary school and went on to the Tashkent Institute of Physical Education. After he got his degree, he served his term in the army and then returned to the same institute as a teacher.

He still went to the racetrack very often. "Yevgeni," his journalist friends said to him, "you go to a lot of races—write something about it for us." And Lepetukhin started writing little pieces for the local press. He wrote one, two, then a third. His work was good. He started getting orders for big articles. And then he received an unexpected offer from a youth newspaper in Uzbekistan to do a whole issue on sports. If it worked out, they would take him on staff as a correspondent.

"I spent two months on that issue," Lepetukhin told me. "I still have a copy as a souvenir of how I started working in the newspaper business. I took a correspondence course from the journalism department at Tashkent University. Then one day, when I was looking through the central press, it suddenly occurred to me that what I was reading wasn't any better than



my stuff. And that's when I decided to go to Moscow."

At first he lived with his brother. Shortly afterward he got married to a long-time Moscow friend of his, Masha, an economist. He moved into his wife's apartment. Lepetukhin taught physical education and started working part-time for the central newspapers: *Komsomolskaya pravda*, *Izvestia*, and *Sovietsky sport*.

Lepetukhin was soon offered full-time work at Yunost radio station. The personnel department of Gosteleradio (the State Committee of the USSR for Television and Radio Broadcasting) opposed the move—nobody'd ever heard of this guy. They refused to give him a job, ignoring the persistent requests from the management of Yunost.

"Gosteleradio has never liked to hire people like me, guys from off the street," Lepetukhin told me. "And they still don't. You have to have the right connections to get a job there. But I didn't have any. I could only show them my published articles. And then I said: 'Either you hire me or I'll take you to court.' I don't know if that's what did it, but I can tell you one thing: I was immediately taken on staff."

Lepetukhin's boss, Alexander Ivanitsky, thinks that Lepetukhin had a difficult time adapting to the press crew. "People like Yevgeni are often hard to handle. He's impatient, and he's a lot more driven than most of his colleagues. I personally was won over by his sheer devotion to sports."

Now, at the age of forty-eight, Lepetukhin has worked in the sports office of Gosteleradio for eighteen years.

When it was decided that the 1980 Summer Olympic Games would be held in Moscow, the question of where to build an equestrian sports complex naturally arose. Lepetukhin, as a member of the board of directors of the Olympic Games, suggested a site: Bitsa, a wasteland on the

outskirts of Moscow, adjoining a forest where a new microdistrict was being built.

"I live near Bitsa," Lepetukhin told me. "In the morning I go running in the forest, and I know each and every path. My proposal got support. The Bitsa Equestrian Sports Complex turned out to be just amazing—maybe even better than in Germany or England. For ten years different contests have been held here. There's a school of the modern pentathlon here. My son, Sasha, and daughter, Anya, go there. Bitsa also has a riding club for young people. A lot of my friends work there. Now they coach my children. My old friends let me use the swimming pool and go riding there."

"And as a member of the board of the modern pentathlon and equestrian associations, I'm responsible for supervising Bitsa and making sure it's in good condition. It's really like a second home for me."

"But let me tell you what I'm worried about. The equestrian sports complex has been showing its age lately. It needs major repairs. But the State Com-

Yevgeni and Masha Lepetukhin.



mittee of the USSR for Physical Culture and Sports doesn't want to renovate it; the money's not available. If we want to make the repairs that should be made, the complex should be bought out or rented out, so that the management and staff become its real managers. There's also another path we could take—we could look for foreign partners. One day I was talking with some American businessmen, and we were trying to calculate what kind of profit could be made from the complex. One of them raised his hands in frustration and said, 'You have such a gem, and you can't make a profit from it!'"

In the summer of 1990, Lepetukhin went to Seattle to report on the Goodwill Games. When he came back, he told us some of his impressions.

"I don't want to talk about the problems they have in America; the main thing is that if you're worth something, if you know how to do something, then you can always find a way to make use of your abilities. One thing really struck me: how much the Americans love their homeland, their homes, their land, the whole thing—everything that's called the American way of life. There are definitely reasons for loving it. Certain

American principles are dear to my heart. For instance, that you should do a job well or not at all. Americans don't shy away from the most ambitious schemes.

"I enjoyed working with the American journalists I met, but my contacts didn't turn out to be as helpful as I'd expected. The Americans said: 'You work just as well as we do. It's just that you don't have the opportunities we have.'

"I don't have a personal computer. I can't key in to a data bank. My archives are a huge stack of papers that I have to dig through in order to find anything. Of course the Americans have it easier. But that doesn't really matter—whatever doesn't kill you makes you stronger." ■



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Your March 1991 issue was particularly insightful. The Graftsky article on economic absurdities and the Sobchak-Filippov debate on a Lenin-grad free economic zone clearly set out the acute economic-political dilemma facing your country. Perhaps most revealing was Robert Tsfasman's point that an economically successful Soviet farmer is viewed by his fellow Soviets with distrust rather than respect.

Currently, the Western media is filled with articles about the political resurgence of the military and the KGB. Apocalyptic scenarios include a military coup and a return to Stalinism. It would be most helpful if soon you would devote significant space to this issue. Perhaps you could publish a debate between a democratic reformer and a representative of the military.

Paula Grillot & James Topp
Asheville, North Carolina

I have just finished reviewing my copy of the February 1991 issue of *SOVIET LIFE*—and still find the great revolutionary spirit of self-evaluation (perestroika) is going strong (in spite of what a few detractors had otherwise tried to imply!).

On the Konstantin Smirnov-Ostashvili case, I had found it a bit troublesome to become aware again that there still exists a certain "element of people" worldwide who are self-centered tribally, culturally, nationalistically, and ethically. (My own ancestral roots are in four ethnic groups: East African, Mongolian, Caucasian, and Native North American. I share cultural equivalences of both Jewish and Islamic lifestyles. In a word, I, too, am soyuz—a union of unions!)

Carl N.D. Klure
Los Angeles, California

I am a thirty-year-old disabled man with a bachelor of science degree in business administration from a liberal arts college, and a good capitalist. I do not mean to be presumptuous enough to tell you how to run your country's affairs, given the United States' own problems, but please spare me a moment to discuss the workings of democratic capitalism.

A strong, Western-style country first needs a strong central government. If you will notice the U.S. and the most prosperous Western European countries, they all have a strong central government. A powerful central bank, in our case the Federal Reserve, is required to regulate the banking system, prevent bank failures and bank panics, curtail unsound banking policies, weed out corruption, and generally stabilize the banking system. Without a stable banking system, a capitalist economy cannot function.

Therefore, nationalism aside, the idea of turning the USSR into a confederation of independent states cannot provide for a stable and prosperous economy, as each state would have its own banks and currency, and general economic chaos would result. Under the Articles of Confederation, we in the United States tried such a system before our Constitution was adopted. This system was abandoned because it did not work, caused political instability, and created economic anarchy.

Also, nearly every reputable capitalist knows that the free enterprise system does not work without government regulation. The capitalist system will not provide for full employment and money and dignity for the elderly or for people without money and who are unable to work. It is the government's job to correct this.

Jonathan C. Drown
Peru, N.Y.



**NEXT
ISSUE**



PROSPECTS BRIGHT FOR NAKHODKA

The port city of Nakhodka, located in the Soviet Far East, is one of the first Russian cities to be designated a special economic zone. Actually, Nakhodka is composed of four busy ports, with ships arriving from and departing to places with the most exotic names. Thousands of foreign tourists, including droves from its sister city, Oakland, California, crowd Nakhodka every year. The city is also the site of the head office of the Soviet-American Marine Resource Company. In a nutshell, everybody says that Nakhodka has good prospects for free entrepreneurship.



RUSSIAN AMERICA TURNS 250

To mark the special birthday of Russian America, the next issue contains varied material, like old prints, for one. The one above maps out Novoarkhangelsk (now Sitka). Also how the anniversary is marked in Russia itself is covered.

COMING SOON

South Ossetia—
A Transcaucasian Tragedy



Irina Meshcheryakova. *The Earth (White Angel)*. 1990. Oil on canvas. See story on page 58.

A woman in traditional Siberian clothing, including a white headscarf with floral patterns and a red jacket with yellow embroidery, is the central figure. The background is a blurred, natural setting.

Soviet Life

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RUSSIAN IVAN—GUINNESS RECORD HOLDER?

By Natalya Lapayeva

Photograph by Yuri Ivanov

Not long ago Soviet newspapers made a sensational discovery: A man who had spent the past forty-two years living in the woods turned up in a Byelorussian village.

The man's name is Ivan Bushilo. Ivan said that in 1947, just back from the front of World War II, he ventured to defend the honor of Georgi Zhukhov, his former commander, who had since gotten onto one of Stalin's black lists.

Afraid of reprisals, Ivan decided to run away, but he got lost in an impassable Byelorussian marsh. After living a hermit's life for more than forty years, he returned to his native village of Bostyn. Why had he stayed away from people for so long? To escape undeserved punishment?

Ivan told his story to Novosti correspondent Grigori Kolobov, who visited the village of Bostyn. He also recounted his life in the forest, his habit of moving around a lot and of sleeping in a shelter of branches now and in a haystack then. Sometimes he was chased, but in the forest he felt safe. The trees were his protectors, although he said he never got rid of the nagging

feeling of loneliness and fear of what would happen if he were caught.

Shortly before publishing the story, *Pravda* wrote that not everything about Ivan's account could be verified. The former procurator of the area said that Ivan Bushilo had been a member of a gang of robbers that had been broken up at the end of 1947. Five of the bandits had been killed; another six had been arrested. According to court documents, only Ivan had managed to escape. In the summer of 1953, investigators had picked up his tracks again. This time, they proved that, with the help of his brother and his brother-in-law, he had robbed two stores. The procurator had issued a warrant for his arrest. So there are two versions of one life.

"All lies. I never committed any crime," says Ivan. "I never had anything to do with robbers. My relatives were sent to prison to punish me. They were slandered."

So what was the real story? No one knows. Meanwhile, Ivan Bushilo is likely to find his way into the Guinness Book of World Records. ■

EDITOR'S NOTES

A Russian television commentator closed a recent nighttime program by quoting John F. Kennedy. In Russian the quotation sounded as follows: "If a democracy cannot feed its people, it is bound to collapse." I'm not sure how meaningful these words were for Americans in the early 1960s, but they certainly have a profound meaning for the Soviet people in the early 1990s.

The gap between the fast development of democracy and the sluggish growth of the economy is widening day in, day out. The exit/entry law has finally been adopted, signifying a new, important step toward a law-based state. Though some people view it as a long-awaited gift, the majority of the Soviet public give it no more importance than, say, a law on the sale of orchids. The number of super-talented entertainers, scientists, and engineers, i.e., categories of people who could count on quick success in the West, after all, is limited. As for the millions of our ordinary workers, the West wouldn't be able to take them all. And then, they aren't at all willing to leave their country, despite the hardship.

Daily needs have caused a sharp polarization of political forces in Soviet society. Perestroika has quite a few adversaries, not only among those who have a lot to lose if it succeeds. People who have nothing to lose also have doubts. There is a reverse side to democratic change—sharply declining discipline at the workplace, the disintegration of established economic ties, and a rising crime rate. President Gorbachev has become the main target. Some criticize him for insufficient resolve in carrying out reform, others for the reform as such. But let's remember it was Gorbachev who started the renewal of our country and the improvement of the international climate.

The U.S. press has recently cited figures showing that the ratings of the USSR and its leader are falling in the eyes of the U.S. public. American analysts explain this by the euphoria caused by the Gulf victory. Euphoria may come and go, as may our current difficulties, but we should keep in mind John Kennedy's warning.

Robert Tsfasman

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Front Cover: A Siberian Old Believer in
traditional dress. Photo by Fred Grinberg.



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If the House Is Divided

By Georgi Shakhnazarov

No one doubts now that among the chief causes of our current plight is monstrous supercentralism. History has hardly known centralism on such a scale, with the exception, perhaps, of ancient despotic societies, although neither the Persian, nor the Roman, nor the Chinese empires experienced anything of the kind. Even in recent history remoteness gave the local authorities a certain amount of independence. But in an era when information spreads at lightning speed, the watchful and petty tutelage of the center is inescapable.

Dashing to Extremes

Since perestroika began, the idea of decentralization has evolved from a good intention into a theoretically substantiated and practically advanced concept of transforming the union into a federal state with a broad system of local self-government. In the current setting only a hopeless retrograde could advocate the revival of the center in its old, totalitarian form. Even those who are nursing hopes for such a revival would not dare to speak about it openly now.

Society, meanwhile, needs a reasonable amount of centralized government. Too much government and too little are equally detrimental. Unfortunately, again we have failed to resist the baleful habit of dashing to extremes. The idea of sovereignty, highly productive as it is, has developed into a free-for-all, which has shaken the sovereignty of the union and put into question the newly acquired independence of the republics. Uncontrollable self-

government is increasingly turning into the absence of any government at all, so one must make enormous efforts to restore a reasonable degree of centralized regulation in order to save the nation from hunger and destruction.

Defining the Center

The agencies representing the union government naturally consist of people of all nationalities. And even though there are no exact figures reflecting their ethnic composition, one can be sure that the absolute majority of the functionaries working at the union level—in representative bodies and, above all, in the bureaucracy—are Russians. This is natural, as Russians constitute more than half of the Soviet Union's population. Moscow is the capital of both the Soviet Union and the Russian Federation.

It is clear that no center exists that is isolated from Russia or opposed to it. The center is a high degree of abstraction symbolizing the union's state system. As the decisive role in it is played by Russia, it is Russia, first and foremost. But not only Russia, of course. According to federal laws, the union bodies express the will of all the republics. Russia, however, is the backbone of the union state that has been forming around it for centuries.

If one accepts that the center is simultaneously and above all Russia, one will understand how far-fetched is the juxtaposition of Russia and the center. One will have to recognize that the current attacks on the center and on the union bodies are a tactical ruse of the opposition in its struggle for power. The ruthlessly abused center has long

ceased to be the monster squeezing everyone and everything in its deadly embrace and making short work of the disobedient ones. It is now a fortress that has raised a white flag and opened its gates wide. It is the reform headquarters which, on its own initiative, is passing the reins of power to the local governments in the hope that self-government will produce good results.

Overcoming a Split Personality

Behind the artificially instigated contradictions between Russia and the center is, in the long run, the divided Russian national mentality, which must make a choice that is vitally important not only for the country, but also for the rest of the world. The choice is obvious: either to work for the preservation of the state as a superpower or to let it become an ordinary state of medium strength.

The isolationists would like to shake the "union load" off the Russian ship, putting an end to the habit of squandering the national wealth. By getting rid of this ballast, they say, the Russian people, like any other advanced European nation, will quickly catch up with the rest of the world. They say that the treasures that are being squandered or given away for nothing—oil, coal, gold, diamonds, and vast fields and pastures—must be used by the people who live in the Russian republic.

To brush away all the accusations of being unpatriotic, the isolationists argue that irrespective of Russia's position, the breakup of the union is inevitable because, they say, other member republics of the union cherish the same hopes. Besides that, they go on to say,

In the current setting only a hopeless retrograde could advocate the revival of the center in its old, totalitarian form. Society, meanwhile, needs a reasonable amount of centralized government. Too much government and too little are equally detrimental.

the division of the union into sovereign states does not mean its final disintegration. The sovereign states, they argue, will continue to be drawn to each other by economic interests, so after emotions calm down, something like the European community will emerge.

By contrast, those who are being accused of imperial ways emphasize that the Soviet economy has been developing as a unit all along. Moreover, they assert that individual republics cannot carry on without the union.

Among the chief arguments advanced by the defenders of a powerful and united state system is patriotism. "Is not the attempt to waste the achievements of the ancestors who worked for centuries to put the country together tantamount to betrayal of one's own history?" they ask. Won't we betray the memory of the millions who defended the country during the Great Patriotic War not only as Russia but, precisely, as the Soviet Union? Attempts to cut the country into pieces, disregarding the fact that one-fourth of its citizens live beyond their national territory, may generate a series of exhausting armed conflicts.

Then who does the nation support—those who favor isolationism or those who favor empire? This question remains unanswered. The referendum held on March 17, 1991, showed that three-fourths of the population favored preservation of the union, which makes a solid foundation for concluding a new union treaty. One-fourth of the population, however, first of all in big cities, including Moscow and Leningrad, said No. Doesn't this dem-

onstrate a split in the Russian national mentality?

Bringing History Up to Date

One may argue that the strategy of the "anticentrists" is inspired by a historical analogy. In 1918, by insisting on the conclusion of the peace Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with Germany and by proclaiming the policy of self-determination of the Russian Empire's former outlying provinces, Vladimir Lenin saved power for the Communists. Subsequently, most of the territories that had left the empire were returned to it. Stalin not only compensated for the losses but spread Moscow's influence into bordering states in Europe and Asia. Why not repeat this scenario?

The situation as we approach the turn of the century is radically different from that of the late 1920s and early 1930s. The new alignment of forces and the international climate generated partly under the influence of our new thinking practically exclude the use of force, which was previously a norm. The circumstances have changed so much that European-style integration on the basis of mutual benefit and democratic principles is becoming quite feasible.

Striking a Balance

When the extremists in some of the republics manage to stir up blind enmity against those whom they call the invaders, Russian people become indignant. "If they treat us like that," they say, "if they do not value what we have done for them, let them go their own way and live on their own."

What choice will the republics make? Nine of them have voted for the union. The six that say they are not ready to sign the union treaty must be given time to decide. Time will rid them of prejudices and illusions. And although the Baltic republics represent greater problems than Armenia, Georgia, or Moldova, even they can be involved in the union affairs on a mutually acceptable basis.

The political parties have an obligation to make the right choice in this important and perhaps most crucial moment of Russia's long history. Formally, the Democratic Russia movement makes statements in favor of preserving the union. At the same time, attempts are being made to deprive the union of the prerogatives without which it cannot exist. In other words, efforts are being made to turn the USSR into an international union similar to the European Economic Community or the Commonwealth of Nations.

The preservation of the union as an integral state is a matter of the entire nation, not of individual social strata or parties. This goal is of truly global importance. To subordinate this historic objective to the tactical tasks of seizing power would be a fatal mistake if not a crime. No arguments or references to any goals, including the loftiest ones, will justify it.

Will the Russian democrats allow the union to disintegrate, inevitably causing the loss of Russia's identity and breeding unpredictable international cataclysms? "Every house divided against itself shall not stand." (Matthew 12:25)

Courtesy of the newspaper *Izvestia*



Was It an Unexpected Attack?

By Pyotr Mikhailov



Fifty years ago, on June 22, 1941,
Nazi Germany attacked the USSR.



Fifty years have passed since Germany invaded the Soviet Union, yet debates about the "unforeseen nature" of that attack, which proved fatal for Germany, keep flaring up, like fires that cannot be completely put out. Joseph Stalin, a dictator who ruled the world's largest country for thirty years, a Caesar who was both loved and hated by millions of people, remains the key figure in these discussions.

Stalin himself called the German attack on the Soviet Union unexpected. At that time the phrase "unexpected attack" was so widely inculcated in Soviet consciousness that even now many still believe it. But recently published documents prove that the German attack came as no surprise to the party, the government, or the military leaders of the Soviet Union. It came as a shock, however, to the millions of common people of our country, who were not ready for war.

Stalin first publicly called the German attack "unexpected" in a radio broadcast on July 3, 1941. He repeated that idea during the war and later on. Whatever Stalin said was transformed into "the truth" by the official propaganda machine of the totalitarian state.

When Stalin edited his own short autobiography for publication in 1947, he again used this description of the German attack on the Soviet Union. He made two changes, which he considered of paramount importance, to the sentence "On June 22, 1941, Hitler's imperialist Germany launched a treacherous attack on the Soviet Union." After "Germany" he added: "grossly violated the nonaggression pact," and the definition "treacherous attack" was complemented with the invariable "and unexpected."

The idea that the top Soviet leaders did not know about the German attack in advance and that consequently the attack was extremely destructive has long been discredited. Other arguments can be summarized by the following variants.

Disinformation. American historian Barton Whaley wrote in his book that Stalin's mistaken assessment of the situation before the war with Germany was a direct result of the campaign of disinformation waged by Hitler, which cleverly combined reliable information, allegation, and rumor. Whaley stresses that this kind of disinformation helped camouflage both the direction and the time of the main strike and even concealed Hitler's intention to invade.

Loss of bearings. Marshal Georgi Zhukov, chief of the Red Army's General Staff before the war, later recalled: "Stalin had had quite a few reports about the time and the scenario of the war. Most of them came from Great Britain, the United States, and Germany, but on each occasion the reported time of the beginning of the war would elapse and consequently invalidate the reports, so Stalin stopped believing them."

Negligence and shortsightedness. Soviet historian Yuri Zor, who studied the material from the Nuremberg Trials, says the catastrophic beginning of the war was a result of "Stalin's criminal negligence, ignoring the efforts of Soviet intelligence officers, his shortsightedness, and his inability to correctly assess the military and political situation of that period."

Indecision and conceit. The well-known Soviet historian Dmitri Volkogonov, who has studied the minutiae of Stalin's life and work, believes that "Stalin's caution, a vital quality for any politician, turned into indecision and hesitancy fed by his manic conviction that his personal desire for the war not to happen would materialize. This eventually led to the fatal morning [of June 22]."

Totalitarianism and the leader's wisdom. Leonard Schapiro, of the London Institute of Economics and Political Sciences, wrote that the country's lack of preparedness for the war with Germany should be explained not so much by Stalin's personal mistakes as by the very nature of the totalitarian regime. By using the control mechanism over mass consciousness to make everyone accept the unexpected pact with Hitler, the regime could not at the same time

prepare the country for a war, when it had ascribed the avoidance of such a war to the wisdom of the leader.

Soviet intelligence agents began reporting Hitler's plans and Germany's preparations for the war in August 1940. Eleven days after Hitler approved the projected invasion of the Soviet Union, code-named Operation Barbarossa, Moscow was notified of this fact by the group of Ilse Stobe, which included officials of the German Foreign Ministry. Information about the actual date when the attack might begin was supplied by many countries long before the invasion. Each report was delivered directly to Stalin. Here are some of the reports the Soviet Government, and, above all, Stalin, received during the three weeks before the German attack.

June 1. The Soviet naval attaché in Berlin reported: "Germany will attack the Soviet Union on June 20-22."

The superstar of Soviet military intelligence, Richard Sorge, radioed from Tokyo the strategic, operational, and tactical plans of the German command.

June 2. Maeshiba, Moscow correspondent for the Japanese newspaper *Tokyo Nichi-Nichi*, learned at a party given by the Japanese ambassador that the Germans had deployed about 150 divisions (one and a half million soldiers) on the western borders of the Soviet Union. The hostilities are expected to begin on June 15 or 20, reported the counterintelligence department of the People's Commissariat (Ministry) of State Security of the USSR (NKGB). It also reported claims by Maeshiba that the major concentration of troops had been deployed on the western borders of the Soviet Union and that German military units were constantly advancing toward the Soviet borders—facts that were confirmed by witnesses.

June 3. General von Krebs, German military attaché in Moscow, told Ambassador Friedrich von Schulenburg that he was satisfied with the reports about the speech delivered at the Military Council by Georgi Malenkov, one of Stalin's closest associates. Malenkov, supported by Stalin, rejected the calls for vigilance proposed by the council and said that, thanks to the genius of Stalin, the war would not start either "today or tomorrow." Krebs said that "this view is shared by the most influ-

ential of Stalin's assistants—Lavrenti Beria, Andrei Zhdanov, Kliment Voroshilov, and Vyacheslav Molotov."

June 6. At the U.S. Embassy in Moscow everyone knew that Secretary of State Cordell Hull had sent reports from American counselors in Bucharest and Stockholm to be turned over to Molotov. The reports said that Germany would attack the Soviet Union in two weeks' time.

June 8. Alice Leon-Moats, correspondent for *Collier's* magazine, said that she had learned at the villa of the German ambassador, located on the outskirts of Moscow, that Germany would attack the Soviet Union on June 17.

June 11. Agent "Sergeant Major" reported from Berlin: "It is said in the leading quarters of the German Ministry of Aviation and in Air Force headquarters that the question of Germany's attack on the Soviet Union has been settled. We should consider the possibility of a surprise attack."

In a word, the war was quickly moving toward the Soviet borders, but the country's leaders did not want to believe it or else were infatuated with the genius of the "father of nations."

Richard Sorge reported to Moscow from Tokyo: "Repeat, nine armies (150 divisions) will launch an offensive along a wide front in the early hours of June 22."

On June 15 Winston Churchill sent Franklin Roosevelt a letter in which he wrote that Germany was, according to the information he had received from different sources, preparing a major offensive against the Soviet Union.

June 16. An agent working in the German Air Force headquarters reported: "Germany has finished its military preparations for an armed attack on the Soviet Union. We can expect it any time now."

June 20. The NKGB intercepted a coded radiogram from the Japanese ambassador in Rumania to the Japanese ambassador in Moscow. It quoted the German counselor, who allegedly said: "We have reached a decisive stage. Germany has finished its preparations everywhere, from northern Finland to the southern part of the Black Sea coast, and is sure of a lightning victory."

June 21. General Susloparov, Soviet military attaché in Vichy, France, sent the following telegram: "Our resident

Gilbert claims...that the Wehrmacht command has completed the dispatch of its forces to the Soviet borders. Tomorrow, on June 22, 1941, they will attack the Soviet Union."

June 21. At 9:00 P.M. a radiogram from Maisky, Soviet ambassador in London, was received and decoded. He reported that he had been warned that on the next day, June 22, Germany would attack the Soviet Union.

A copy of each report was delivered to Stalin. He sometimes made notations on them.

Stalin wrote in red ink on the June 21 radiogram from General Susloparov, who warned that the next day Germany would attack the Soviet Union: "This information is a British provocation. Find out who concocted it and punish him."

One of the reasons the Red Army and the country in general were so poorly prepared for the invasion was Stalin's apparent fear of provoking a German attack.

Stalin drew the attention of V. Merkulov, people's commissar for state security (NKGB), to some top secret information from a Soviet agent in the German Air Force headquarters, who had warned that we should expect an attack any moment now.

Minister of the Interior Lavrenti Beria, who was loyal to Stalin but had for a long time realized what was going on, did everything in his power to please his boss. On June 21 he wrote to Stalin: "I again demand that Dekanozov, our ambassador in Berlin who is bombarding me with disinformation about the alleged [German] preparations for an attack on the USSR, be recalled and punished. He reports that the attack will start tomorrow."

Beria also informed Stalin that other senior officers of the intelligence department had issued warnings about the dangerous concentration of German divisions on the western borders of the USSR, but went on to assure him: "My staff and I personally remember

your wise prediction that Hitler would not attack us in 1941!"

Beria finished his last prewar day by issuing the following resolution: "Those who yield to provocations and sow disorder must be trampled into the ground for their role in assisting international provocateurs who want to set us against Germany." Filip Golikov, head of the intelligence department of the Red Army General Staff, who tried to "please" Stalin, too, reported: "Rumors and documents referring to the inevitable war against the Soviet Union this spring should be regarded as disinformation spread by the British, and possibly German, secret services."

But there were other people who had their own independent opinions. For example, on May 15, 1941, Marshal Zhukov and Defense Minister Semyon Timoshenko, who knew about the Wehrmacht preparations for a war against the Soviet Union, suggested to Stalin that the Soviet Union should deliver a pre-emptive strike at the forces of the potential enemy deployed on the western borders. Stalin rejected this proposal and ordered them to stop feeding him alarming intelligence reports about the concentration of German forces on the Soviet borders. When Zhukov asked why, the great leader replied: "I shall decide what you should know about."

Many historians and witnesses testify that one of the reasons the Red Army and the country in general were so poorly prepared for the invasion was Stalin's apparent fear of provoking a German attack. In June Soviet forces were ordered not to shoot at German aircraft that violated Soviet airspace.

Yet there are also grounds for assuming that Stalin's references to the possibility that the Germans might use any provocation as a pretext for starting a war with the USSR were a camouflage. Aware that flirting with Hitler would not prevent the war, Stalin tried to convince himself and others that, if the war began, it would not be because of mistakes in his policy but because of a provocation. Stalin had enough experience and cynicism to understand that Hitler would not attack the Soviet Union if he did not want to and that, if he wanted to attack, he would find or

Muscovites reporting for army service
on the first day of the war.

create enough pretexts to do so.

At four in the morning on June 22, 1941, the German Air Force started bombing Soviet airfields and towns along the western border of the Soviet Union, while German ground forces opened artillery fire at the same time and then crossed the Soviet border.

The war of the two giants began. By June 1941 German forces amounted to eight and a half million men, while the Red Army had over five million soldiers. As many as 190 German

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*Above:
Volunteers
going to the
front. Left and
facing page,
bottom: Soviet
defenses in
1941.*

in the first days of the war...and the next fifty years

By Yelena Zonina

Victor Rozov, prolific playwright and screenwriter for *The Cranes Are Flying*, had a lot to say—all of it interesting. Two themes dominated our conversation—the Second World War and the world today.

"Fifty years have passed since June 1941, an enormous part of my life, but I cannot forget the war.

"One of the things I remember about it seems like a paradox. The total fear that accompanied the dictatorial leadership of Stalin vanished in the first days of the war. It freed people from their inner fetters, from the monstrous laws of peacetime existence—in a trice repression and punishments ceased to exist. New moral laws arose: If you were a respectable person, you should be where it was most difficult of all. This thought became the crux of the play *Eternally Alive*, on which *The Cranes Are Flying* was based.

"I volunteered right at the start of the war. We were lined up, and we set off on foot from Moscow for Smolensk, without any weapons. About a week later we set up base camp on the outskirts of Smolensk, an ancient Russian city 400 kilometers west of the capital. The new recruits—students, teachers, scientific workers, and actors, including me—were finally given weapons, rifles of 1891 vintage. We more or less managed to learn to shoot. Our spirits were high, and we joked and laughed a lot. The stultifying propaganda had done its work! No one could conceive of the scale of the horrors that lay ahead."

"Weren't you surprised that untrained men of strictly white-collar professions were sent, virtually unarmed, to the front?"

"We didn't even think about it. We rushed off to the front line. In expectation of victorious battles—only victorious!—an actors brigade was formed, concerts were given, a newspaper was

published. This went on until the first battle. For me, it was the first and the last. It continued almost a full day. In fact, it was not a battle, but methodical execution. We had no idea how to retreat, how to hide from the hail of fire, from the roar of the cannons and the rumbling of the tanks. We didn't know what to do with the wounded, where to put the dead. You know the old saying, 'blood flowed like a river.' I saw a ditch full of blood. It kept coming, red streams dripping from all sides. To this day I avoid fancy writing styles—they are so far from reality!

"By some miracle a few of us escaped from this hell. I was already wounded, with a broken leg. When my friend Sergei Shumov was placing me in a half-wrecked vehicle, he said: 'How lucky you are!' Then I developed gangrene and spent a month in the ward for dying men. Each time the nurses changed shifts, they'd warn their replacements that I might not make it. When morning came and I still hadn't died, the surgeons would say, 'We'll wait another day before amputating.' As a result, they saved almost all of my leg, although I had to spend almost a year in various hospitals.

"Shumov was right; I am fortunate. I have lived to a ripe old age, and I get to see my granddaughter running around—what a joy! Back then I thought I'd never smile again."

"But probably no tragedy, even war, should be painted only in black."

"I experienced many beautiful things during those years—the amazing treatment of the wounded, kindness, unity, spiritual generosity—for instance, a piece of sugar, his last piece, that an armless soldier gave me in the sick bay. I could tell you about the reviving gulp of fresh air that burst through the open window of the ward, where it smelled of blood, urine, and soiled dressings. Life was frightening, abnormal, but it went on."

"After such a serious wound you obviously did not return to the front. What happened next?"

"I went to live with my father in his house along the Volga. It took a long time to get there on crutches. We were very poor. We ate the tops of turnips and beets, ground wheat in a meat grinder—it seemed like food fit for a king! There was no light, and I wrote my play *Eternally Alive* by the flickering light of an oil lamp. My friends took my work to the censor, a sweet old man. He said: 'I cried when I read it, but I have to forbid it.' I went away satisfied: If he cried, then it must be a real play."

"You are amazing. You look for good in everything, and you find it."

"Of course. It's impossible to live any other way. I believe in fate. It has never deceived me. At first I was an actor, I went to the front, a bullet knocked me off the stage and forced me to go and study. I had always loved to write, so I submitted my papers to the Literature Institute, including my stage adaptation of Goncharov's novel *A Common Story*, which, incidentally, ran for many years at the Sovremennik Theater. The institute accepted me—a war invalid and a promising playwright. I'm not sure what I would have become if events had been different.

"The war was tragic and terrifying, yet all the same, it gave a positive charge to those who survived it. I hope that June 22 of this year will be a day of remembrance of the dead and repentance of the living. After all, today's generation is alive because millions paid for its life with their own lives."

"The play *Eternally Alive* premiered a little over thirty years ago at the Sovremennik Theater. *The Cranes Are Flying* was the first and the only Soviet film to earn the Golden Palm at Cannes. Why do you think these two works were so successful?"

"I don't condone war, I detest vio-



Playwright Victor Rozov.

lence, and I cannot even speak calmly about the senseless waste of human life, to say nothing of seeing it. But it is necessary to write about people at war. Following a showing of the film in Hamburg, some students said to me: 'Your picture glorifies the war.' I was shocked by such an opinion because I thought that I had spoken the bitter truth about those who departed from this life without living, without loving. I thought that I had written about broken lives, trampled love, and unrealized dreams. Success came because neither the film nor the play was about battalions or battles, but about people."

"Why do you think there is so much tension and animosity everywhere?"

"Because from the very beginning, our government built itself on preconceived ideas. Those brave 'experimenters' decided that the country should leap over economic and historical formations and jump smoothly right into communism. Those who disagreed were killed, exiled—the best option—or shipped off to the camps.

"Stalin built a cast-iron structure, which is very hard to break. Gorbachev began trying to break it, but he's not doing so well. He came to power as the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, a position tantamount to that of czar. He could have ruled quietly if he'd wanted to, but he was attracted by this grandiose idea of repairing the whole state!"

"But this repair can't take forever!"

"See, you're taking the same line. Again, you're hurrying, again we want to leap over an entire era, this time across enlightened absolutism. I believe that it is specifically this system that is preparing for democracy. In simpler terms, this means that the monarch—we will use the old word—is surrounded by intelligent advisers who enlighten the people. According to my theory, in Stalin's time they were slave holders; in Brezhnev's, feudalists. And suddenly we have parliamentarians! But the people are not ready for democracy. We've been kept ignorant for so long that we're convinced democ-

racy is a free-for-all. For this reason nothing can be achieved. We receive no culture or education, and crime, anarchy, and disdain for the law are on the increase.

"I'm in favor of order, but without violence. The preservation of the union, but without a dictatorship.

"We never would have won the war if each republic had fought on its own. We won because we were together. The Baltic republics and Georgia are talking about secession. They are not running from the union, but from Soviet power, the very power that we have had in a distorted form for so many years."

"The republics are demanding sovereignty peaceably and assertively."

"And I am in favor of granting them more rights. The government should create conditions that make it profitable for the republics to remain in the union. I am for a multiethnic union with equal rights for all components. I am against a dictatorship, but in favor of adherence to laws."

"But laws are often broken in desperation and helplessness."

"Are you referring to ethnic conflicts? In my opinion, they were inspired by those who ruled under Brezhnev and are now losing their power. These people smile sweetly and vote for perestroika, but, in fact, they can't stand change. They are an evil force that causes trouble for everyone.

"I don't have a solution, either. I'm not an economist, a politician, or a financier; I'm a writer. Literature cannot change the political situation, but it can influence it. I will never leave this country: I want my compatriots to live a normal life, and I will do what I can to make this happen. I do not judge those who leave—it is their business. But I'm not going to follow them.

"I have my own opinion about everything, and in this way, I am an uncontrollable person: I can't bow to others; I don't know how to. Even if a thousand people try to persuade me of something, but I think otherwise, I will stick to my own convictions. Not from stubbornness, but because it is what I think. Individuality is a wonderful thing. Even though I am a sociable person, I preserve my individuality."

"Let's get back to the start of our conversation. We are marking the an-

niversary of the most frightening war ever. How do you feel about this?"

"I have no animosity toward those who fought against us. After the war it was painful to have to acknowledge that the words of our leaders did not correspond to the facts. What shame I felt when they erected the Berlin Wall! And when our tanks rolled into Prague—it was my birthday, a clear, sunny day—it seemed to me that the sky became black. I was shocked. I never went to Czechoslovakia again because I felt guilty."

"Is the ideology still distorted?"

"A fierce fight is going on between Brezhnev supporters and the reformists, and I side with Gorbachev. But I'm not sure he'll be able to handle the situation. As a result of his indecisiveness, more energetic people may be able to seize power—people with iron bodies and cold hearts. That would be a catastrophe."

"We have already been living for forty-six years in the postwar era, and things still have not calmed down. What will happen in the future?"

"Believe me, everything will be all right, but not soon. Perhaps within another fifty years. Why do you look so surprised? Food and living conditions will be sorted out quickly, but things will not really be good for another fifty years. The generation that has made so many mistakes has got to go. A new generation is growing up—I place a great deal of hope in those who are fifteen to twenty years old now. Young people with bright minds will appear, people who will truly think about the good of the state and will do all they can to achieve it.

"I've written many plays for young audiences, and I've always been interested in young people. Recently some students asked me the same question: When will things get better? I answered them just as I answered you: in fifty years. They laughed pleasantly. Let them laugh. As long as they don't become bitter. It is very easy to become bitter when things are hard, especially now, when there is so little order.

"But for the most part, people display bravery at difficult moments. I only recently realized that I have always felt amazed at life, and I wanted to convey this to others. Don't let opportunity slip away! Take action!" ■

Unexpected Attack?

Continued from page 9

divisions started fighting against 170 Soviet divisions of western military districts, which had fewer modern tanks and aircraft.

The Wehrmacht struck a paralyzing blow. In the first hours of the war the Luftwaffe attained absolute superiority, destroying more than 1,200 Soviet aircraft by the end of the day on June 22. By September 30 the Red Army had lost 8,166 aircraft (86 per cent of its total). Although heroic attempts were made to make up for these losses, the Red Army fought with minimal aviation support until the end of 1941.

The opening of that blitzkrieg gave Colonel General Franz Halder, the German chief of the General Staff of Ground Forces, reasons for optimism. He wrote in his diary: "It would probably not be an overestimation to say that the campaign in Russia will end victoriously in fourteen days." The general was mistaken: The campaign ended ingloriously 1,418 days later.

The Soviet people paid a heavy price to secure that victory, however, suffering a colossal number of human losses in the first six months of the war. In the autumn of 1941, when the enemy was approaching Moscow, Stalin admitted that the Red Army had sustained 350,000 deaths, and an additional 378,000 soldiers were missing. But this was far from the whole truth; the losses were in fact much greater. Stalin considered capture by the enemy a disgrace, so reports did not mention the number of soldiers captured.

By the end of the war the Soviet Union had lost 8,668,000, including those who had died, were missing, had been captured, or were due to die of their wounds, illness, and in accidents. Germany had suffered 8,334,000 casualties. But the price of the war proved to be much higher for the Soviet Union than the price of victory because the war claimed both people in uniform and civilians. Nazis destroyed 1,710 towns and more than 70,000 villages.

Previous estimates put the wartime loss of life in the Soviet Union at about twenty million lives. But since glasnost,

experts have been able to examine archives and now speak of twenty-seven to twenty-eight (and sometimes even forty) million casualties. This information is also probably incomplete because the Soviet Union sustained the heaviest losses at the beginning of the war, when numbers could not be verified because of the chaos or were deliberately falsified to please Stalin.

The German invasion took the Soviet Union by surprise. The country was not prepared for the war either militarily or economically. As many as 1,523 enterprises were relocated to the eastern regions of the country between June and November 1941.

Why had they not been relocated before the war? Probably because this would have indicated that the signing of the Soviet-German accords in August and September of 1939 was a criminal mistake. The Soviet-German non-aggression pact could be justified as a countermeasure against the notorious Munich deal of the Western powers with Berlin, but what about the Treaty of Friendship with the fascists? The only acceptable explanation was that these agreements would avert war.

But even totalitarian propaganda could not simultaneously whitewash fascism and prepare the country for a war with it. It was, moreover, assumed that the foresight and the genius of Stalin, who signed these agreements, were a guarantee against the war. Propaganda services concentrated on the speeches delivered at two sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet by Vyacheslav Molotov, Prime Minister and Foreign Minister and a close associate of Stalin in the development of the USSR's German policy.

On August 31, 1939, a week after the signing of the nonaggression pact and shortly before Germany invaded Poland, the act that started the Second World War, Molotov said: "Stalin hit the bull's eye when he laid bare the designs of West European politicians to set Germany and the Soviet Union against each other. Aware of this, Stalin raised the question of the possibility of other, peaceful and friendly, relations between Germany and the USSR. The signing of the Soviet-German nonaggression pact shows that the historical foresight of Stalin came true."

On October 31, 1939, nearly two

months after the war broke out, Molotov said: "The ideology of Hitlerism, like any other ideology, can be accepted or rejected; it is a matter of political views. But everyone will see that ideologies cannot be destroyed by force of arms, on the battlefield. That is why it is senseless and even criminal to wage a war 'for the elimination of Hitlerism' under the false slogan of the 'struggle for democracy.'"

Could the totalitarian propaganda machine prepare the people for a war in these conditions? Hardly, and it did not even try to, as is proved by the recent publication of the report of Alexander Zaporozhets, head of the Main Department of Political Propaganda of the Red Army. He sent it to the Party Central Committee in January 1940. It said, in part: "The supply of [propaganda] literature throughout the country is inadequate. Regional and city newspapers are hardly involved in military propaganda."

At that time the Red Army was waging the inglorious war against Finland, and the above shows the role of propaganda in the totalitarian system and explains the joke, which was widespread at the time: "If Napoleon had had our press, nobody would have learned about the Battle of Waterloo."

When reports about the imminent German invasion were passed on to Stalin, he saw that he had to act to prevent the damage the obvious threat of war could do to the people's belief in him. Like all dictators, he was more concerned about the people's attitude toward him than about the country's defense. He regarded the people's belief in his infallibility as the source of his power, and the powerful propaganda machine was strengthening that belief. Working hand in glove with repressive organizations, it had created a kind of "Ministry of Love," similar to the one Orwell described in his anti-Utopian novel *1984*. And the people did believe Stalin. Moreover, millions deified him.


While the flames of war were raging all over the world, Stalin was trying to maintain the people's belief in his great role in their liberation from the horrors of war. When the war reached Soviet borders, Stalin was the first to tell the people about the "unexpected attack"—and to deceive them again. ■

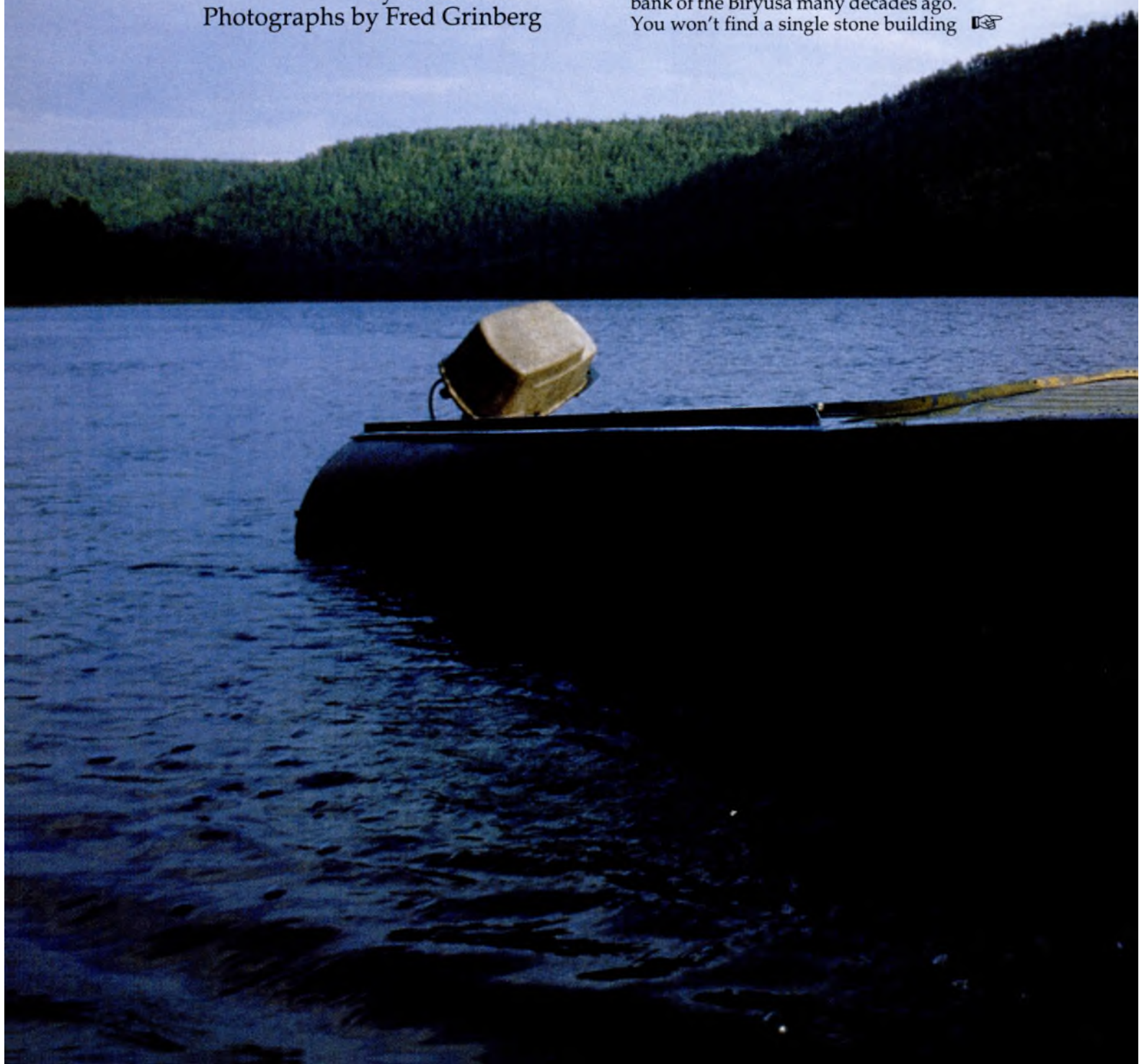
around the USSR

Siberian Old Believers

By Boris Ivanov
Photographs by Fred Grinberg

Lugovaya is about 600 kilometers from Krasnoyarsk, a major administrative center in Eastern Siberia. This means a six-hour ride—first by plane, then by cross-country vehicle, and finally by motorboat down the Biryusa River. Lugovaya is surrounded by untouched Siberian forests, crystal-clear air, and a remarkable quiet.

The village sprang up on the high bank of the Biryusa many decades ago. You won't find a single stone building 









Lugovaya, a village of Siberian Old Believers (facing page, top). Clockwise from above: Villagers. Church relics. At a service. Father Simon, dean of the church.



there—all the houses are built of strong and durable pine or larch logs. The air is filled with a resinous smell, which, according to tradition and to doctors, is considered to be curative.

Lugovaya is inhabited by twenty-two families comprising about a hundred people. All of them are Old Believers—brothers and sisters in Christ.

Who are these people? Formerly people called them sectarians, sometimes "starovery," but they are mostly known as Old Believers. They follow the older usages of the Orthodox faith, which were the same for all Russians before Patriarch Nikon's ecclesiastical reforms in the mid-seventeenth century. The believers who refused to accept the reforms or to renounce the old Orthodox rites and traditions set themselves in opposition to the official Church. This led to a schism. The Old Believers were severely persecuted, and they tended to resettle in remote areas in the North of European Russia, in the Volga region, and in Siberia. Only after the first Russian Revolution in 1905-1907 were they allowed to observe holidays openly and to unite into communities.

Old Believers were also subjected to persecutions during the Stalin regime, and many were imprisoned and sent to camps. Those who remained at liberty went deeper into the forests or fled abroad. Only at the end of the 1950s did the Old Believers begin to return to their native villages and to build new settlements for themselves.

In Siberia the first Old Believer settlements began to appear on the banks of the Yenisei River and its tributaries almost 350 years ago. Krasnoyarsk Territory now has more than fifty such settlements, most of them situated far from towns and main roads. The village of Lugovaya, the focus of the photographs in this story, is no exception.

We visited the homes of Lazar Anufriyev, Pavel Martiushov, Pavel Zorin, Makar Subbotin, and Semyon Myagkikh. All these people live very pious lives, keep all fasts, follow all rites and rituals, and celebrate all religious holidays. They cherish their faith and pass their customs on to their children and grandchildren.

The main occupations of the villagers are hunting in the taiga and fishing in the river. The area has plentiful popu-



lations of fowl, game, and fish. Most of the men in the village are professional hunters who deliver pelts to the state. Some are lumberjacks. The women pick mushrooms, berries, and cedar nuts and deliver them to buyers in the cooperative sector.

All families have horses, cows, poultry, and bees. Every family also has a vast kitchen garden, where family members grow potatoes, cucumbers, and cabbage. Summers in that part of Siberia are hot and sunny, so the harvests are rich and plentiful. Many people have tractors, snowmobiles, and motorboats, which they either own themselves or rent.

Lugovaya and its inhabitants are not isolated from the rest of the world. The village has a shop, a medical center, and a primary school, whose only teacher, Zinaida Zorina, is also a pious Old Believer. The inhabitants of Lugovaya have radios, they subscribe to newspapers and magazines, and the younger people dance to music from a cassette player. The old folks shake

their heads at the younger people taking such "liberties," but they realize that every generation has its own ideas.

Old Believer families are very hospitable. Though we had been warned that we might be met almost with hostility, it wasn't so at all. A natural caution remains among these people, probably from the times when they were persecuted—they first must see what kind of a person you are and whether you are sincere or not.

Recently they have been coming out of their earlier isolation and have begun to visit not only their coreligionists from neighboring villages—by Siberian standards, a neighboring village may be hundreds of kilometers away—but they even go abroad now. Two years ago Pavel Martiushov, who is eighty years old, visited relatives in Canada and in Alaska. And last year people from the United States, Uruguay, and Australia visited Lugovaya.

Life is changing, and so are the Old Believers. But their faith remains as it was hundreds of years ago. ■

Village young people in traditional dress (above). Facing page: Returning home after gathering berries in the forest (left). The village sauna (right). Haystacks (top).



CONSULTING IN THE USSR

By Dmitri Marchenkov

Economic and legal consulting, extensively practiced in industrialized countries, is gaining ground in the USSR. Now that the business activity in the nonstate sector has been legitimized and the first shoots of a market economy have appeared on the Soviet economic scene, fledgling enterprises are finding that they need advice on a wide range of issues.

Before 1987 not a single consulting firm existed in the USSR. The first Soviet consultants appeared as the number of joint ventures increased and the scale of independent foreign trade operations involving Soviet producers grew. Initially, the consultants focused on foreign economic activity, but as more private enterprises sprang up in the country, the services offered by the consultants gradually expanded. As competition grew, some of the original consulting firms closed down, ceding the market to their rivals.

Sovintereko, which was established in 1987 by the staff at Moscow's Institute of International Relations, was probably one of the first consulting firms to appear in the USSR. Alexander Shishkin, who heads Sovintereko's Investment Department, says: "Like many other companies in the business, we started out as foreign trade consultants. As new laws and regulations reshaped the legal framework of the Soviet economy, our company gradually switched to planning and actually operating joint-venture projects, developing the concept of free economic zones, and offering a wide variety of services to denationalized enterprises and new economic ventures. We've played a role in the setting up of some fifty joint businesses, and we've helped to draft a program establishing a free economic zone in Poti [a seaport on the Black Sea coast in Georgia] and a similar project in Vyborg, near Leningrad. We're capable of offering advice on management issues, investment policies, and taxation questions. We can provide professional training, too."

Among Sovintereko's clients are such large organizations as Glavalmaz-

zoloto, the main department handling diamond and bullion deals operating under the USSR Cabinet of Ministers; Rosuralsibstroï, a production association with a three billion-ruble annual turnover; Energiya Science and Production Association, the designer and manufacturer of the Soviet space shuttle; a number of defense enterprises; and several foreign companies, such as Glorit of Austria and Fiat of Italy. Sovintereko has also provided consulting services for the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs and for the cabinets of ministers of several union republics.

Sovintereko owes its respected position and good reputation, above all, to the intellectual potential of the Institute of International Relations, under whose auspices it was founded. Many prominent economists and diplomats have graduated from this prestigious institute or have been closely linked with its activities.

At present, the firm is able to provide information and reference services to its clients. It can offer software packages for feasibility studies, including a comprehensive package connected with the legal aspects of Soviet businesses. This package includes a collection of Soviet laws and acts of different ministries and departments that have appeared since 1925 and that affect business practice in the USSR.

Though the consulting business may be in full bloom in the West, it is still in the bud stage in the East. The USSR's specific way of development gave rise to a special type of administrative psychology, which regards the sphere of material production as a value superior to intellectual activity. An acute lack of managers with experience in business dealings in a market environment is another problem. In some cases the director of a manufacturing plant would be more inclined to invest earnings on things that, in the short run, would materially improve the lives of his workers than to turn to a consulting firm whose services might, in the long run, make his plant more cost-effective and increase profits. This has been a

major obstacle to expanding the consulting business in the USSR.

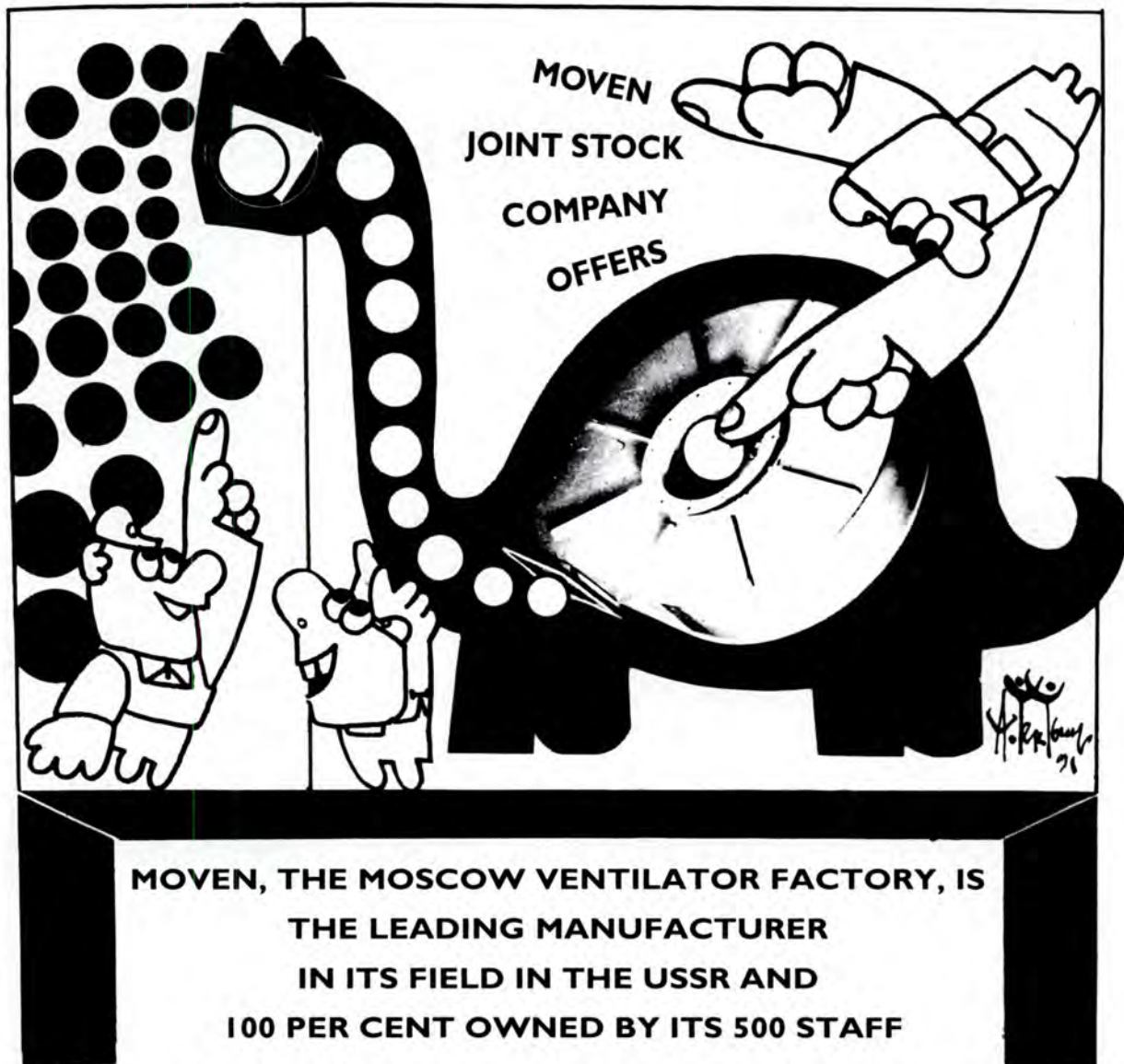
"One of the weak points of the Soviet consulting market is the lack of demand for its services. That's the result of the inefficient economy and the low standards of production ethics that are held by producers who seemingly underestimate their need for professional advice. They seek out help from consultants only as a last resort," Shishkin observed. "That's why management consulting is so underdeveloped here. Also, advice on business accounting is very limited; and auditing services, which are badly needed by joint businesses, are monopolized by Inaudit Company, the sole auditing firm recognized by the USSR Ministry of Finance.

"The Soviet legal system, which is complicated by its excessively large bureaucracy, forces most producers to seek out the advice of consulting firms to help them overcome the bureaucratic hurdles rather than to help them find the most effective and profitable ways to increase productivity.

"Yet, attitudes are changing," believes Shishkin. "Financial, tax, and some other types of legal advice are areas in which consulting services are beginning to take off. When we render legal assistance to foreign companies that find it difficult to plow through the red tape to the Soviet market, we find ourselves dealing with many types of things that have not taken root in Soviet economic soil. On the whole, prospects for the consulting business in the USSR are very promising."

Since its founding, Sovintereko has gained broad experience in diverse areas of consulting. It is ready and willing to offer advice in financial matters, joint ventures, corporate law, international trade, taxation and tax strategies, information management, property consulting (privatization, real estate transactions, securities), accounting, and auditing. For more information, write:

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Independent Trade Unions

Novosti correspondent Vladimir Yashin interviewed Mikhail Shmakov, chairman of the recently founded Moscow Federation of Trade Unions, on the task facing the unions and their activities.

Q: The Moscow Federation of Trade Unions did not suddenly emerge out of thin air. Its predecessor was the Moscow City Council of Trade Unions. Isn't the new organization just more of the same under a different name?

A: No. First of all, the federation is independent, whereas the Moscow City Council of Trade Unions was not, since it carried out the orders of the party and state. We believe that trade union activity should not be governed by the program or platform of any political party. We are mainly concerned with protecting trade unionists' economic, social, cultural, and intellectual interests, rather than political and educational work or organizing essentially bureaucratic socialist competition, as happened in the past. This means that the federation handles wage problems, concludes collective agreements, works on employment issues, labor protection measures, ecology, and people's social and everyday requirements, and actively participates in the drafting and implementation of economic and social programs.

Q: How many members does the federation have?

A: There are thirty-four sectoral trade unions in the capital, with their aggregate membership exceeding five and a half million. This is one of the basic clauses of the Declaration of the Establishment of the Moscow Federation of Trade Unions: "The federation is based on the equality of the rights and obligations of all its members, respect for minority opinions, a search for consensus in decision making, and full openness about all its activities." I think that this formula is a convincing way of expressing the democratic spirit of our organization.

Q: Trade unions were until recently merely an appendage of the party and state apparatus. Perestroika has broken up this cozy arrangement. But are the trade unions really independent now, or does the weight of the past still hang over them?

A: Trade unions were, indeed, a copy of the command-style system of administration, built in its image and performing mainly those tasks that the state required. Purely trade union functions subsequently receded into the background or simply disappeared. However, I do not want to make universal generalizations: Even during the period of stagnation, there were quite a few trade union committees and officials who defended the working people's rights. Let me cite just one example from the work of the city committee of the Defense Industry Workers Union, which I used to chair. We insisted that the director of a large enterprise, who was backed by the ministry, should be dismissed from his post for systematically failing to meet obligations listed in certain sections of the collective agreement, and we succeeded.

Let me take an example from today's trade union activities. The board of directors of Moscow's Krasny Bogatyr [Red Giant] Production Amalgamation decided to get rid of the transport section of the enterprise, which operated at a profit, by leasing it to a cooperative. This move was not prompted by any economic necessity; it was a purely arbitrary decision. Naturally, the workers were indignant and, thanks to the support of their trade union committee, they succeeded in getting the order to close down canceled. I could cite quite a few similar examples.

Let's get back to your question. How are things going today? Dependence on the party and state apparatus is old hat. Our independence has been legally assured by the Law on Trade Unions passed by the USSR Supreme Soviet. Nonetheless, it would be premature to say that we are done with

the past. We lived under a tough system for decades, and you can't change things overnight. Moreover, our economy is in an excruciating transitory phase, and market relations are not yet developed. But we can clearly see the road we should continue on.

The trade unions are an economic organization, and our main aim is to ensure that we are appropriately paid for our work.

What was the practice before? The state used to pay the worker a certain wage, which was quite often less than the value of his labor input. At the same time, he was meant to get the remainder from the social consumption funds. This meant not only free medical care and education, for example but, above all, considerable subsidies for many goods and services. As a result of objective economic laws, the state is now getting rid of the subsidies, which consequently caused drastic price increases. Therefore, you have to consider the issue of appropriate pay for work done. Judge for yourself: The proportion of wages in the Western countries amounts to 50 to 70 per cent of the national income, whereas in our country it equals a mere 15 to 20 per cent. That is why the most important task facing trade unions is to work to ensure higher pay for blue- and white-collar workers.

Q: The Congress of Trade Unions, convened in October 1990, announced its rejection of the centralized model of management with the single headquarters represented by the All-Union Council of Trade Unions. The General Confederation of Trade Unions has been established. What changes has this entailed? What place does the Moscow Federation of Trade Unions hold in the confederation?

A: To begin with, all the trade union bodies have been granted independence and execute coordinating rather than commanding functions. This is, perhaps, the main thing the congress achieved. The Moscow federation,

which has the largest membership in the country, is affiliated with the General Confederation of Trade Unions and cooperates with it both directly and through the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia. I want to emphasize again, however, that we are not implicitly obeying orders, as was the case before, but are in fact cooperating. Our statutes are the only laws that guide our activities.

Q: This country is switching to a market economy. The trade unions support this transition, but with certain reservations. What do you think about this?

A: Whatever people say, the transition to a market-based economy entails serious social losses. We have no right to shut our eyes to this. That is why we insist on certain government guarantees. This means the protection of citizens against unemployment, the payment of benefits, and providing opportunities for people to learn a new trade.

Q: Moscow is going through a food crisis. With this in mind, relations between the federation and the Moscow City Council of People's Deputies, the highest authoritative body in the capital, are of particular importance. How are they shaping up?

A: We support the activities of the capital's new corps of deputies, but where necessary we act as a constructive opposition. Our cooperation is developing normally. Let's take the food crisis: We have made several proposals to Moscow deputies at city and district levels to establish effective control over food production, transportation, and marketing. The Moscow City Soviet has favorably responded to our appeal, and we signed a protocol on joint action in this sphere.

At recent talks, leaders of the Moscow City Soviet also supported our suggestion that the prices of meals served in dining rooms at enterprises and educational establishments should be kept at the levels fixed by the state during the transition to free market relations.

We have succeeded in getting certain privileges granted for the services and organizations in charge of the capital's life-support system, particu-

larly in helping them to get nonresidential premises on lease.

Q: My next question is about collective-bargaining agreements. In the past such agreements, concluded by trade union committees with management, were often not binding. When some parts of them were not fulfilled, management usually bore no responsibility. You will agree with me that the example you mentioned of an enterprise director being relieved of his post was an exception to the rule. Will the importance of collective agreements be enhanced with the transition to a market economy?

A: First of all, collective agreements were usually fulfilled. Second, when they were breached, there were certain consequences. Those who were guilty were not always sacked, but there were other penalties. It goes without saying that the personal responsibility of employers, like the importance of collective agreements themselves, is now growing considerably. For instance, in the past wages or salaries did not depend on either the trade union committee or management, but were governed by the government's special resolutions and directives. Things are different now.

Changes have also taken place in the way collective-bargaining agreements are concluded. In the past, this campaign usually began in January, which suited management, as by that time the plan for financial and economic activity for the current year had, as a rule, been approved. But as the plan meant the law, it was difficult at that time to add anything to the agreement except what had already been planned. Therefore, we have recommended that all trade union organizations have labor contracts concluded with employers in November-December so as to enable management to proceed from the provisions of the collective agreement when drawing up financial plans. Management should know the total expenses for wages and social benefits, for example.

Q: Market relations are required to treat the ailing Soviet economy. But they will also bring unemployment. What is the attitude of Moscow's trade unions toward this problem?

A: As Moscow goes over to a market economy, about 500,000-600,000 workers will be laid off. Some of them, people in the pension or prepension age groups, will retire on their pension. Others may be provided with employment, as there are 120,000 vacancies in the capital. But, of course, there may be people who will be unable to find a job right away. They will be directed to the labor exchange to register, and they will receive unemployment benefits and be assisted in learning new trades at retraining courses. I think, by the way, that many hands will be required in the public-service sphere, which is bound to expand.

Q: Strikes are the most powerful weapon available to trade unions in the West. Will the Moscow Federation of Trade Unions follow suit?

A: Yes, it will. But only as a last resort, when all other attempts to come to terms with the employer have failed. I am sure that quite often even if you just threaten to go on strike to settle a dispute, you can resolve the situation. For instance, Moscow Metro construction workers recently found themselves in a critical situation: The year was drawing to a close, but the question of finance for their work for 1991 had not been decided. No matter who the workers appealed to, the funds were not available. The work force then decided to resort to strike action and announced this in the press. In the final analysis they did not have to go on strike because the country's government managed to find the necessary funds to pay their wages.

The trade unions should be authoritative and strong enough to make the employers have to reckon with them. They should also be strong financially. For this purpose, we have already established the Moscow Trade Union Bank, with all of our sectoral organizations as its founders. The bank will grant loans at low interest rates, and also interest-free credits for meeting all kinds of union needs: health-improvement measures, for example. We are pinning our hopes on profits from a hotel, which is a joint venture launched by the Moscow federation and an Austrian company. Other commercial plans will be carried out in the future. ■



NAKHODKA

Free Enterprise Zone

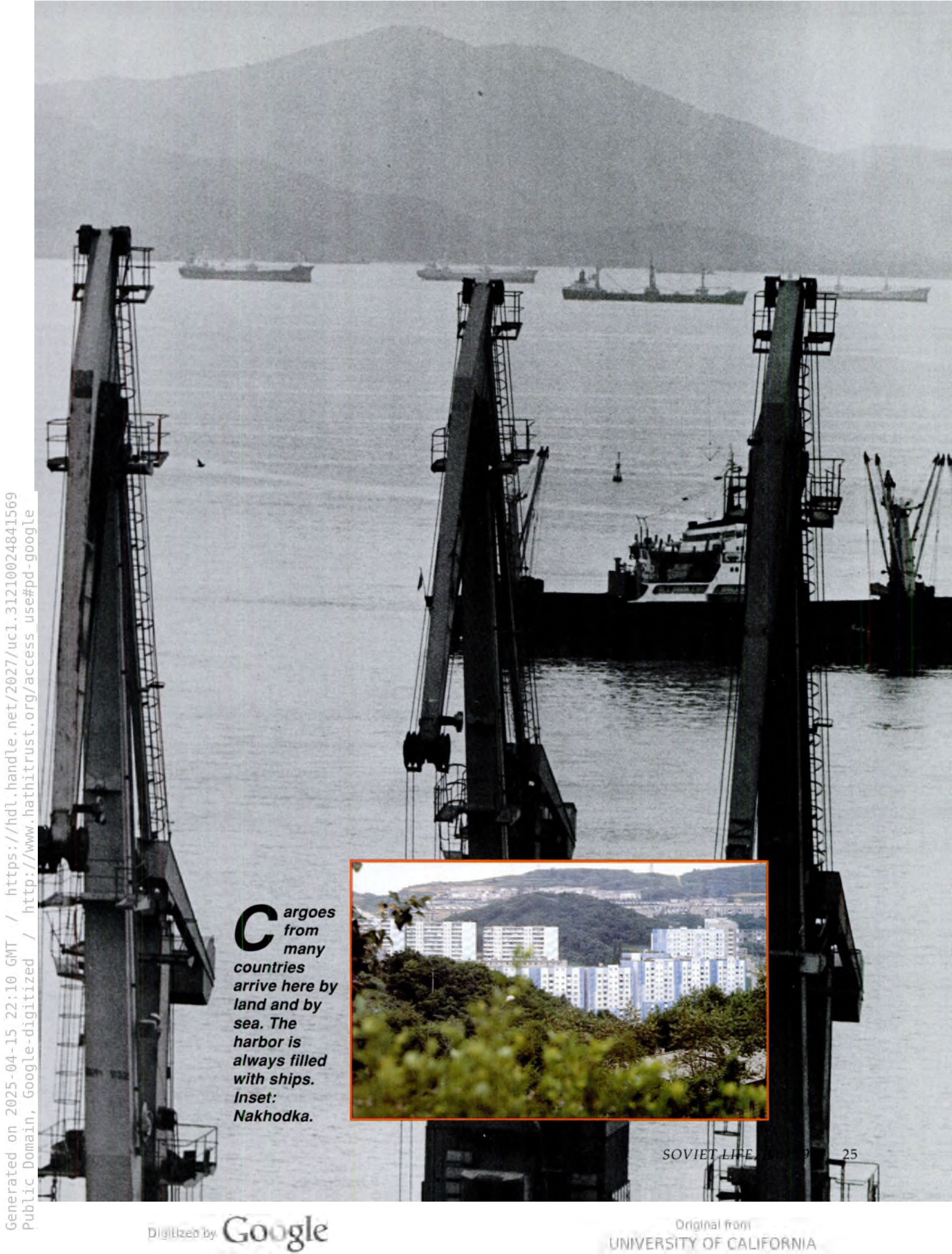
By Dmitri Marchenkov
Photographs by Anatoli Khrupov

More than twenty special economic zones, which are also called free enterprise zones, are to be created in the Soviet Union from the Baltics to the Far East and from the Kola Peninsula to Transcaucasia. These zones are expected to give the Soviet Union access to external markets, thus helping the Soviet economy to join the system of global economic ties and unveiling vast opportunities for foreign businesses in the Soviet Union and for Soviet businesses abroad.

Nakhodka is a Soviet Pacific port located two hours by boat from Vladivostok. The region's transportation and geographical conditions are as favorable for the development of business activity as those of Singapore. Processing of locally produced raw materials (about seventy different minerals) not only can satisfy the needs of the Soviet population for quality products, but also is sufficient for export to Asian Pacific countries. The Soviet Far Eastern seacoast population is concentrated in the area between Nakhodka and Vladivostok, making available a huge reserve of labor for joint ventures.

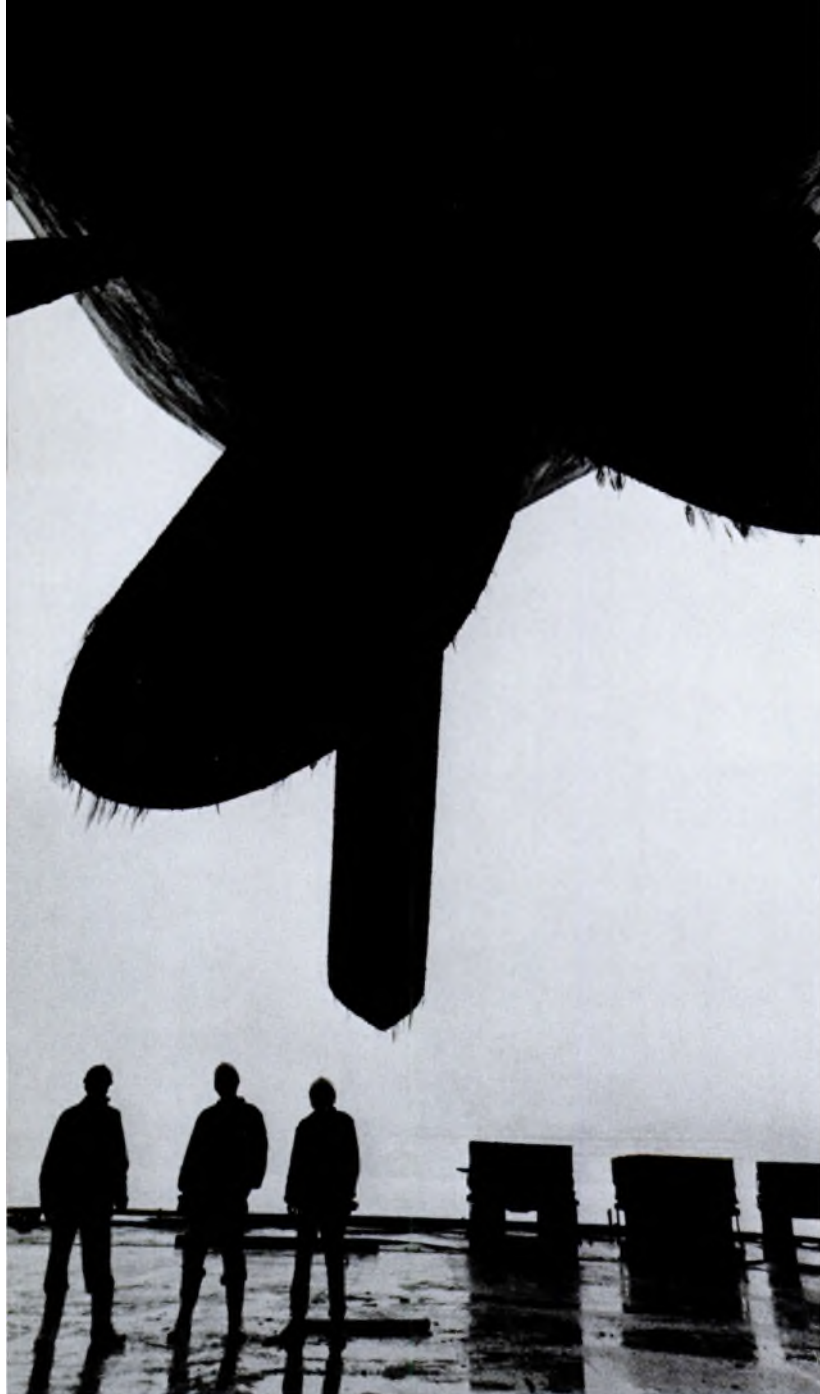
Free enterprise zones have been created mostly in cities and in large seaports with a developed transportation and industrial infrastructure. Large investments will be made in the development of the infrastructure of the region, based on Western and Soviet technologies.

An association for the development of a free economic zone was created in Nakhodka in 1989.



Cargoes from many countries arrive here by land and by sea. The harbor is always filled with ships. Inset: Nakhodka.





Its members are the largest city enterprises and joint ventures and foreign firms. The foreign firms are expected to contribute to the association's authorized capital.

Granting the local authorities the right to register enterprises with foreign participation was the next step in making Nakhodka an open city. Business activity intensified sharply, and joint ventures began to be created. Soon the city's ship-repair yard will become a joint business. The Japanese Federation of Rural Cooperatives announced a plan for building jointly owned wholesale storage facilities near Nakhodka with a capacity of one million

Nakhodka's dry dock (above).

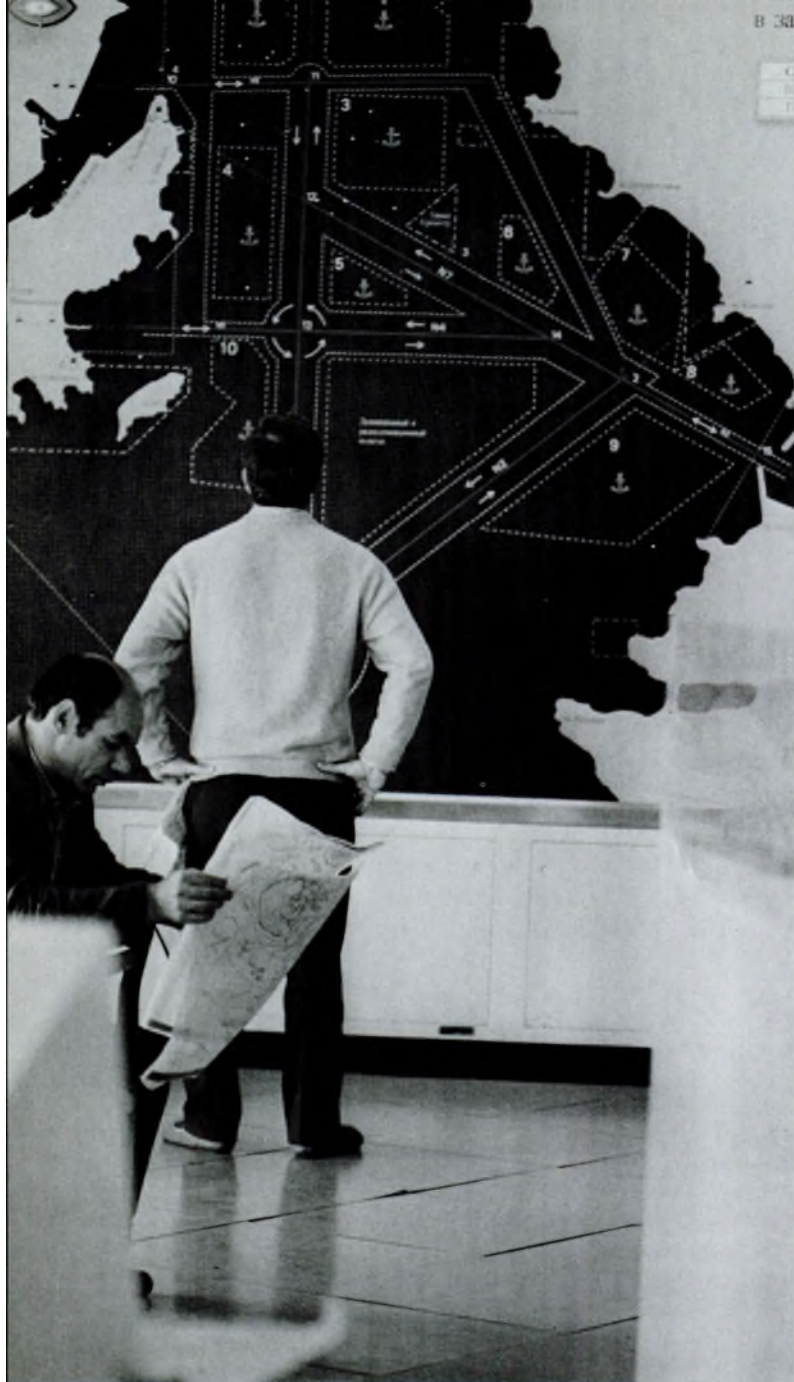
Future mariners (above right).

Right: Far Eastern vegetation provides shelter in case of rain.





Gennadi Tishchenko, chief of Nakhodka's customs service. Top: Nakhodka's merchant, fishing, and petroleum ports are known around the world.



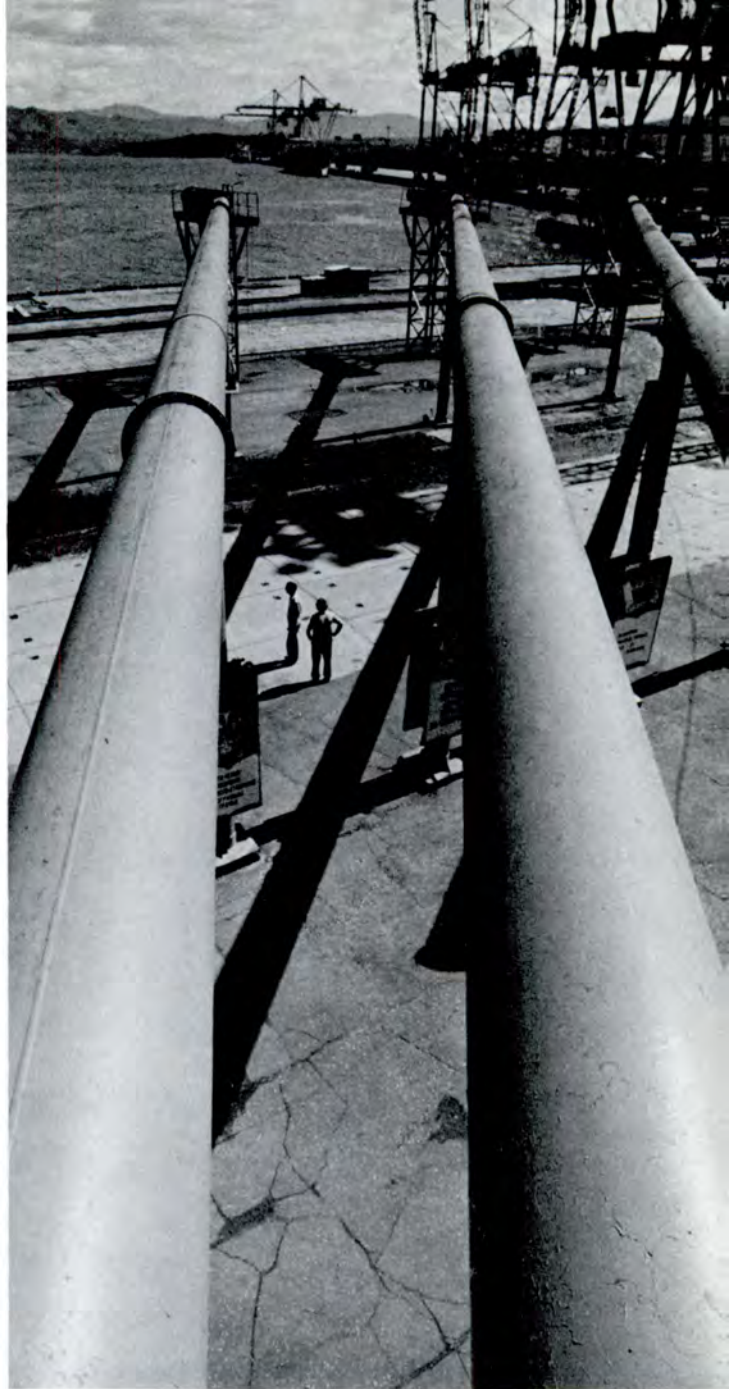
tons. Mineral fertilizers produced in the USSR for export to Japan are to be stored here. Until now, such fertilizers have been shipped via Baltic ports.

Nakhodka has fish-processing businesses, ship-repair and ship-building facilities, and four seaports. Ships

bound for Chukotka, the Sea of Okhotsk, Southeast Asia, America, and Australia sail from Nakhodka. The port is visited by thousands of foreigners, including delegations from Nakhodka's twin city, Oakland, California.

Like the leaders of the Soviet Union, the people of Nakhodka pin great hopes on making their city a free enterprise zone. Foreign free economic zones are usually small enclaves with a favorable regime for foreign capital but rather loose ties with the national market because they are oriented toward export. But free economic zones in the Soviet Union will contribute to the so-

Port operations, clockwise from left: Captain Vladimir Garvalinsky, director of the fishing fleet. Studying a chart of traffic patterns in the harbor. Industrial activity.



Yevgeni Kizh is director of the ship-repair facility. "About 2,500 ships a year call in Nakhodka, and each ship needs servicing."

lution of domestic economic problems—saturating the home market with goods, expanding their choice, and thereby improving the living standards of the Soviet people.

In the opinion of local authorities, business executives, and economists, the free enterprise zone in Nakhodka should be based on the principles of cost efficiency, including hard currency. Multi-industry joint ventures are to be created in downtown Nakhodka. For the most part, they should be based on the existing businesses. In the commercial port, which lies not far from the largest Soviet port, Vostochny,



Gennadi Zhebelev is director of the port. "Nakhodka is at the junction of the shortest routes from America, Australia, and Southeast Asia."



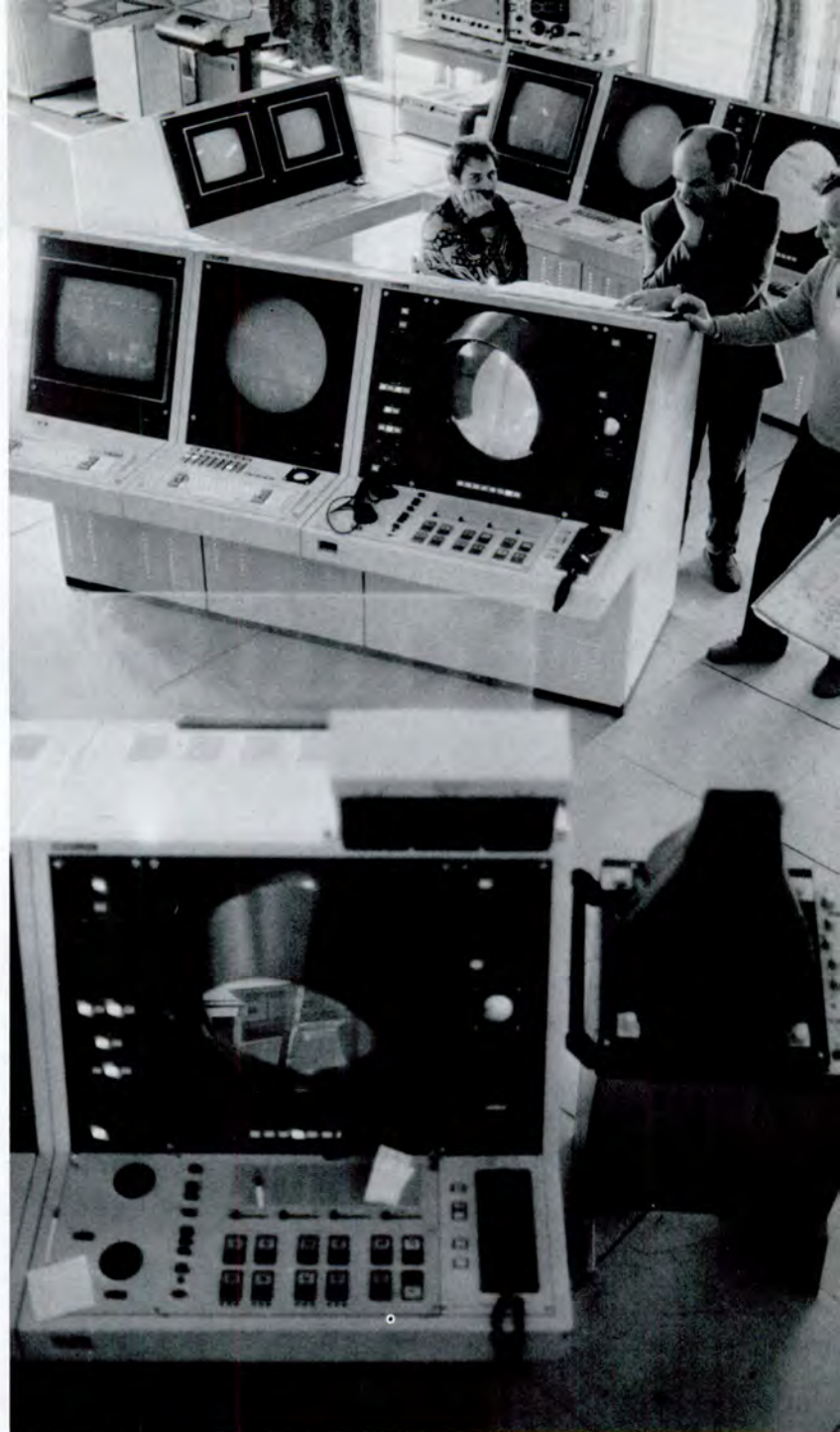
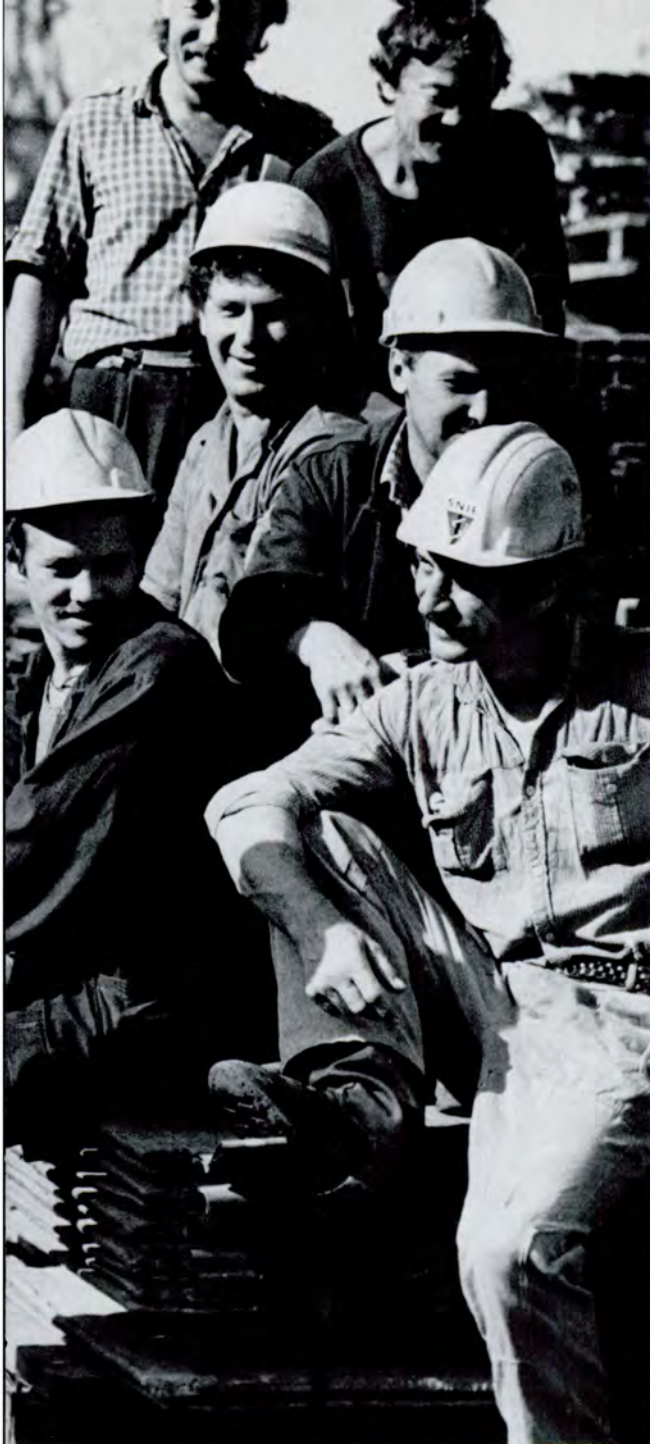
facilities will be built that are capable of handling foreign trade cargoes, servicing ships, and carrying out charter operations.

The part of the city that is now undeveloped will be the site of a research and manufacturing complex for high tech industries (electronics and communications) and for a pharmaceutical industry based on locally available raw materials such as ginseng. The western coast has marvelous conditions for the development of mariculture, and international tourist centers and health spa facilities can be built on

Timber, one of Nakhodka's most valuable cargoes, waiting to be loaded onto ships. Above right: Relaxing during a break in their strenuous duties. Facing page, top: The harbor control center.



Colonel Mikhail Budarin is commander of the border patrol. "With this influx of ships and foreigners, we have to update our border controls."



the southern and southwestern coasts, which have not yet been developed.

Ample opportunities exist for people with an entrepreneurial spirit. More than twenty-five million metric tons of freight, mostly raw materials, pass through Nakhodka every year. Other valuable cargoes include three million cubic meters of timber, locally produced wood chips, and sawed lumber, which is most profitable of all. Commercial reserves of beautiful marble and granite have not been touched yet.

An airport, hotels, communications



Sergei Shchutelev is president of the Association for Assistance to the Free Enterprise Zone. "Our objective is to raise money for infrastructure development."

and service facilities will be created in Nakhodka practically from scratch. Asian Pacific businessmen want to cooperate in creating a free economic zone on the Pacific coast. But the main responsibility will certainly be shouldered by the people of Nakhodka. The majority of them realize this and accept the idea, hoping for success. Their hopes were buttressed during a recent visit to Nakhodka by Boris Yeltsin, Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation. Yeltsin spoke very highly about the prospects of the city and the region as a whole. ■





history

The frigate
Pallada sets
sail for North
America.

Sailing like Russian Columbuses

By Alexander Malyshev, President of the Far Eastern Joint-Stock
Company, Inaqua

Though a number of events are planned in the USSR to mark the 250th jubilee of Russian America, the international expedition "Russian America—250" scheduled for this summer is expected to eclipse all other events.

The 250th anniversary of Russian America is an excellent opportunity for further developing all kinds of relations with the United States. It's our common holiday, for, as someone once said, "There was a time when the history of Russia and the history of America were part of each other." That became the underlying reason why all of us undertook to organize events to mark this important jubilee. The festivities will begin in the Soviet Far Eastern towns, mainly in Petropavlovsk-Kamchatsky, which served as the point of departure for Vitus Bering and Alexei Chirikov's famous expedition. The celebrations will continue with the help of our American friends on the land that once belonged to Russia—the Aleutian Islands, Alaska, and regions of northern California.

As part of the festivities, an expedition of two vessels following different routes will set out for the coast of the New World. One vessel, the frigate *Pallada*, which many Americans will remember from the 1990 Goodwill Games in Seattle, Washington, is to depart from Vladivostok, stopping in Petropavlovsk-Kamchatsky and then sailing on to Bering Island off the Commander archipelago. Later, it will dock in Dutch Harbor, Kodiak, Juno, Sitka, Cordova, and Seattle. On Bering Island the members of this expedition plan to lay a wreath at the grave of Vitus Bering. Incidentally, the year of the discovery of Russian America was the last for the Russian seafarer.

At ports of call in Alaska and California, the *Pallada* will welcome Americans aboard. Its deck will be turned into a stage on which the ensemble of sailors from the Soviet Pacific fleet will give concerts.

The route of the other ship in the expedition—the scientific vessel *Academician Shirshov*—will be just as interesting as its sister ship. The *Academician Shirshov* will set out from Vladivostok and follow a more southerly path to its goal of Los Angeles, California. Once it lays anchor, the ship will become a giant lecture hall for seminars on the history of the Bering-Chirikov expedition and the Russian-America era. These seminars and round-table discussions will be at-

tended by prominent Soviet and American historians, geographers, writers, and journalists. The ship will also present interesting exhibits with such titles as "Russian America: Forgotten Pages of History." On display for the first time in America will be a host of rare documents, engravings, and photographs from the archives of the Military Historical Museum, the Geographical Society of the USSR, and the Arctic Institute.

Another highlight will be the ship's exhibit devoted to handicrafts and folk art, which will display works by artisans of such world-famous Russian art centers as Gzhel, Khokhloma, Zhostovo, and others. Visitors will also be able to buy an array of Russian souvenirs and handicrafts.

No doubt, the variety of events planned to celebrate the 250th anniversary of Russian America will provide an excellent opportunity for the Soviet and the American people to get to know each other better.

The organizers of the expedition also plan a variety of activities dealing with trade. The Soviet and American business people that participate in the meetings and seminars will discuss a wide range of topics of interest to both sides—from financing cruises of American tourists to the Soviet Far East to concluding mutually advantageous commercial deals associated with the region.

Though our joint-stock company, Inaqua, has acquired a certain amount of experience in cooperating with American firms in Alaska and California, it is obviously not enough. That's why we seek to considerably expand our business dealings with Americans. In this sense it would be worthwhile recalling the historical role played by the Russian-American Company centuries ago. Past experience prompts us Soviet business people to decisive action, and it can be said that Americans, too, are interested. For example, some Los Angeles businessmen proposed organizing a seminar of the Soviet spon-

sors of the expedition and members of the business community from cities on the West Coast.

Besides business concerns, other activities are planned to mark the forthcoming jubilee. One special treat involves a unique sports event: a group of our winter swimmers—we call them "walruses" here—covering the distance across the Bering Strait, swimming between Ratmanov Island (USSR) and Prince of Wales Strait (USA). The athletes will be attempting to set a world record for cold-water endurance. The distance covered will also set a record. The swimmers will be accompanied by a group of hang gliders flying across the strait. Also, at the end of August a new Soviet-American regatta for small inflatable craft will be inaugurated. The craft are to sail from San Francisco to Fort Ross.

Also, as part of our sailing expedition, we have chartered two additional passenger liners—the *Academician Korolyov* and the *Professor Khromov*—to transport groups of American tourists on a voyage along the coast of the Soviet Far East. The ships will make stops in several ports where tourists can join up with sightseeing tours for three to five days. The tours will encompass various towns and settlements of the Primorye Territory, Sakhalin, Kamchatka, and Chukotka. It will surely be an unforgettable experience for the Americans who are lucky enough to take part.

No doubt, the variety of events planned to celebrate the 250th anniversary of Russian America will provide an excellent opportunity for the Soviet and the American people to get to know each other better. And we consider all of these events to be part of the global celebration marking the 500th anniversary of Christopher Columbus's discovery of America.

Work has already begun in Moscow on plans for the anniversary program, which is being called "A Meeting of Two Worlds." The festivities will certainly involve thousands of people and dozens of public and state organizations, ministries and departments, creative unions, and commercial firms, including our joint-stock company, Inaqua. And that means that there will be new joint ideas and projects in the future. ■

FROM TOTMA TO FORT ROSS

Text and Photographs by
Gennadi Shevel'yov

One hundred seventy-five years ago on the California coast, not far from San Francisco Bay, the sound of axes rang out as the Russian settlers laid the foundation of Fort Ross—an amazing landmark that represented the southernmost tip of Russian culture in North America. Not long afterward, the thundering of cannon testified to the birth of the fort, which had a purpose far removed from military goals. Russian America, where bread was considered a luxury, was starving. Each winter carried off more lives. The settlers pinned great hope on Fort Ross to provide them with food sowed on its land or supplied by the Spanish.

Russian America had long roots, extending from the New World to the fifty-two Russian cities connected with Alaska, the Aleutian Islands, and the Commodore Islands. One famous Russian of the day was Ivan Kuskov. Kuskov founded Fort Ross and was its commander for the first ten years of its existence. Having spent more than thirty years in Russian America, Kuskov did manage to return to his homeland and the Russian city of Totma before his death.

The ancient city of Totma, which is ten years older than Moscow, has taken its place among the other northern Russian cities situated in the basin of the Severnaya Dvina River and its tributaries. One such, the Sukhona River, linked Totma to the White Sea—the route to Europe and truly the route to progress for Totma's residents. The city owed its economic flourishing especially to its saltworks, which were famous throughout Russia. Local merchants also engaged in other profitable ventures, such as exploring the far eastern borders of the empire and trading with the Russian-American Company. Beginning in the 1790s, the people of

Totma played a major role in all matters concerning the company, especially anything related to the fur trade.

The main spiritual center of Totma and the surrounding area was the Spaso-Sumorin Monastery, which was founded in the sixteenth century. Despite the destruction and losses caused by time, the monastery complex still leaves a strong impression. Approximately twenty beautiful churches were built in Totma and the surrounding villages during the late eighteenth century. Many of them still stand.

Though the city boasts a museum of local lore, it has no museum devoted to Russian America, but a desire to build one exists and is growing.

Across the Pacific, California has designated Fort Ross a state park, the result of the concerted efforts of members of the American-Russian Historical Society and the Friends of Fort Ross organization. In 1976 a commemorative medal was issued in honor of Ivan Kuskov. One has since been presented to the Totma museum.

Nikolai Rokityansky of the California Historical Center noted in a speech in Moscow last summer that representatives of many different nationalities made contributions to the founding and development of the United States, including the Russians. "Kuskov's name will never be forgotten in California," he said.

There's more to the story. Back in the 1970s, Victor Petroff had sent some color photos and copies of his books about Fort Ross to the Ivan Kuskov Museum in Totma—much to the amazement of the local residents since there was no such museum in their city. Only in 1979 was the house in which Kuskov lived registered as a historical landmark. The passing years did not discourage the volunteers determined to establish their museum,

and in the summer of 1990 Petroff and Rokityansky raised the flag of the Russian-American Company in front of Kuskov's house.

Who were they, these Russian Americans? As Petroff puts it, he's the product of three cultures—Russian, Chinese, and American. He was born in China before the Revolution, into a family of Russian civil servants. He began writing in Shanghai, where he was published in Russian-language newspapers. He and his family moved to the United States during the 1930s. In the 1940s he became interested in the era of Russian exploration along the Pacific coast of North America and the founding of Fort Ross. Together with other Russian Americans, he began putting together the first museum of Russian America in North America. Petroff has written more than thirty books about this period.

Rokityansky is another hero of Fort Ross. Not one chapter of the salvation, restoration, and preservation of the fort could be written without him. The son of a carpenter, Rokityansky, like Petroff, had lived in China before moving to the U.S. During World War II, Rokityansky worked as a welder on the San Francisco docks and as an interpreter for Soviet sailors. Later, acting in the same capacity, he took part in a constituent assembly of the United Nations. After earning a college degree, he taught Russian at various schools in California, while devoting all of his free time to Fort Ross, along with Petroff.

Rokityansky and Petroff not only attended the opening ceremony of the museum in Totma last year but also met with like-minded people in Moscow who wanted to focus on the history of Russian America. Unity for the sake of the past is unity for the sake of the future, they maintain. ■



At the opening of the Ivan Kuskov Museum in Totma, visiting Americans of Russian descent Victor Petroff (left) and Nikolai Rokityansky (right) help hoist the flag of the Russian-American Company, which they had brought with them from Fort Ross. Kuskov was a founder of the fort and its commander. Below: The guests at the Kuskov monument on the grounds of the museum. Below left: Totma's oldest exhibit, the seventeenth-century bronze bell, came to life again to herald in the museum.





View of the nineteenth-century Russian settlement on Kodiak Island, Alaska. Below: Examples of weights used by the Alaskan merchants in their dealings with, perhaps, fur trappers.

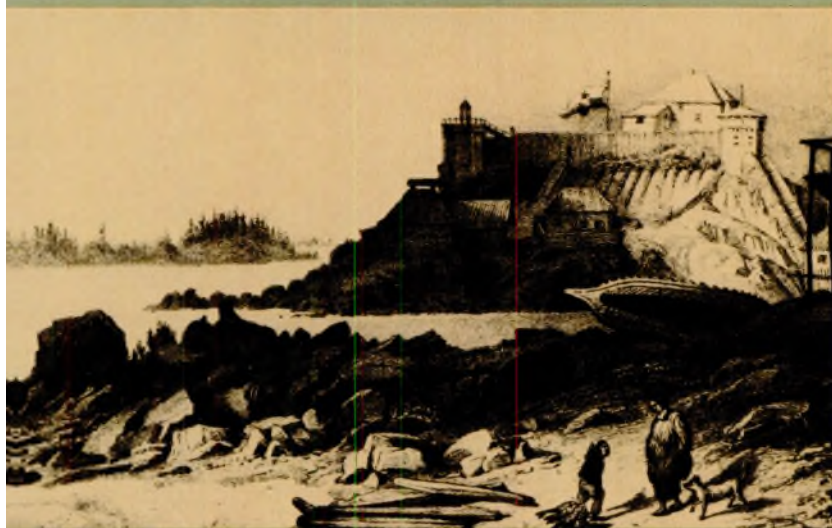


Above: A ten-ruble bank note, which was in circulation across the vast expanses of Russian America. Right and below right: These seals of the Russian-American Company were used on official documents.



Traces Of Russian America

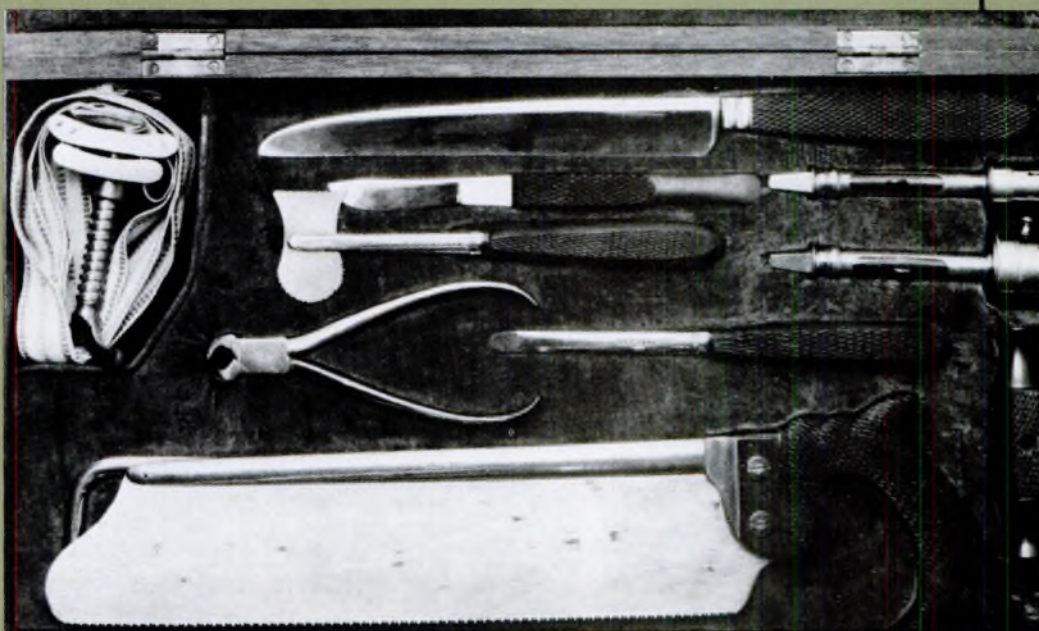
A church built by merchants who founded the fur-trapping trade in Alaska. Below: Alexander Baranov's estate in Novoarkhangelsk, now Sitka. Baranov governed Russian settlements in Alaska.



The past few years have seen a growing interest in Russian America, the period of American history when Russian pioneers—merchants, sailors, clergy, and settlers—established settlements in Alaska, on the Aleutian Islands, and along the coast of California. Traces of Russian America are also found in the more than fifty Russian cities that had close links with the Russian-American Company and the people of the era.

While today buildings of the period are being restored and exhibitions are being opened in the northern Russian cities of Totma, Kargopol, Vologda, and Veliky Ustyug, original documents, artifacts, engravings, and photographs are preserved in museums in the American Northwest.

This year, which marks the 250th anniversary of Russian America, the Soviet Union and the United States will exchange exhibitions, historical documents, and rare books to celebrate the occasion.



Bench tools of the Russian settlers.

the artworks on these two pages are samples of the entries that have been submitted by young readers of the Soviet children's magazine *Yuny khudozhnik* (Young Artist) in response to its announcement of a contest of children's drawings sponsored by the Moscow chapter of the Russian-America historical and educational society. The theme of the first round of competition, which will run this year, is the discovery and development of Russian America. The second round of competition, scheduled for 1992, will focus on Christopher Columbus's discovery of the New World. Alaskan children have also been invited to enter the contest.

The theme has proved attractive for hundreds of Soviet children, who have been quick to respond. The youngsters

my america

By Alexandra Vovnyanko



Ilyusha Karsky, 14.
Sea Routes of Bering and Chirikov.
Left: Natasha Belyayeva, 12.
Alaska. Facing page, top: Alla Ivanov, 13. *Russian Travelers off American Shores.* Bottom: Lena Fedotova, 9. *Camp.*

describe dangerous voyages past the rocky Aleutian Islands, in the severe Bering Sea, and along the misty coast of Alaska. Together with the courageous Russian seafarers of yore, the young artists, using mixed media, set out to picture fantasy journeys down the Yukon River, along the shores of North America, or southward along the coast of California to Fort Ross.

To describe life in Russian America, many of the young artists said they had studied memoirs of the first settlers, drawings, maps, and museum exhibits. They also looked at military uniforms, armaments, and ships of the day.

After the contest is over, the drawings will be shown in Moscow and Alaska. ■



Darya Panarina, 10.
St. Innocent, Bishop of Alaska. Left: Sasha Panchenko, 10.
Otto von Kotzebue.



Moral Values in a Changing Society

By Ada Baskina

Wheaton, Illinois, a suburb of Chicago, was the birthplace a year ago of the Soviet-American Consultation on Values (SACOV).

Recently a delegation from SACOV visited Moscow, giving us the opportunity to learn more about why this organization was formed, what its goals are, and what kind of work it plans to do.

I interviewed members of the delegation at the beginning of their visit, and I started off with the same question to each of them: What exactly is SACOV?

Anita Deyneka, director of the Institute of Soviet and East European Studies in Wheaton:

SACOV is a way to learn about the moral values of two great nations. It provides an opportunity to understand why Americans behave in a given situation in one way, while their Soviet counterparts behave in the same situation in another way. In other words, we should have a better understanding of the high moral values of each other's nation. Once we have understood this, we must try to bring these values into closer harmony.

We, the organizers of SACOV, are deeply religious. We try to adhere to the Ten Commandments in our everyday life. According to my observations, the same commandments guide many people in your country, even though

there are many atheists as well. But even the most ardent materialist today understands that our existence is not purely material. Without a spiritual life, without faith, life has virtually no meaning.

Ivan Fuss, Doctor of Sociology and professor at Wheaton College:

SACOV is an excellent opportunity to learn about public opinion in the USSR. My Moscow colleagues and I have conducted polls in the Soviet capital among people from all walks of life. In addition, I have also talked with various people—university students, activists from the Soviet Peace Committee, and students at the Higher Party School, among others. I realized that many of them are concerned not only about current problems, but also about eternal values.

The American film *Jesus of Nazareth* was shown at the Higher Party School. After the screening I asked the people around me: "What in the film made the greatest impression on you?" Almost all of them replied that it was Christ's faith that people would not forget his call for love, justice, brotherly love, kindness. Then a woman who had kind, sad eyes came up to me. She said: "I am prepared to follow the way of Jesus, but I don't know how to do this. Teach me." I answered: "Don't ask me, an American, about this. Ask a fellow countryman, a wise and kind person whom you can trust."

Richard Shouerman, associate director of the Institute of Soviet and East European Studies:

SACOV should play a special role in educating the people of the twenty-first century. In any case, this is how I envisage the purpose of my own participation in its activities. School graduates in the next century—and it will be the era of information science—should have the following characteristics. Most important of all, they should adhere to the ideals of personal worth, democracy, and social responsibility. This means a high level of knowledge in the basic sciences and practical skill. Finally, the young people of the twenty-first century should possess broad cultural interests and—this is extremely important—understand the national cultures of other people. This will help them associate with people of other nationalities and countries. We have included these ideas in the educational program that SACOV has initiated with its Soviet colleagues.

Stewart O'Michael, financial consultant at SACOV:

As a person who is familiar with the financial side of SACOV, I can say with confidence that all of its expenses go toward the establishment of, as I would put it, moral equilibrium between Americans and Soviets. What specifically? Exchanges of specialists, translations of books, the organizing of conferences and meetings, and, of course,

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joint scientific research. Recently a delegation of municipal workers from Moscow's Sevastopol District was in Wheaton, and soon a group of their American counterparts will visit Moscow. These people, who take care of the immediate and everyday needs of people, will benefit from exchanging professional experience, and they will also find it interesting to learn more about Soviet urban problems and such social problems as care for the elderly, the disabled, and the poor. I am happy that SACOV is able to help.

The day before the SACOV delegates left Moscow, I asked them to share their latest impressions.

Ivan Fuss:

This visit to the USSR has provided me with a great deal of material for scientific analysis. The exchange of opinions with my fellow sociologists, polling people in different professions, interviewing some of them—all of this helps me to answer two main questions: How does the average American differ from the average Soviet? And what do the two have in common?

I define their differences as follows: Americans are more inclined to individualism, while Soviets tend toward collectivism. I would be hard pressed to choose which is better; probably both have their good points and bad. Regrettably, many of my Soviet interlocutors told me that they were fed up with faceless collectivism, that it was much more important to focus on the individual, and not on the collective element in each person. Of course, not everyone thinks that way, but many do. I can understand this rejection of a behavioral mode that was promulgated in the official propaganda for such a

long time, but I hope that nevertheless the opponents of collectivism will adopt a moderate position.

Another difference that was most obvious this time, during my third visit, was people's extreme aggressiveness. I understand that it is possible to be dissatisfied with those things that were brought about by the administrative system—totalitarianism, human rights violations, nondemocracy. I understand that there are still things to criticize the government for today—shortages of goods in the stores, the worsening of ethnic relations in the republics, the rise in crime. But I do not think that all of this dissatisfaction should be expressed so harshly, so rudely. This won't make life any better, and the emotional atmosphere becomes poisoned and difficult to live in.

To my delight, I also saw things shared by Americans and Soviets alike. Both are pondering the meaning of life, conscience, and God more deeply. Perhaps everyone puts their own interpretation on these concepts, but in essence each person is concerned with the same question: What is the purpose of my life? And from here follows the question: How can I live a worthy life? This means that we have a common platform from which to begin to narrow the gap between our moral values.

Anita Deyneka:

Ever since I met my husband, Peter, I have understood all the attractiveness of the Christian faith. Peter is currently president of the Slavic Evangelical Association. He converted me to the joys of following the teachings of Christ. We have written several books together about the attitudes of various people toward Christianity. Of course, the subject of faith in the USSR interests us greatly. We have traveled to

your country many times and met with clergy of the Orthodox Church as well as with lay parishioners. I must say that our first impressions were sad. We saw that people were often persecuted for their beliefs, and we even met people who hid their faith.

We were pleasantly surprised by what we saw on this trip—a massive resurgence of interest in religion. No one hides a belief in God any longer. Many churches that served for years as anything but houses of worship are now again houses of God. We saw many people in attendance at these churches. Members of the clergy have ceased to feel like outcasts in society, and one may see a man in a cassock both in the Supreme Soviet of the country and on television. Many television and radio programs are now devoted to religious topics.

Richard Shouerman:

Of all the impressions I am taking away with me from Moscow, the strongest is that I found people who think as I do. Vasili Davydov, the vice president of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences; Professor Mikhail Matskovsky, the director of the Center of Human Values; Vladimir Belyayev, the head of the subcommittee on education in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR; and many others all strongly supported the idea of changing the quality of education in the schools. One tangible result of our many meetings was the Soviet-American project for scholastic reform. This, in essence, is a plan to prepare upper-school students for the era of information science. The plan involves instilling in them a sense of moral literacy, democratic values, and professional skills. My encounters with Moscow schoolchildren also made a strong impression on me. ■

MEET DOCTOR KALNBERZ

By Armida Friedite
Photographs by Alexander Djus

For the past thirty years Dr. Victor Kalnberz has headed the Department of Traumatology and Orthopedics of the Latvian Academy of Medical Sciences. He is a member of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, a Merited Scientist of the USSR, and a recipient of Latvian and USSR State prizes. A member of the Latvian parliament, the highly respected physician has for years been in charge of its permanent commission on health protection and social security.



Left: Dr. Kalnberz at a session of the Latvian parliament. Right: The doctor on a stroll with his daughter Maya, who, like both of her parents, has chosen a career in medicine.



A coal miner from the Donbass region of Ukraine, who was finishing a course of treatment at the Latvian Research Institute of Traumatology and Orthopedics in Riga, approached Dr. Victor Kalnberz, a highly respected surgeon, and asked him if he could sit in while the doctor was operating. "Becoming a surgeon is my unfulfilled ambition," the miner explained.

After he had secured the doctor's permission, the patient donned a surgical gown and mask and took a seat in a corner of the operating room. From there he watched the anesthesiologist

Dr. Kalnberz talks with a patient who has undergone a sex-change operation.
Below: The doctor confers with colleagues.





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Where is that health minister now? An entire era has passed in medicine, and the "Kalnberz operation" has come to mean an extremely complex surgical procedure requiring top skills and high technology.

Dr. Kalnberz is credited with initiating regenerative operations and developing structures and a device to treat complex bone fractures and orthopedic deformations. His offspring, the compression-distraction device, which is distinguished for its ease in use and applicability, is patented in many countries. An orthopedic traumatologist above all, Dr. Kalnberz has performed a great many elaborate operations in plastic surgery.

Later Dr. Kalnberz and his colleagues won the Latvian State Prize for introducing conserved bone tissue into clinical practice. Dr. Kalnberz is a trailblazer in regenerative surgery, and for years he has been employing phalloplasty in the treatment of impotence. The doctor has performed dozens of mammoplasty operations for breast augmentation or for post-

mastectomy reconstructive surgery. In complex hip-joint operations, the surgeon replaces damaged joints with artificial joints.

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His patients call Kalnberz "Doctor" as they do their family physician. But they mean he's simply tops, someone who is totally sincere and always willing to help. He has a talent for removing the doctor-patient barrier and for

understanding another person's suffering and pain.


The Riga-based institute that Dr. Kalnberz heads has broad international contacts. Doctors and medical workers from the United States, Canada, Sweden, Germany, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and Portugal often visit there. In turn, the institute's staff visits clinics and hospitals around the world to share experience.

Now for the Kalnberz family itself. Victor is just one of the family's doctors. His wife, Rita Kukai, who is also an academician, heads the Latvian Academy of Sciences' Institute of Microbiology. Their son, Konstantin, who has his doctorate in medicine, is in charge of a Riga clinic. He takes after his father and specializes in orthopedics and traumatology. The two Kalnberz daughters are virologists. The older daughter, Maya, is a Candidate of Science (Medical Sciences). She heads a cell culture laboratory. The younger daughter, Inga, is a research associate.

His family tells me that Dr. Kalnberz is a great camera bug, his second love being photography. Professionals have said that the doctor's photographs and films are exceptional. ■



The doctor (center) holds his regular morning briefing at the clinic. The daily schedule and any other problems, especially those having to do with patients, are discussed at this time.



Film director Marina Goldovskaya.

LOOK ON THE BRIGHT SIDE

Photographs by
Alexander Meshcheryakov

Film director and camerawoman Marina Goldovskaya is well known in the USSR for her documentaries. Two of her films, *The Muzhik of Arkhangelsk*, about Nikolai Sivkov, one of the first Soviet farmers to try lease farming with his family, and *The Power of Solovki*, about one of Stalin's concentration camps, aroused special interest in the USSR. American audiences had a chance to see her made-for-television documentary *A Taste of Freedom*, a joint project with U.S. filmmakers, on cable television last January. Goldovskaya not only makes films, she also works at the USSR Research Institute of Cinematography and lectures on journalism at Moscow State University. SOVIET LIFE correspondent Alexander Meshcheryakov caught up with the busy woman at Novosti's offices in Moscow.

Q: *A Taste of Freedom* was your first joint production with American filmmakers. How did that project come about?

A: My documentary *The Power of So-*

lovki was making the rounds of the film festivals in the United States, which I attended. At the festival in Telluride, Colorado, I met Roland Joffe, the well-known American director. Joffe directed *The Mission* and *The Killing Fields*. At the time I met him, he was putting together his production company, Light Motive.

Joffe suggested that I do a documentary about the Soviet Union. He felt Americans would be interested in seeing a film shot through the eyes of a native, someone who knows and feels intimately what is happening in the country and how ordinary people view perestroika. We discussed the idea in very general terms, and I flew home.

A couple of months later I got a call from the States telling me that Light Motive had put the film in its schedule and that TBS Productions, a Ted Turner company, had ordered it and that, on the Soviet side, the project was being sponsored by the Soviet-American Film Initiative.

Q: How was the film conceived?

A: We wanted to find a hero who could carry the whole film. We were shooting the film during the elections, so we wanted someone who would best reflect the effect of this dramatic period on his or her life.

At first we focused our search on a woman since women are the heart of the nation. Many of the women who are involved in politics do possess strong and original personalities, but they are so absorbed in politics that they have let everything else slide. I was afraid that the film might appear political, and that didn't thrill me very much. Finally, we decided to focus on a man.

Q: What made you choose Alexander Litkovsky, the host of the popular Soviet television program "View"?

A: Scriptwriter Sergei Livnev came up with the idea of using Litkovsky; Livnev thought he'd be perfect. Later we found out that Litkovsky was a prospective people's deputy.

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Dr. Kalnberz talks with a patient who has undergone a sex-change operation. Below: The doctor confers with colleagues.



administer the anesthesia and the surgeon deftly handle the scalpel, first to make an incision in the outer tissue and then to lay bare the bone. While Dr. Kalnberz concentrated on the job at hand, an operating room nurse kept wiping the sweat from the doctor's brow with a piece of gauze. After what seemed a lifetime to the coal miner who was looking on, he said: "I think it's easier in the mines."

I recalled that little episode when I heard about a sex-change operation performed by the institute's director, Victor Kalnberz. It was the second transsexual operation he had performed. Both of his patients are doing well and say that everything is fine with them.

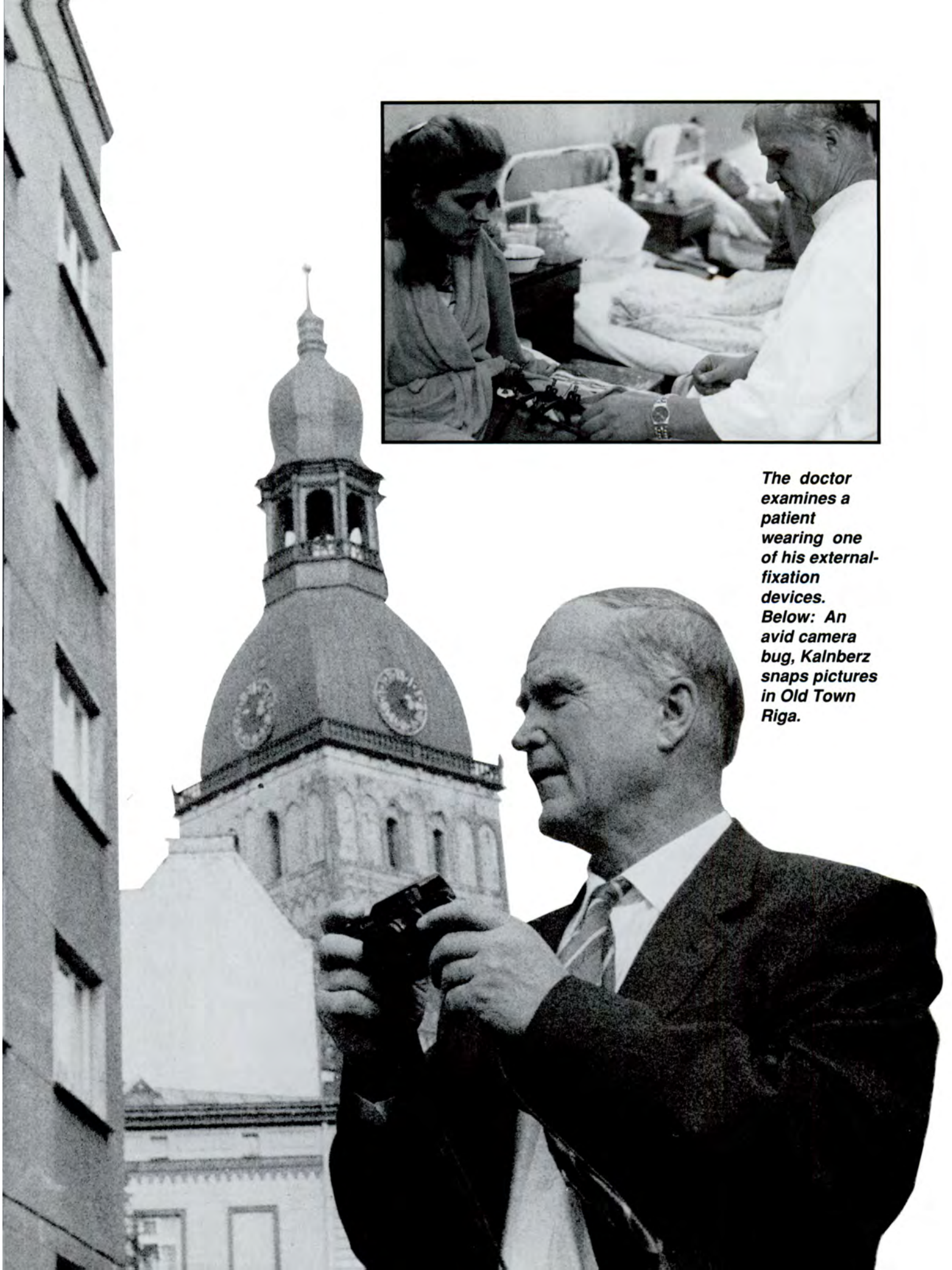
News of Dr. Kalnberz's first operation twenty-odd years ago shook the medical community and aroused a great deal of controversy. Though it brought the surgeon an official repri-

Right: A woman mod. Kalnberz's compressio. distraction device, which is patented in countries around the world.





The doctor examines a patient wearing one of his external-fixation devices. Below: An avid camera bug, Kalnberz snaps pictures in Old Town Riga.



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Clockwise from far left: Rallies always bring out Politkovsky and Goldovskaya's film team. In the studio. At home with his kids. Anya Politkovskaya. Politkovsky and Goldovskaya.



mine, and I like him very much. Second, Alexander has courage and charisma, indispensable traits, which he draws on in his journalistic career. He also has a great sense of humor and lots of other good qualities that made him an ideal subject for the film.

Furthermore, his profession allowed us to show not only the way he works, but also what is going on in the country. As an additional benefit, I was glad to work with Alexander's wife, Anya, whom I have known for years. She, too, is a journalist. Alexander agreed to cooperate with us, and our work began.

Q: What do you have to say about the film itself?

A: Whenever possible, we accompanied Alexander on his travels. That's why the film includes the events in Baku, a story about the consequences of the Chernobyl disaster, and one about the refugees streaming into Moscow. These episodes reflect what's happening in our country, our concerns, and our problems. I wouldn't say the film is entirely about Alex, or about

At first I wanted to call the film *The Russian Skin*, but I changed it to *A Taste of Freedom*. We began filming the day of Andrei Sakharov's funeral, in December 1989, and finished on February 25, 1990, the same day as a massive demonstration on Moscow's Zubovsky Boulevard. I think those days mark important stages in our history. From the professional point of view, I think this film is my best.

The film is very concise. It's intended for American audiences, and we wanted them to watch it until the end. We wanted them to understand at least part of what is happening to us, and we wanted them to like us.

Q: What was it like working with your colleagues?

A: The filming in the Soviet Union was done by a very good team, which I have worked with for many years. We edited the film in the United States. One of the American editors was a Soviet émigré. He, too, could feel and understand what the film is all about. We immediately struck up a friendship, and he helped me a great deal in understanding the canon of American filmmaking. Another editor was an American who didn't speak a word of Russian, but he knew exactly what we were after. Our sound engineer, Alexander Khasin, joined us later. He doesn't speak English and was assisted by an American sound editor who doesn't speak Russian. But in only an hour they understood each other.

The teamwork was excellent and, as a result, we were able to do much more than we'd thought we could.

The representatives of Ted Turner's TV company who were in charge of the film were simply fantastic. Not all of their recommendations appealed to me, but I knew that I was supposed to take American tastes into account. And yet, I was able to make a film that I wanted to make.

Q: People say documentaries are outstripping feature films. What do you think?

A: I agree, and not only in the movies. Newspapers are surpassing novels, although people are starting to get sick of the news. That's why my next film will be about hope. I want to look on the bright side. ■

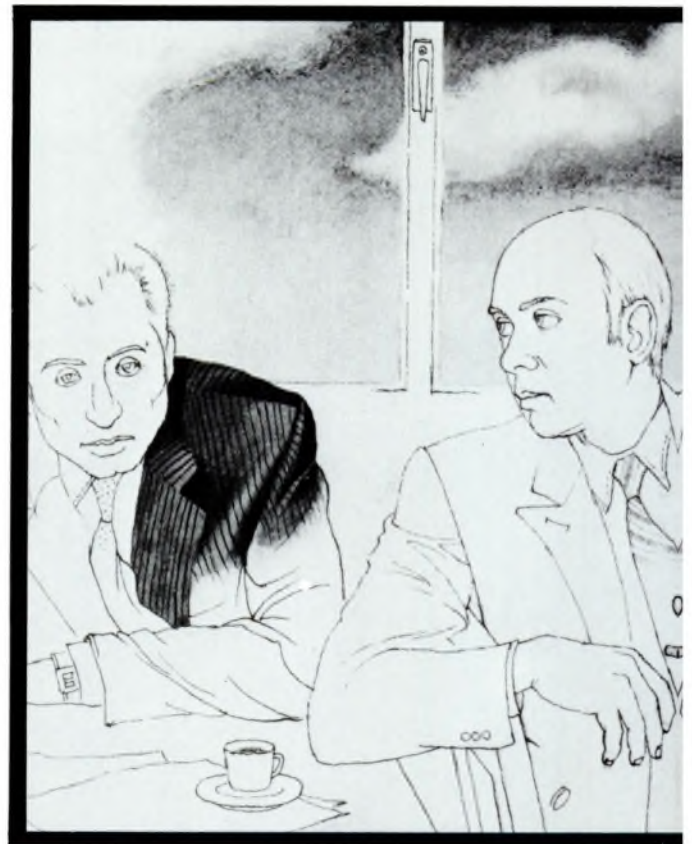


Anya, or about events in the country. It's really about what each of us feels when we wake up in the morning, when we read the newspapers, when we watch television, or when we walk down the street. Each day brings forth a whole new gamut of emotions that we have to deal with. But really, aren't we lucky to be living in such exciting times!



Private Detective To the Rescue

Drawings by Alexei Ostramentsky



Crime in the USSR seems to be getting worse all the time. In 1990 more than 1.7 million crimes were committed, a 13.1 per cent increase over last year's figures. The increase in the number of property-related crimes and attacks on individuals is most alarming. Law enforcement agencies simply were not prepared for this crime wave, and society started looking for alternative nongovernmental arrangements to guarantee personal safety.

The first reports about a Soviet private detective agency, Alex (from the Greek word meaning protector), appeared more than two years ago. At that time many people just reacted sarcastically. Now, however, Alex can stand up for itself and has disproved pessimistic forecasts. The Association of Detective Agencies already comprises more than fifty

bureaus in different cities in the country. In Moscow alone enterprises have 500 permanent detectives and guards as employees. And demand for them is constantly growing. What kind of professional person is a Soviet private detective? Valentin Kosyakov, director of Alex, talked with journalist Victor Bashkin.

Q: Who works for Alex today, and why do people sign up with private detective agencies?

A: As a rule, private detectives are highly qualified specialists who have worked for at least one year for the law enforcement bodies: the KGB, the Ministry of the Interior, the Procurator's Office, or even a number of departments of the Ministry of Defense. We also have on the payroll quite a few former athletic prize winners in different championships. Almost all of them are also

experts in various oriental martial arts, which is useful to them when they're providing protection.

Q: What are the main criteria for staff recruitment?

A: Professionalism and high moral qualities. The second is even more important. If a person doesn't know how to do something, he can be taught, but it's hard to make a bad man good. We're not in that line of work.

Q: Why did you yourself become a private detective?

A: While working for the law enforcement bodies, I developed an information retrieval system, a computer program, that provided a new way of tracking down criminals. It was tested in the Militia Higher School and got a high rating. I tried to introduce this system in my department, but I got no support for it. I had a conflict with management and



left. At Alex we use my program with great results.

Q: Do political convictions play a role in the work you accept?

A: Political views have no significance whatsoever.

Q: What kind of work does Alex specialize in?

A: We protect enterprises



and institutions and individual citizens. We have a department that specializes in industrial espionage and information leaks. Representatives of joint ventures, co-operatives, research and development institutes come to us for such services. We take orders for devices to detect telephone bugging. We also have to fight street crime. We consider it our moral duty to assist the local authorities in support of law and order in the district where Alex rents premises.

Q: Can you give us more details on how you fight industrial espionage?

A: Enterprises using high-quality technology guaranteeing considerable profits have come into being. Naturally they want to find ways to safeguard their commercial secrets. Their directors, however, often don't know how to do this. Alex comes to their rescue. We test tech-

nical installations and guarantee them against theft. We can also ferret out people who are selling their firm's secrets to another party. Such people are usually dismissed from their jobs, since in our country the sale of industrial secrets is not yet a crime.

I can cite you one example of this. A joint venture asked Alex to find out which of its employees was selling expensive computer programs the company had devised. Our agency went to a cooperative that was like an employment agency for computer programmers and asked the co-op to place an ad in a newspaper that would sound tempting to this particular group of specialists. Detectives were present when the candidates arrived for interviews. This was all we needed to do, and by the end of the second week we had discovered the employees of the joint ven-

ture who were selling their firm's programs.

Q: Do you make use in your work of the experience of foreign countries?

A: Partly, yes. First, however, we have other types of problems: where to get transportation and technology, how to rent premises, and so forth.

We are also experiencing many trials and tribulations in our dealings with the authorities. For example, the chief of the local militia calls the bank and says that he doesn't like such and such detective agency and requests that the bank close our settlements account. The Procurator's Office frequently doesn't respond to our complaints. And then we have to prove our case, fight to survive, instead of concentrating on our affairs.

Furthermore, in our country a private detective does not have the right to own

weapons or to put other people under surveillance.

Q: How do you manage without the right to keep people under surveillance?

A: A little creativity and professionalism are more than sufficient to avoid infringing on the Constitution.

Q: And what if a jealous husband asks you to check on whether his wife is being unfaithful?

A: We refuse to take such cases. Alex does not meddle in people's private lives, in marital relations—first because it is morally wrong and second because as professionals we are not interested in such work.

Q: Does Alex maintain contacts with detective agencies and associations abroad?

A: Of course. We'd find it much harder to cope with our work if we didn't exchange information. International cooperation is an indispensable condition for success and is written into Alex's charter. Today we correspond with private detective agencies in Great Britain, the United States, France, the Netherlands, Austria, Norway, and other countries. I am a member of the British Association of Investigators. We intend, in the nearest future, to join the World Association of Private Investigators and to open an office of Alex in London. ■





*Natalya Nesterova (Moscow).
Catching Butterflies. 1981.*

*Natasha Turnova (Moscow).
Portrait of Ryazhsky. 1980.*



*Alice Corbett
(Washington, D.C.).
Bus Stop Trio. 1985.*



art exchange: Washington- Moscow

By Maria Shashkina
Reproductions by
Yevgeni Gavrilov

Modern paintings are only rarely displayed at the Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow. But an exhibition called "Washington-Moscow" was held there from December 20, 1990, through January 27, 1991. From October 17 to November 14, 1991, this exceptional exhibit will be on display in Washington, D.C., at the Carnegie Library of the University of the District of Columbia. The goal of the



Irina Starzhenetskaya (Moscow).
Two in a Boat. 1982.

Ruth Bolduan (Washington, D.C.).
Persephone.

Sam Gilliam (Washington, D.C.).
Angel. 1983.



exchange is to promote good will and mutual understanding through grassroots cultural exchanges.

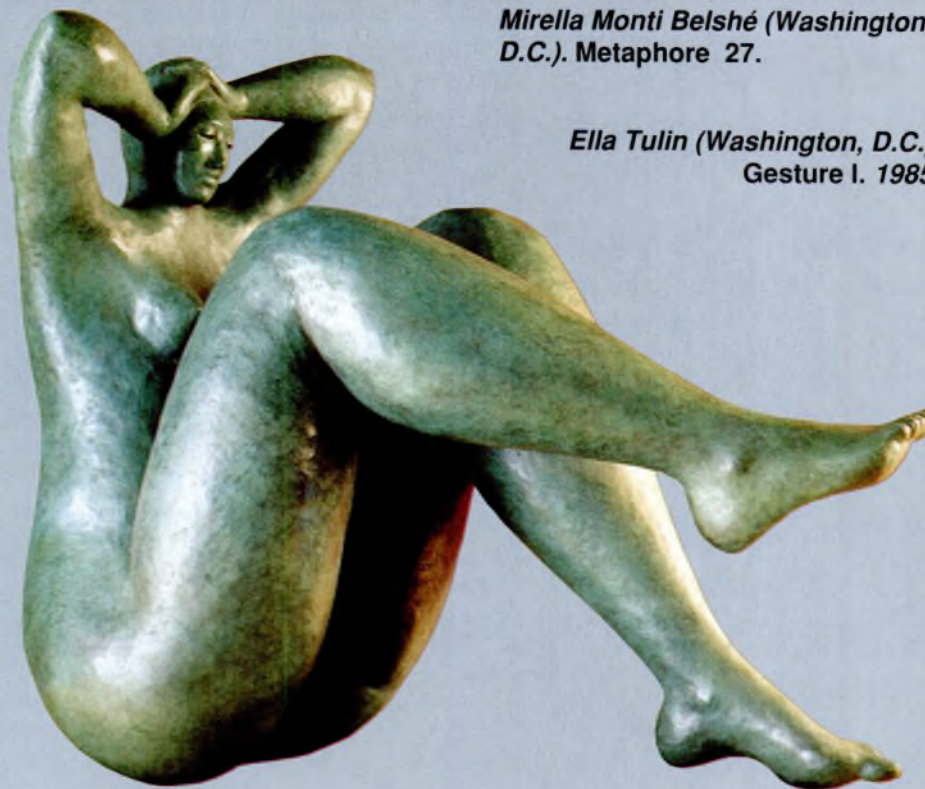
Preparation of an exhibit like this is always an ordeal, and this exhibition was no exception. But it was brilliantly organized by true art lovers such as Fritz Cohen, founder and honorary president of the Washington-Moscow Exchange (WME), and Ted Gay, a writer, journalist, public figure, and gallery owner. Assistance

came from Yuri Korolyov, general director of the Tretyakov Gallery, and Vyacheslav Sergeyev, vice chairman of the Soviet Culture Foundation.

The idea of displaying works by Moscow and Washington painters developed a few years ago. WME was just setting up its program. This organization was established by business people, teachers, scholars, and other residents of Washington. It supports itself through private donations and



Mirella Monti Belshé (Washington, D.C.). Metaphore 27.



Ella Tulin (Washington, D.C.). Gesture I. 1985.

sponsorship. Its programs focus on business cooperation, tourist exchanges, and people-to-people contacts. WME has plans to invite American wildlife enthusiasts to Siberian game preserves, to launch some folk-art programs, and to hold joint exhibitions of children's drawings. The success of the first exhibit gives hope to the success of further initiatives.

Several days before the exhibition, ten Washington artists came to Moscow and stayed with their Soviet colleagues, who were also exhibiting examples of their work. They managed to convey their mutual interests and the joy of contact despite the linguistic barriers, and the week of their visit flew by.

The artists agreed on more joint exhibitions in Moscow and Washington. Svetlana Kalistratova, for example, invited her new friend Jeanne O'Donnell to show her paintings at Moscow's Arbat Gallery. Randolph Michener offered to help Vladimir Opera in staging two or three exhibitions of his work at American galleries and universities.

Soviet and American painters collaborated closely during the nearly twenty-four months of preparations for the joint exhibition. American experts selected for the exhibit from among works by Moscow painters and vice versa.

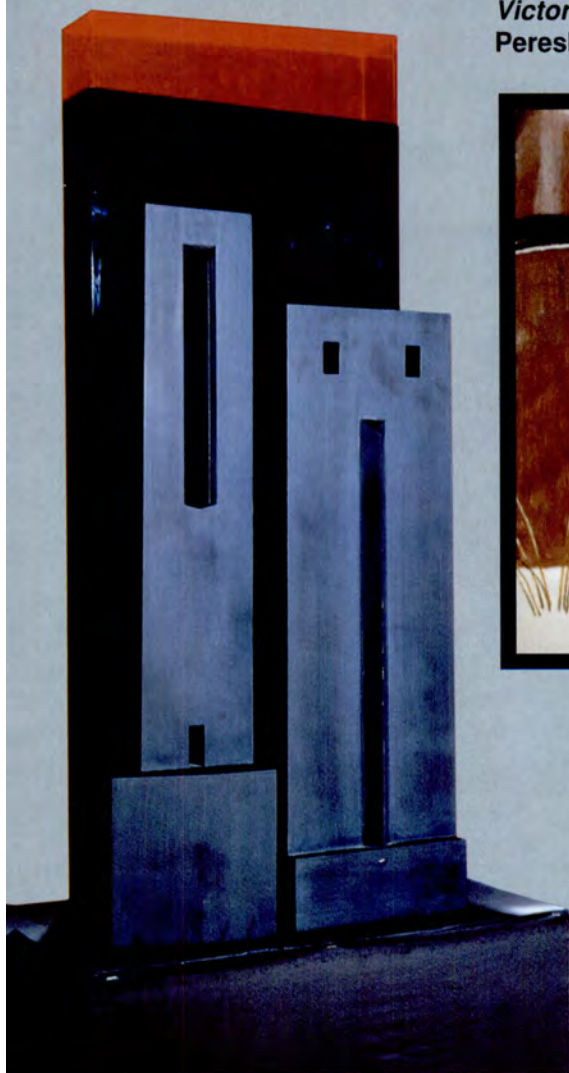
As many as fifty-three works from Washington and forty-two from Moscow were chosen by December 1990. The collection included oil and water color paintings, black-and-white works, and sculptures, representing various trends in contemporary art—postmodernism, expressionism, geometric abstraction, traditional realism, and hyperrealism.

Despite different spirits and traditions, the Soviet and American artists discovered common trends in their creative quest. Parallels and similarities were more noticeable than differences. Dramaticism and deep social content were more typical of Soviet artists; their American counterparts showed a more refined approach to inner life.

Soviet and American works were not separated, but deliberately placed together, enabling their authors to hold imaginary dialogues.



Victor Razgulin (Moscow).
Pereslav Scene. 1980.



V.V. Rankine (Washington, D.C.).
Homanie II. 1986.



Tatyana Nazarenko (Moscow).
Company (Diptych). 1990.

Paintings by Patrick Craig and Alexei Begov were also placed together. Coincidentally, Craig stayed with Begov in Moscow. They discovered common creative principles and attitudes toward art. They spent a lot of time in Begov's studio on the fifteenth story of a new Moscow building, where they discussed Begov's ambitious effort intended for America and dedicated to the tragic history of our century. They also spoke of Craig's works symbolically coding the painter's emotions. Both painters had tears in their eyes as they said their farewells.

The Moscow exhibition drew lots of artists, art critics, journalists, dealers, and members of the public. The Soviet press gave it plenty of enthusiastic coverage.

Inspired with this first success, WME is working on new programs. Both sides hope that their contacts will develop steadily. Through joint efforts they hope to overcome all political and psychological barriers and

to resolve potential administrative problems.

A bilingual catalogue of the exhibition, containing photographs and biographies of the artists and reproductions of selected works, will be distributed with SOVIET LIFE in the fall. For information on the exhibition or on supporting the exchange, contact the Washington-Moscow Exchange at (202) 337-1232. ■

BUSINESS BRIEFS

American Engines on Soviet Trucks

Global Technology Group, Ltd., (GTG) will supply Byelorussia with twenty-eight diesel engines that will be mounted on heavy-duty trucks manufactured in Minsk, the capital of the republic. The trucks will be made on the order of a Siberian coal-mining concern, whose planners say that trucks with American-made engines will speed up the transportation of coal from open pits.

The total value of the contract is ten million dollars. According to GTG president Simas Veloskis, when the Belorus trucks are equipped with American engines and certain components, they will be competitive with similar Western models.

The payload of the trucks will be increased from 180 tons to 205 tons each, making it possible to increase the output of coal in open quarries as early as this year and especially in 1992.

GTG is a subsidiary of Albert International, a U.S.-based corporation with a fourteen-year record of collaboration with the Soviet Union. It was established in 1987 specifically for operations on the Soviet market, and it has an annual turnover of roughly 120 million dollars.

City Soviet Leases Land to Foreigners

Gavriil Popov, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Moscow City Soviet, and Gerald Carroll, of Carroll Group of the United Kingdom, signed an agreement in mid-April allotting the joint venture Moscow-Carroll 2.2 hectares (approximately five acres) of land not far from Moscow's World Trade Center. A Soviet-British trade center will be built on the site and leased for ninety-nine years.

This marks the first time in Soviet history that a plot of land has been leased to a foreign entity. The trade

center, expected to be operational in 1994, will comprise two multistory buildings, one housing offices and the other, a 400-room hotel.

Young Russian Millionaires Club

The Young Russian Millionaires Club was established in Moscow in early April by ten people in the twenty-one to thirty-two age bracket. They represent different spheres of the nonstate sector of the economy—independent banks, exchanges, and commercial centers. The club unites those who have displayed a flair for business, responsible decision making, and the ability to implement ideas without fearing risks.

Any Soviet or foreign national under age thirty-five may apply for membership, provided that person may individually dispose of amounts not less than one million rubles. The entrance fee is 500,000 rubles.

The club's founders intended their group to act as a sort of trade union of millionaires. The club's primary objective is to protect nascent businesses and young entrepreneurs from unlawful actions of authorities and to provide financial assistance in difficult situations. Young business people will also have a chance to exchange ideas and business strategies and to support charitable activities.

The members of the club feel that the young generation of dynamic Soviet businessmen has the ability to extricate the USSR from its deep economic and social crisis.

Genuine "American Store" in Moscow

All-Moscow, a Moscow-based joint venture, launched an American store early in April. Its customers can order the products of 160 Western companies. The prices, all in hard currency,

are three or four times lower than those in the Beryozka stores, where goods also sell for foreign currencies.

All-Moscow's management predicts that some 20,000 Soviet enterprises that have hard-currency earnings may become the American store's customers. With such a clientele, the venture may expect its turnover to reach an eight-digit figure.

Part of the store's receipts will be used to repay a 1.5-million ruble loan extended by Mossoviet. The remaining hard-currency portion, including the U.S. partner's share, will be channeled to the joint venture's commercial expansion.

There are plans to set up a network of showrooms featuring high-technology products and goods of Western manufacture. A similar network will be established in the Western market: A Soviet store will open in Boston next June.

Russian Hospitality—American Style

The Metropol, one of Moscow's oldest and most fashionable hotels, has been under reconstruction for the past several years. Scheduled to reopen this summer, it may become the 103rd hotel in the world's leading hotel chain, Intercontinental. Forty representatives of Intercontinental have been working in Moscow for the past two months.

According to Scott Swank, commercial director of the joint venture Metropol (the new company name of the old hotel), Intercontinental is expected to assume managerial functions, while the USSR State Committee for Foreign Travel and its London branch will provide the financing.

The hotel's services are geared to attract foreign business people. High-tech office equipment is being installed on the premises, and a state-of-the-art business center is being set up to provide all services that a hotel with a five-star rating must offer. ■

Just a few years ago, the acronym KGB sent shivers down every spine. Things are changing now, however. KGB officers tangle with their opponents in debates in the media. The agency has opened a museum and a public relations office, which keeps journalists informed about its efforts. Younger officers recently staged a beauty contest, which was widely advertised in the media. The crown went



to Katya Mayorova, twenty-three, who works in public relations.

"I'm glad I won! Not that I feel like a real beauty queen. It's sheer entertainment, after all. I had the time of my life, and the audience enjoyed it, too."

The contest was a real challenge. A winning smile and stunning figure weren't enough—you had to excel in shooting and wrestling and walk with a dancing step in a bulletproof vest weighing six kilos. Mayorova did well.


She has worked for the KGB for years, since

A STAGEFUL OF IMPOSTORS, OR THAT'S HOW IT SEEMED

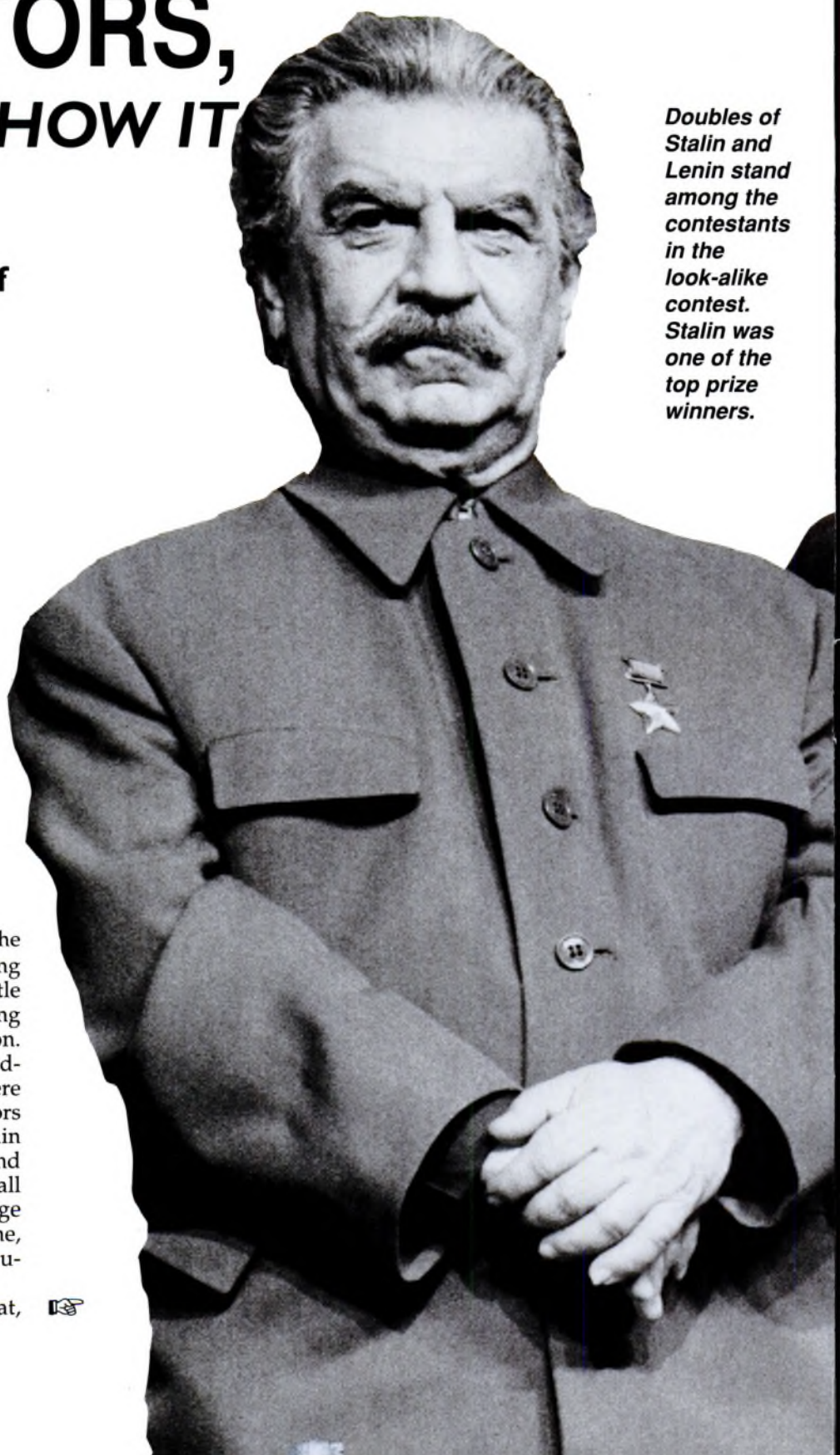
at the competition of historical doubles, which was held in Moscow recently. A number of commercial firms and the newspaper *Vechernaya Moskva* (Evening Moscow) joined forces to sponsor the event.

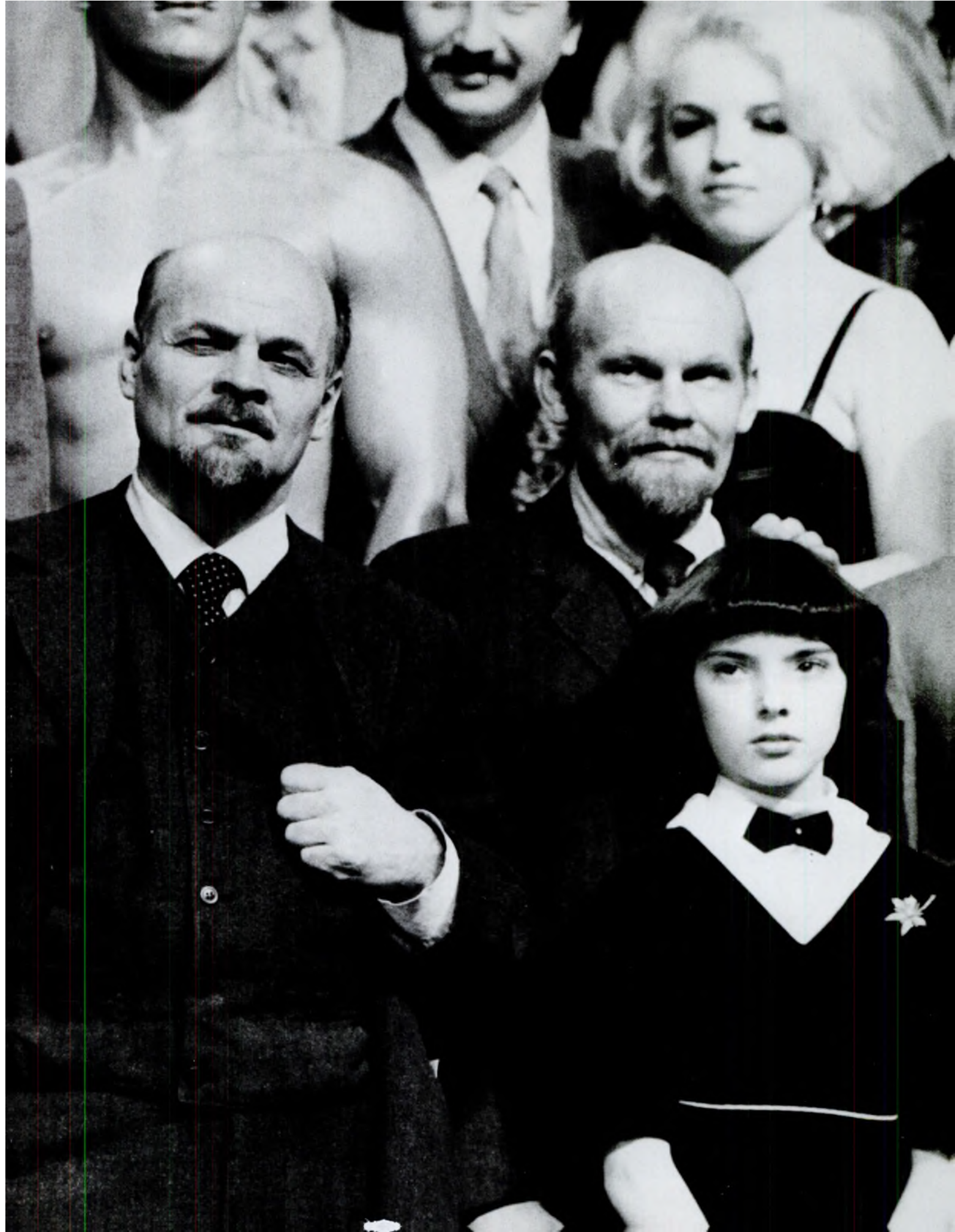
Photographs by Oleg Lastochkin

When the curtain rose, the audience saw a locomotive chugging onto the stage, the engine's whistle blasting and the smokestack spewing smoke. Of course, it was all an illusion. The locomotive was fashioned of cardboard, and the noise and smoke were sound and visual effects. The creators of the opening scene said the train symbolized progress, uniting eras and countries. Later in the competition, all of the participants gathered on-stage for a group picture enclosed in a frame, imitating a famous painting by popular Soviet artist Ilya Glazunov.

A modern-day Catherine the Great, 

Doubles of Stalin and Lenin stand among the contestants in the look-alike contest. Stalin was one of the top prize winners.







***Clockwise from bottom left:
American music legend
Elvis Presley, Soviet pop singer
Alla Pugacheva, a youthful
Arnold Schwarzenegger,
and singer Patricia Kaas.***

who ruled Russia in the eighteenth century, opened the contest. She was followed by a parade of historical personalities, who replaced one another in chronological order.

Emperor Nicholas II bore a strong resemblance to the Russian czar, but, as the judges noted, the double wasn't as regal as the genuine article. Later



came Stalin, who enchanted the audience with his singing of his favorite Georgian song. Stalin was followed by a succession of contemporary political leaders—Margaret Thatcher, Ronald Reagan, and Boris Yeltsin.

Seated in the theater were Raisa Gorbacheva, the Soviet First Lady; Nikolai Gubenko, USSR Minister of Culture; and Alexander Yakovlev, one of the masterminds of perestroika. The dignitaries greeted people from their box, which was lit by floodlights. Only when the dignitaries came on-stage did the audience discover that these personalities, too, were doubles.

As the contest continued, musical numbers filled the theater. The look-alike pop stars performed, body builders flexed their muscles, and athletes demonstrated their prowess in their sport. Among the performers were Liza Minnelli, Barbra Streisand, Mireille Mathieu, Pierre Richard, Gérard Dépardieu, Sylvester Stallone, and Arnold Schwarzenegger. All of them were unmistakable.

Three historical figures handily won the competition—Stalin, Raisa Gorbacheva, and Emperor Nicholas II. The winning contestants received valuable prizes—Siberian furs. ■

**NEXT
ISSUE**



DRUGS AND SPORTS

Drugs and sports are incompatible, but athletes sometimes try to get around the rules. Recent examples include Ben Johnson, disqualified at the 1988 Seoul Olympics, and Tamara Bykova and Larisa Nikitina, who were caught at the Goodwill Games in Seattle in 1990. Read about Soviet and American cooperation on this problem in the next issue.



MAGAZINE IN A MAGAZINE

The July issue will profile a venerable Soviet magazine, *Vokrug sveta* (*Around the World*), which is celebrating its 130th anniversary this year. Soviet magazines have in general experienced enormous circulation problems because of a large subscription price increase, but *Vokrug sveta* has remained popular.

COMING SOON

**Soviet Farmers:
What Have They Gained?**

