

SOVIET LIFE

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Chinghiz Aitmatov, Kirghiz writer, at the Issyk-Kul Forum in Kirghizia: "Culture's mission is to arouse the conscience and influence the thinking of our contemporaries so that the concept of the supreme value of human life obtains universal meaning."



INTERNATIONAL GATHERING
OF CULTURAL FIGURES



FOR A NUCLEAR-FREE WORLD AND
THE SURVIVAL OF HUMANITY
Special Supplement Inside

SOVIET LIFE

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Front Cover: Playwright Arthur Miller and actor Peter Ustinov (right) in Issyk-Kul Park, Kirghizia. They were in the Central Asian republic for the international forum. The story begins on p. 31. Photo by Marina Yurchenko.

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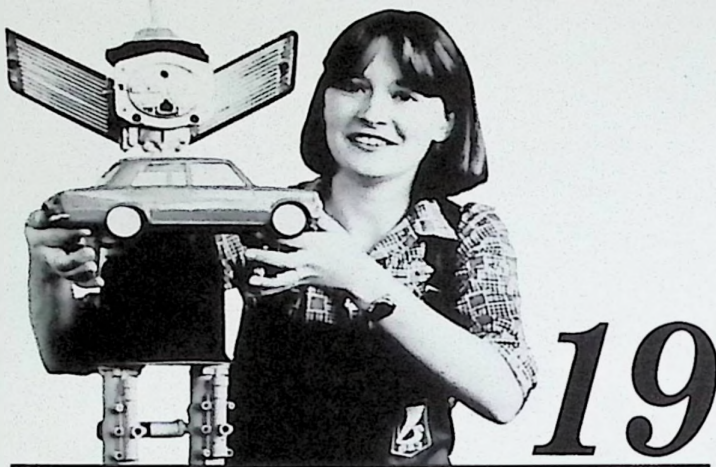
Material for this issue courtesy of Novosti Press Agency

Genrietta Repinskaya tells about Pravda, the most influential newspaper in the USSR.



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Leonid Shugurov looks at the new Lada Samara hatchback and the Volga Auto Plant where it is made.

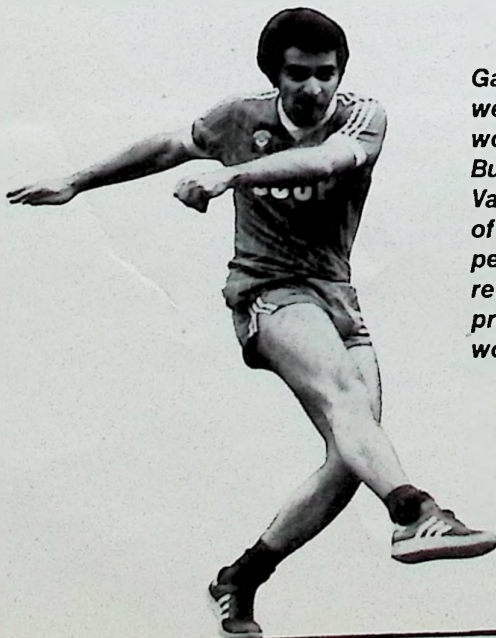


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A report on the Issyk-Kul Forum, where prominent personalities from around the world met to discuss culture and its impact on society.



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Garry Kasparov is well known to the world of chess. But soccer too? Various aspects of Kasparov's personality are revealed in a profile of the world grandmaster.

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EDITOR'S NOTES

I WAS ONCE invited to give a lecture on the Soviet press to journalism students at the University of Maryland. I began with a retrospective: "The first issue of the first Russian newspaper, *Gazeta* (*The Gazette*), came out in Moscow on January 2, 1703, in a thousand copies. Peter the Great was the founding editor." I went on to talk about the history of Soviet journalism. "It began with *Iskra* (*The Spark*), the first all-Russia underground political periodical, which Vladimir Lenin founded in 1900. Twelve years later *Pravda* (*Truth*), the first Bolshevik daily newspaper, still published to this day, appeared.

My audience listened attentively. "The USSR has over 8,000 newspapers published in 54 languages, with a total run of 180 million, and over 5,000 magazines and journals in 45 languages." History and statistics were clearly not enough for the undergraduates. They waited for more specific information, eager to know how honestly and objectively the Soviet press reported domestic events. The hard part came when I finished speaking and I fielded questions from the audience. To some I gave evasive replies. To others I just didn't know the answers.

Today those questions wouldn't make me feel like I was walking on thin ice. Openness and exhaustive information have become a part of Soviet society, and the atmosphere in the country has changed beyond recognition. Our awareness of human dignity has skyrocketed, as has our civic activity. As Mikhail Gorbachev said, we have sworn allegiance to openness, criticism and self-criticism, and we are dedicated to the truth. Everything will be evaluated objectively and precisely.

The burning issues facing our society are hotly debated throughout the nation—just look at the latest issues of our periodicals. From a tiny daily published by a factory to a national paper, they give pride of place to topical issues. Criticism of everything that impedes social and economic reorganization and renovation makes front-page news. We combat red tape, negligence, irresponsible attitudes toward work and abuse of office.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union maintains that no topic, no VIP, is taboo. To portray everything truthfully is our mass media's only rule.

The whole truth portrayed objectively and unequivocally is a mighty social stimulant, a powerful medicine to cure our society's ills and to boost socialist progress. Truthful reporting protects against miscalculations and against hasty conclusions.

We dedicate this issue to the Soviet press. It offers a glimpse of the variety of our periodicals and, still more important, of the revolutionary change that the Communist Party has introduced into our life.

Vladimir Belyakov

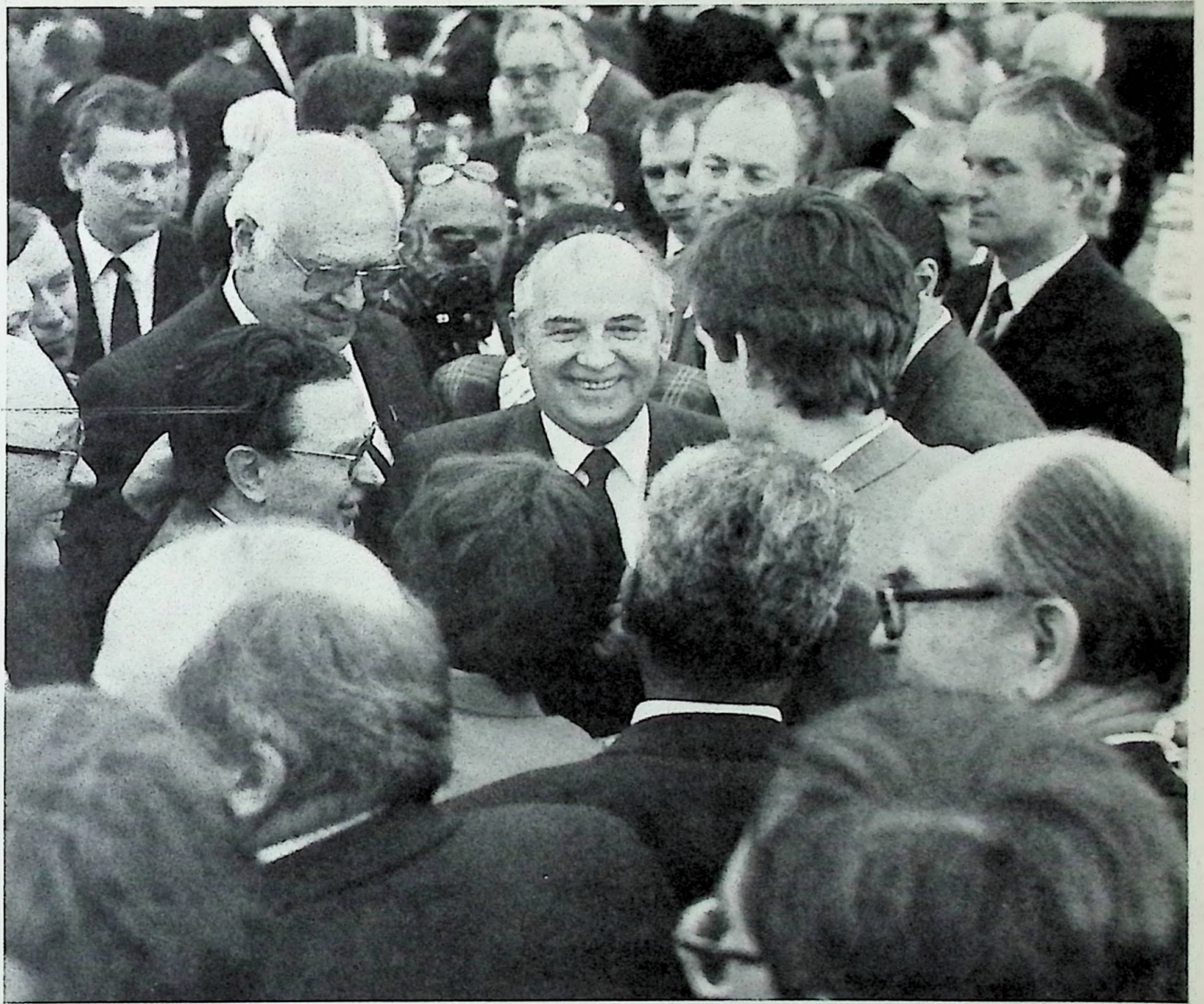
FORUM

FOR A NUCLEAR-FREE WORLD AND THE SURVIVAL OF HUMANITY

By Mikhail Ozerov

FREE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS AND IDEAS

Representatives of different political parties; mass movements; business, scientific and cultural communities; and clergymen from 80 countries spent three days in Moscow, discussing a gamut of issues. They hold different views on many issues but agree on one essential thing: Humanity must survive. On February 16 they met in the Kremlin with Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.



It's no exaggeration to say that the results of the peace forum, which took place in Moscow from February 14 to 16, are quite impressive. This is the opinion of the participants. In their statements at the forum and at press conferences, in interviews and in conversations, they mentioned that the meetings in Moscow were very useful for all those who had come to the forum as well as for the cause that had brought them there.

The main contradiction of our time is the one between war and peace, and the aim of the International Forum for a Nuclear-Free World and the Survival of Humanity was to remove this contradiction or, at least, reduce its intensity. Not only political and state leaders but the world public at large can make a big contribution to the efforts to guarantee the survival

of humankind. The participants discussed ways of achieving this very noble and extremely urgent goal.

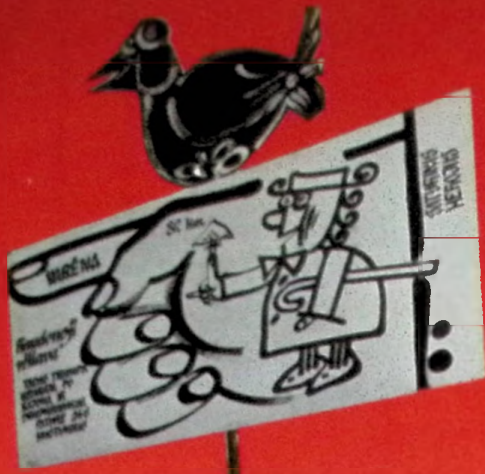
"New approach" was the most frequently used phrase in formal remarks and informal statements. This is very indicative: The Moscow forum was the first of its kind—it had no traditional lists of speakers or a rigid agenda. Anyone could speak about anything and with whomever he or she liked. "An informal discussion"—this is how one of the American participants described the lively exchange of opinions and the debates that continued for three days.

When talking about the "new approach," foreign guests also implied the example that the Soviet Union set by adopting a new pattern of thinking, an example that is winning more and more followers. And many forum participants justly called it "new thinking in action."

Continued on page 35

Early in the morning on May 5, a square in Old Town

Vilnius comes alive as people gather along Press Alley to see the colorful displays of newspapers and magazines and to talk with members of the press. The lively conversations often turn into serious discussions on a variety of topics, and readers offer ideas for forthcoming articles. A side trip to explore the quaint, narrow lanes of the medieval city proves quite fruitful. Old Piles Street is the domain of artisans and artists, who display their paintings and crafts made of wood, amber, metal and fabric. Nearby, early spring blooms, tasty snacks and souvenirs are for sale. Professional and amateur groups entertain with music and variety shows. Sports competitions are held, too. And there's much, much more. Press Day in Lithuania is a holiday filled with fun, food and fanfare, with everyone having a wonderful time. ■

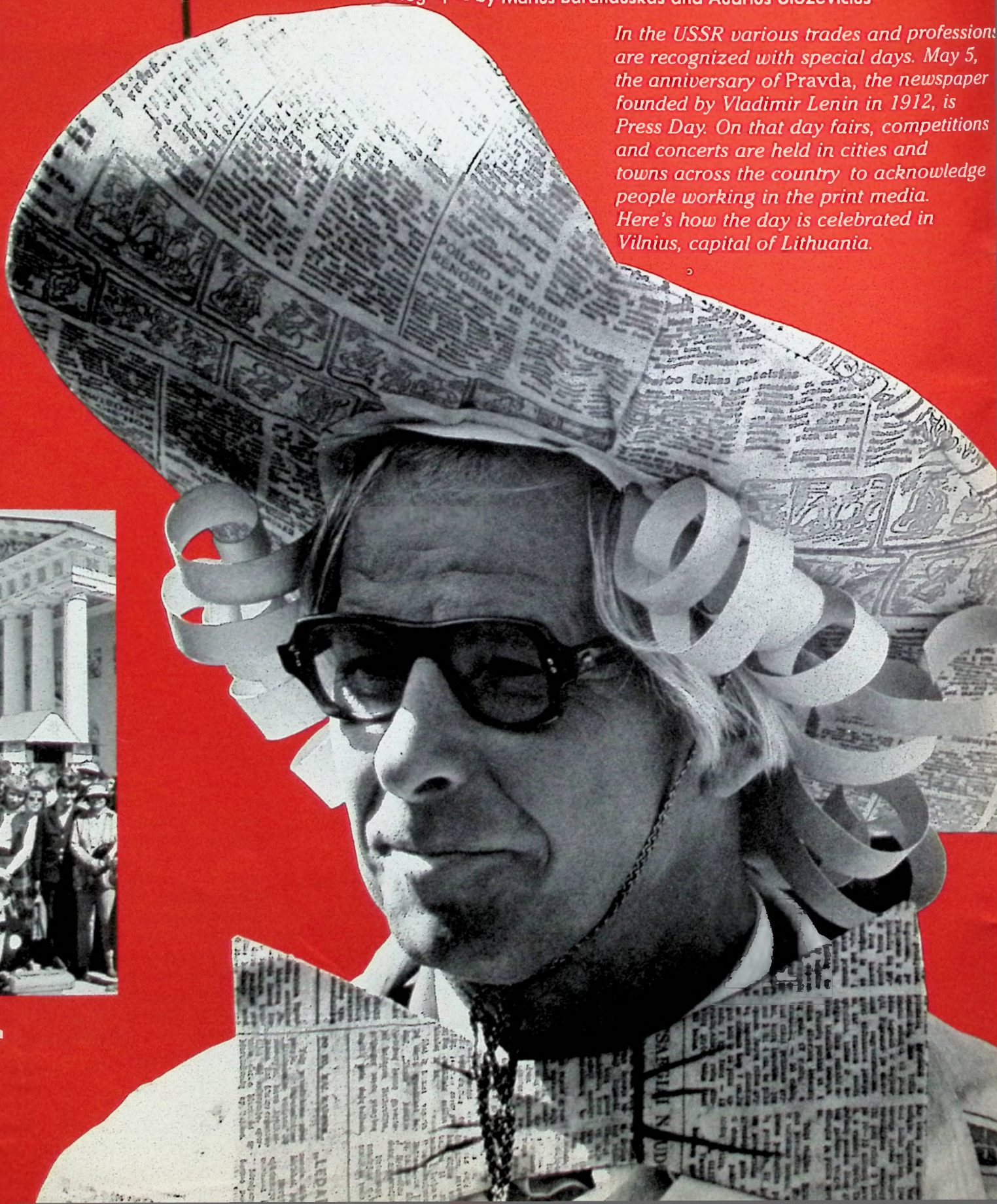


Press Alley, in the center of Old Town Vilnius. Far left: Performing groups come from all over the republic to take part in the day's events. This sign belongs to a folk group from Varena Region.

PRESS DAY CELEBRATIONS

By Vytautas Mikuličius
Photographs by Marius Baranauskas and Audrius Ulozevičius

In the USSR various trades and professions are recognized with special days. May 5, the anniversary of Pravda, the newspaper founded by Vladimir Lenin in 1912, is Press Day. On that day fairs, competitions and concerts are held in cities and towns across the country to acknowledge people working in the print media. Here's how the day is celebrated in Vilnius, capital of Lithuania.



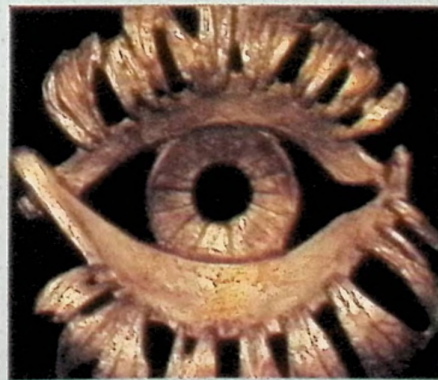
The staff of the youth paper Komjaunimo tiessa entertains with witty skits. Right: The start of a new trend?



At Worldpressphoto-86 Soviet photographers took an unprecedented four Gold Eyes and four gold medals. All of the winning photojournalists are with the Novosti Press Agency, some of whom, we're proud to say, work for SOVIET LIFE. Other winners are on pages 6, 34 and 45.



Alexander Makarov, 50, is a graduate of the drama directing department of the Moscow Institute of Culture. He also studied at a circus school and worked as a clown. Photography has been his love since age 11. Makarov started working with Novosti in 1962. His photographs have been entered in numerous national and international competitions, winning 52 awards, 40 gold. His work has been exhibited around the world. His series "Maya Plisetskaya: Forty Years in Ballet" won a Gold Eye at Worldpressphoto-86.



The coveted Gold Eye

gold eye winner



SOVIET NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES COVER THE GAMUT OF INTERESTS, FROM SOCCER TO ASTRONOMY, AND COOKING TOO.



OVER 100,000 PEOPLE WORK IN THE SOVIET MASS MEDIA. MOST HAVE RECEIVED THEIR TRAINING AT THE COUNTRY'S 24 SCHOOLS OF JOURNALISM.

ОГОНЬ

От дружбы
в спорте—
к миру
на Земле!



M

ore than 8,500 newspapers and 5,000 magazines, in 46 billion copies, are published in the Soviet Union annually. Each family subscribes, on the average, to six newspapers and magazines, spending three to five kopecks (four to eight cents) for an issue of a newspaper, 30 to 40 kopecks for an illustrated weekly and around one ruble for a thick monthly periodical.

Soviet newspapers are published in 54 of the languages spoken in the country and in nine foreign languages; the figures for magazines are 45 and 25, respectively.

Besides national, republic, regional, city and district publications, specific professions, such as writers, actors, artists and workers in public health, agriculture, education, construction, and so on, have their own newspapers and magazines. Technical and scholarly journals for use in research, medicine and industry, among others, are also published. Many plants, factories, colleges and research institutions put out their own publications.

All age and interest groups are represented in the Soviet press. Among toddlers, the magazine *Vesyolye kartinki* (*Merry Pictures*) is a favorite. Around 250 publications are geared to teenagers and youth. There are newspapers and magazines for stamp collectors, sports fans, handicrafters, nature lovers, movie buffs, fashion followers, among many others.

Trud (*Labor*), the trade union newspaper, has the largest circulation—about 19 million copies. Also very popular are the youth newspaper *Komol'skaya pravda*, with a circulation of 13.6 million, and the magazines *Zdorovye* (*Health*) and *Rabotnitsa* (*Working Woman*), each with a circulation of 16.5 million.

Two large agencies serve the domestic and foreign press. The TASS news agency, run by the government, has bureaus in 98 countries. The mass media of 126 countries use its photographs and reports.

The Novosti Press Agency (APN) represents Soviet public organizations. It works in cooperation with national and international information agencies, editorial boards, publishers and broadcasting companies in over 110 countries. Based on APN material, 29 Soviet monthlies, including *SOVIET LIFE*, 7 biweeklies, 10 weeklies and 166 news bulletins are published abroad.



AN ISSUE OF A NEWSPAPER COSTS FROM 3 TO 5 KOPECKS; AN ILLUSTRATED WEEKLY COSTS ABOUT 30 OR 40 KOPECKS.



gold eye winner



**HAPPY
EVENTS
CATEGORY**

Alexander Grashchenkov, 34, took up photography at the age of 15. Since graduating from the school of journalism of Moscow State University in 1977, he has been working for APN. Before that he was in charge of the photo studio associated with the Likhachev Auto Plant. Grashchenkov prefers the genre of photo reporting. The winner of the 1986 APN photography prize, Grashchenkov won a Gold Eye at Worldpressphoto-86 in the happy events category. His winning photograph is titled Be Happy and Healthy, Son.

CHERNOBYL UPDATE

THE CHERNOBYL nuclear accident has shown how necessary it is to be well prepared for even the least probable contingency. We must not be put to sleep by assessments of the dependability of engineering complexes that tell us the 'probability of system failure within a year is 0.0001.'" With this remark Victor Sidorenko, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, began an interview with SOVIET LIFE correspondent Pavel Antonov.

Q: Why do you still insist on calling the Chernobyl accident an improbable occurrence?

A: Because the safety of an atomic energy source depends on many levels of authority and many safeguards. The accident was the result of a long succession of factors, such as the irresponsibility, negligence, incompetence and technological indiscipline of the operating staff. On the night of April 25, 1986, they started an experiment in criminal violation of procedural rules.

Q: What kind of unfortunate experiment was that?

A: In a nutshell, the events went like this. When the turbines are cut off from the reactor, they keep on revolving under their own momentum, and the generators keep on producing energy for a time. The staff decided to test a device that would get more energy from a turbine that slows down.

But turbogenerators don't just turn, they also work, giving off energy. To consume that energy, the workers decided to use the pumps driving water through the channels of about 1,700 uranium fuel elements. To let the experiment proceed unobstructed, they disconnected the reactor's automatic safety system without taking any additional safety precautions. That was the technological error in the experiment.

The turbine slowed down, tension dropped, and the pumps eased off so that the water they pumped carried away less and less heat from the reactor. But the reactor continued working, and the water began to boil: More and more steam built up in some of the channels—the main cause of an impending disaster. The reactor's power jumped, heating the fuel rods still more and converting the remaining water into steam, which produced a power surge. The pressure in the reactor core increased instantly, causing a steam explosion that ruined the reactor and damaged the containment building. It sent into the air some of the radioactive debris that had built up in the reactor during the three years it had been in operation.

Q: Can you give the actual magnitude of that spill? Some people in the West, for example, claimed that the radioactive fallout from Chernobyl was 400 times that from the atomic bomb blast in Hiroshima.

A: There has to be a more specific approach to making such comparisons and conclusions, as I see it. A bomb going off releases a tremendous amount of energy, including the lethal hard radiation. Let's figure it out. The bombs that went off at Hiroshima and Nagasaki had an equivalent of 20,000 tons of TNT. In Chernobyl the equivalent was just a few tons—that is, a few thousandths of those blasts. The initial harmful effect is proportional to the intensity of the explosion.

An idea of the atmospheric pollution caused by the long-lived element Cesium-137 is provided by medical statistics. The Chernobyl disaster left 28 dead. Scores of thousands were thoroughly examined, and 200 were found to suffer from radioactive overexposure. The potential threat from long-lived elements could have been serious if more than a hundred thousand people hadn't been evacuated from the danger zone.

Q: Couldn't the accident have developed into an atomic explosion?

A: No, it couldn't have, as a matter of fact. For an atomic explosion to take place, a chain reaction must involve the entire mass of the uranium in the reactor. But the system's design made that impossible. Fissile uranium does not lie there in a solid block; it is broken up into a host of separately housed rods.

Q: But I remember there was a sigh of relief when some specialists said at news conferences and in interviews in mid-May—that is, about three weeks after the accident—"The terrible danger we feared no longer exists." What was that danger?

A: It was that the explosion ruined the reactor and released a certain amount of radiation.

Q: How much?

A: About three per cent of the fuel stock was discharged. Some five tons of nuclear fuel, out of a total of 180 tons in the reactor, were used up. That is, there were still 97 per cent of the rods in the damaged reactor, and the release of residual heat continued. The danger was that if the temperature exceeded 2,800 degrees, the melting point for uranium dioxide, as it melted down, it would get into the ground and contaminate subterranean waters. Therefore, when the temperature ceased to rise, everybody breathed a little easier.

“Common sense dictates that scrapping nuclear weapons can avert a worldwide accident. War, a concept the human mind invented, must never again be anything but a concept.”

Q: What's the state of the entombed reactor now?

A: The radioactivity of the fissile material coming out with the air is one-tenth of the level at operational nuclear power plants. The damaged unit has a boron dissipation system installed to stop a spontaneous chain reaction. But there probably will be no need to use it. By mid-January the temperature inside the sealed reactor had dropped to 130 degrees and was continuing to fall.

Q: What's the service life of atomic power plants?

A: When the first plants were built, experts believed they would be operational for 20 years. Now it's obvious that modern stations, like those that are still on the drawing board and those under construction, will be in operation two or two and a half times as long.

Q: Suppose an atomic complex has been operating for 50 years or more. What will happen to it then?

A: This will be a big problem before long, and it is already under discussion. Three possibilities arise related to economic considerations.

The first option is to scrap the reactors, unload the fuel and keep the complex as it is. The advantage is that you don't have to do anything beyond locking up the plant. The negative thing is that you would have to keep a close watch on it for decades. The second is to remove the contaminated structures and refit the remainder of the premises for other uses. The good aspect of

that solution is that there would be no useless relics of the early atomic age. And the third possibility is to dismantle the building altogether, decontaminate the site and use it subsequently without any further restrictions.

Majority opinion today favors the first option—that is, mothballing the plant for several decades and then preparing the site for further use.

Q: Are the plants built in the West relatively safer than ours?

A: The United States, France, the Federal Republic of Germany and Japan are mass-producing vessel reactors whose safety features do not differ in degree from the Soviet reactors.

Two atomic power plants with vessel reactors under construction in the Soviet Union already incorporate many concepts that greatly enhance their safety. We have no qualms about building them in the vicinity of big cities. That is to say, Soviet specialists are well ahead of their Western colleagues in this respect.

Q: In conclusion, will you comment, please, on the lessons of Chernobyl? Hans Blix, director general of the International Atomic Energy Agency [IAEA], said: "It's deplorable that it should have taken such an accident to bring us together."

A: Of course this has been a common misfortune, but it has been ours above all. Twenty-eight people died; many had to leave their homes. But it's up to everybody to draw a positive lesson from this mishap.

The first, often-repeated conclusion is that humanity has conjured up forces such as these, which can very well get out of control. No system or technology is absolutely safe. Common sense dictates that scrapping nuclear weapons can avert a worldwide accident. War, a concept the human mind invented, must never again be anything but a concept.

The second conclusion is that this type of energy requires a high degree of technological competence because of its potential danger. The only way to achieve that level of competence is through combined efforts. Accidents harm everyone, directly with radioactive contamination, and indirectly by undermining the confidence of the general public in atomic energy, a major resource for the foreseeable future. The loss of national confidence means winding up the programs under way and opting for other energy sources at great cost and sacrifice.

The closer cooperation of the IAEA countries following the Chernobyl disaster led the organization's general conference to adopt unanimously two documents—the convention on early notification of a nuclear accident and the convention on assistance in the case of a nuclear accident. Incidentally, the Soviet Union was the first to ratify these conventions.

The IAEA, based on the data provided by the Soviet Union, prepared a report drawn up by 500 experts from almost all countries. The scope and nature of the report created greater confidence in Soviet machinery and technology in general and in the Soviet nuclear industry in particular. The result is thus a paradox. On the one hand, there has been a most disastrous accident with tragic consequences. On the other hand, a concerted effort to avert a still greater disaster, full public disclosure, honesty and candor have outweighed the impact of the disaster, earning respect for the potentialities of the Soviet Union and its technological versatility. That is not my own judgment; it is that of our Western partners.

Another thing about the lessons of Chernobyl. There is an old truth that those who fail to learn the lessons of the past may well be destined to repeat them. So we must learn our lessons well indeed.

Olga Monakhova, who works in the Mail Department, picks up another envelope from a huge pile. The letter is from Pskov Region (northwest Russia), and out of it Monakhova takes two copies of the newspaper *Za kommunizm* (*For Communism*). The small-sized pages of the district newspaper are accompanied by a short note written by Alexander Dubkov, a road builder: "I'm sending you these two issues for comparison—in the hope that truth will prevail."

What had happened? A regional seminar for workers in public catering was being held in the settlement of Strugi-Krasnyye, where *Za kommunizm* is published. The journalist who wrote about the seminar noted that the service sector, which is, alas, far from perfect, was functioning literally above par while the seminar was in progress. His appraisal of the situation was cutting enough: "embellishment of reality," "preplanned falsification by management."

But the issue of the paper containing this report did not appear. Another one was printed, much more flattering to the management.

Olga Monakhova learned all this from the reader's letter. *Pravda* published a photograph of both issues of *Za kommunizm* (the one that had been destroyed by order of the local party functionaries and the one that had actually appeared under the heading "Reprisal for Criticism").

The more orthodox people naturally resented *Pravda's* doing in of party functionaries, even if they had been wrong. In the meantime, Monakhova received a bonus for her accurate appraisal of the reader's letter and swift reaction. A special decision of the editorial board on the matter showed that there could be no compromising on the paper's responsibility to readers.

The post office that serves *Pravda* twice a day delivers mail by the sackful, which translates into 1,500 to 2,000 letters a day, or about 50,000 a month or over 500,000 a year.

"Our mail differs from that of other papers," said Victor Grishin, *Pravda* Mail Department editor. "Not in quantity, that's not the point. Other papers, for instance, can announce a contest for a hockey tournament emblem or something like that, and the readers will literally flood them with letters. But if we did anything of the kind, our readers would be surprised. For them, *Pravda* is a very special paper in the highest sense of the word. That can be traced to its very name [*pravda* in Russian

means "truth"—Ed.], which is one of the fundamental concepts of humankind—bread, land, truth. And when readers start talking to us, they speak about life.

"I once mentioned that to a foreign journalist when his TV company was shooting a film about *Pravda*. He suggested we conduct an experiment: 'Let's take a stack of fresh mail that has just come in. You pick out three letters at random and read them right in front of the camera. That'll be proof of your words.'

"I nodded bravely," continued Grishin, "though when I shoved my hand into the sack, my heart did skip a beat. I fished out the first letter: a worker's thoughts on whether or not the United Nations fully realized all its possibilities in the present-day world. The second letter: a Leningrad reader's comments on one of our articles. The third letter: a reader's suggestions on how to stop alcoholism. Seems to me a clean victory."

The editorial statistics for one month are: letters printed—around 500; responses received to various publications—1,035. The second figure can be both larger or considerably smaller, while the number of letters printed stays more or less the same—6,000 to 7,000 letters appear on the pages of the newspaper annually.

They're published on different pages and in different columns. "From the Latest Mail" is a column that usually appears on the front page—it includes the most important letters, touching on burning issues. "From Our Mailbag" is a review of letters that shows various points of view on one issue or another—say, bringing up teenagers, family affairs, free time, etc. "Followup on Letters" is the result of a business trip undertaken on a reader's suggestion. The eight journalists who make up the literary group of the Mail Department are practically never found together in the office—they're constantly traveling to addresses prompted by readers.

About once a month *Pravda* devotes a whole page (1,000 lines) to letters. The page carries the headline "Our Readers' Letters: Frankly Speaking." Here are a few examples.

The director of an aircraft factory writes about the experience of his plant, which, he thinks, might be of interest to others. The newspaper follows up with an article on how the participation of workers in the distribution of profits is affecting the quality of output and the performance of the plant as a whole.

A woman who works at a chemical association is troubled by the fact that the top leaders of that industry are concerned more with the construction and commissioning of new facilities than with purification systems for them.

A private car owner who is dissatisfied with the repair work of a service station suggests: "I'm a specialist on problems of management, and I am ready to help the ministry—on my own time and free of charge—in making the chain 'consumer-enterprise-ministry' really efficient."

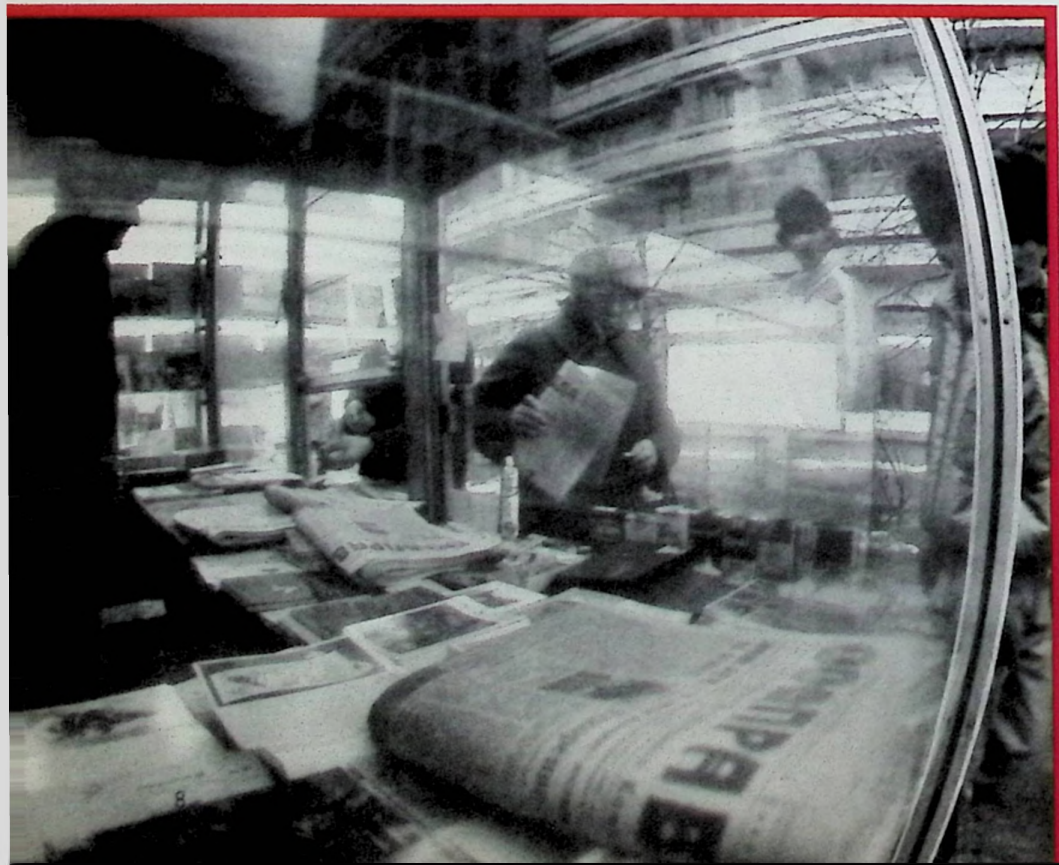
A woman pensioner expresses her joy: "After the decree on the fight against heavy drinking was issued, the liquor-selling spots in our town began to gradually disappear. And do you know how much nicer the town has become without the drunken stupor it used to be immersed in! My son, too, hasn't touched a drop for over a year now. Before, when he used to set off for the public bathhouse, I would be very nervous, for I knew he'd come back tipsy. Now they've opened a sports complex next to the bathhouse, and my son has taken up swimming. I can't tell you how happy these changes have made me! Not only because of my son. I'm happy for all young people."

A teacher complains that the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences is holding up publication of a textbook he has written.

A state farm director has a gripe against the press: "You usually pounce only on the administration. At times readers can get the impression that the director is the Big Bad Wolf, and the worker, Little Red Riding Hood. But the director has to shoulder such great responsibilities, and this is a fact too. In the meantime, everyone must bear responsibility for his or her assignment at their place of work."

A young girl whose parents have just divorced writes about her fear that she might not be able to keep up her friendship with her father.

In a word, people write to *Pravda* about life. ▶





ПРАВДА

THE NEWSPAPER *PRAVDA* WAS FOUNDED BY VLADIMIR LENIN EXACTLY 75 YEARS AGO. TODAY IT COMES OUT DAILY IN SIX (EIGHT ON MONDAYS) PAGES. IT HAS THE FOURTH LARGEST NEWSPAPER CIRCULATION IN THE USSR—OVER 11,000,000—BUT IN INFLUENCE IT IS SECOND TO NONE. ITS STATUS AS THE CENTRAL ORGAN OF THE RULING COMMUNIST PARTY ALONE CANNOT EXPLAIN ITS PRESTIGE. IT HAS TO BE PROVED TO THE READER EVERY SINGLE DAY. THE BAROMETER FOR THE EDITORIAL OFFICE IS THE MAIL RECEIVED FROM ITS READERS.



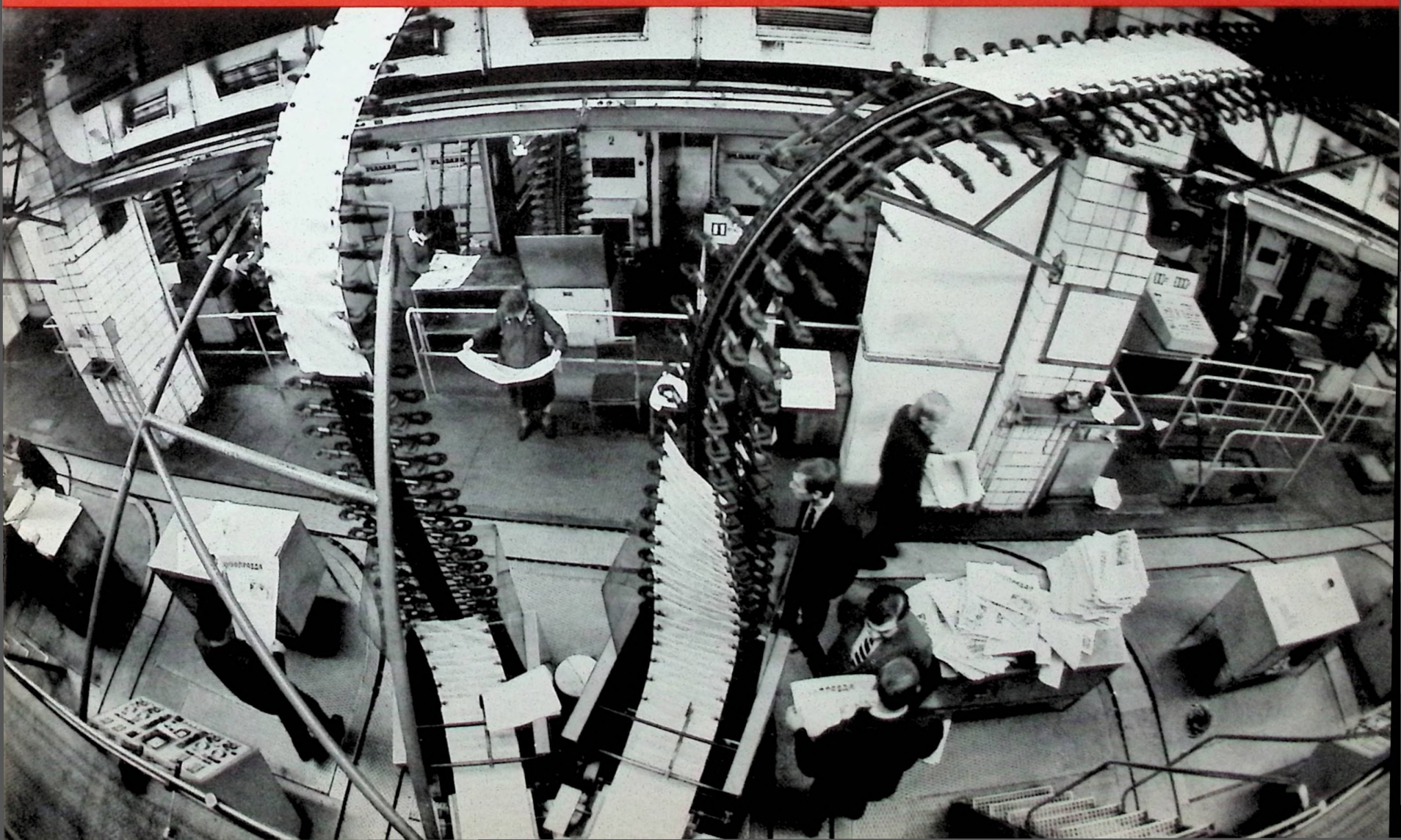
Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the founder of Pravda.

ADDRESS:

«*PRAVDA*», MOSCOW...

By Genrietta Repinskaya

Photographs by Alexander Grashchenkov



PEOPLE WRITE TO PRAVDA ABOUT LIFE

The post office that serves Pravda twice a day delivers mail by the sackful, which translates into 1,500 to 2,000 letters a day, or about 50,000 a month or over 500,000 a year.

The column "Opinions' Crossroads" invites readers' comments and ideas on questions whose answers are at best unknown.

There's nothing at all paradoxical in this wording. While an answer may be unknown, people continue to search for it. And as it sometimes happens at the crossroads of opinions, a seemingly satisfactory answer begins to be questioned again.

In the late 1970s heated debates on the shortage of water in the Central Asian republics and on the shallowing of the Caspian Sea led to the idea that part of the waters of the northern and Siberian rivers could be diverted southward. Non-specialists are still wondering how this possibility could have turned into a necessity, and the idea into a project. But work did get under way.

Merely questioning its justification would be tantamount to doubting the prestige and competence of some responsible and knowledgeable people. Besides, tremendous amounts of money had already been invested in the project. What could outweigh that?

Believe it or not, it was the letters—hundreds of them—that *Pravda* has received: letters from workers, housewives, writers and scientists expressing doubts about the expediency of the project and voicing apprehensions that the resulting damage could be far bigger than the benefits.

True, *Pravda* took the side of the skeptics not without reservation. When the original decision was made, there had been little publicity and no account was taken of opposing views. The paper now saw its duty in rectifying this error. That is why the "Opinions' Crossroads" page had two categories of letters printed right next to each other: one from a group of passionate advocates of the project, headed by Grigori Voopyayev, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and president of the Scientific Council on Problems of the Caspian Sea; and the other from its no less passionate opponents, headed by Academician Abel Aganbegyan.

The position of the paper itself was presented in the following words of Karl Marx: People who make use of the land must, as good heads of the family, leave it improved for the coming generations.

The staff of the Mail Department was fully justified when, on a stand next to the newspaper page, it put up the decision of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on terminating the work on diverting part of the waters of the northern and Siberian rivers. This decision was adopted six months later, and *Pravda* published it on its front page, the place befitting decisions of great importance. The readers who did not hesitate to voice their opinion on that controversial issue were twice rewarded: They contributed to making it happen.

Actually, however, a similar decision could also have been published in a different spot—the newspaper's regular feature called "*Pravda* Raised the Question. What Has Been Done?"

This is one of the "driest" and most businesslike columns in the paper. Written in a very official style, it contains material written by people or organizations explaining what has been done, or is being done, to overcome shortcomings and to remedy mistakes that the paper has made public.

Hardly a single critical publication in *Pravda* remains unnoticed or unanswered, and even the shortest of letters can raise a real storm. That happened, for instance, with Lyudmila Lisina's letter.

Lisina, a schoolteacher from Shelekhov, a town in Siberia, was strolling in the suburban woods. Suddenly she saw a dump of chemical waste in a clearing. She went to the procurator's office and reported the outrageous instance of mismanagement and the manifestation of a barbarous attitude toward nature. At the procurator's office she was assured that the guilty would be found and punished. Yet nothing was done. Lisina appealed to the public inspection bodies and the local press—with about the same result. True, the local television station showed pictures of the dump in the woods and the militia solemnly promised to find out who had done it. Still, nothing was done. After that Lisina wrote to *Pravda*.



THE NEWSPAPER

Clockwise from top left: Pravda editorial offices. The Agricultural



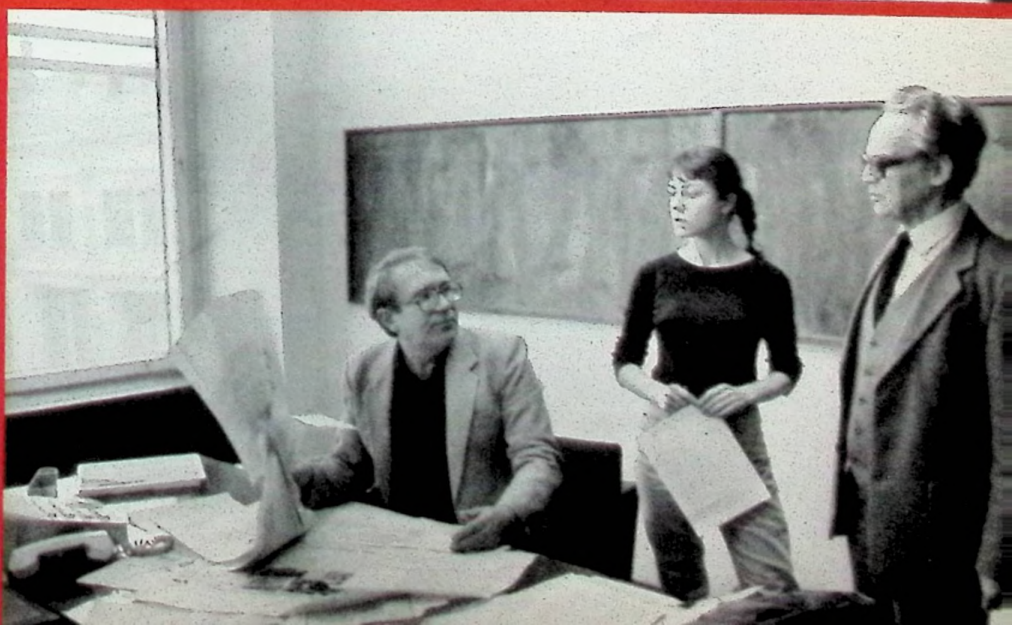


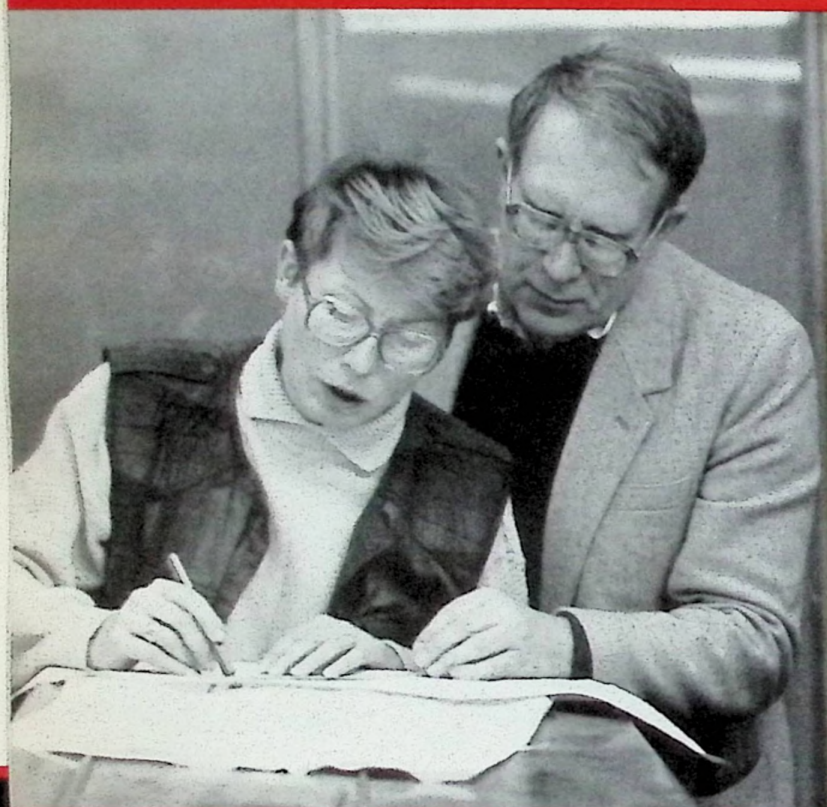
Department in session.
Alexander Ilyin, first deputy

managing editor. Vladimir
Ryashin, editor in charge of

an issue. The International
Information Department. Last-

minute changes on proofs.
Victor Afanasyev, editor in chief.





Clockwise from top left:
The Mail Department. Sergei

Boganko, correspondent.
Teletypes run day and night.

Natalya Mishina and an editor
in charge of an issue.

AND THE PEOPLE WHO MAKE

Pravda's reaction was different. A member of the editorial staff took the labels of the containers, which the reader had sent in, to a chemical laboratory, where he learned that almost everything in that dump could be recycled and put to use. The officials whom *Pravda* then contacted had no difficulty in finding the guilty party and establishing the degree of responsibility of each of the people to whom Lisina had appealed locally. As a result, some of the executives in the Shelekhov Procurator's Office, in the militia, at the local metallurgical works, at the town's sanitary-epidemic station, on the public inspection committee and at the local newspaper were relieved of their posts, and various disciplinary measures were applied to others.

It is worth mentioning that all of the people who were punished were party members, while Lisina was not. As a matter of fact, many of *Pravda's* readers are nonparty members.

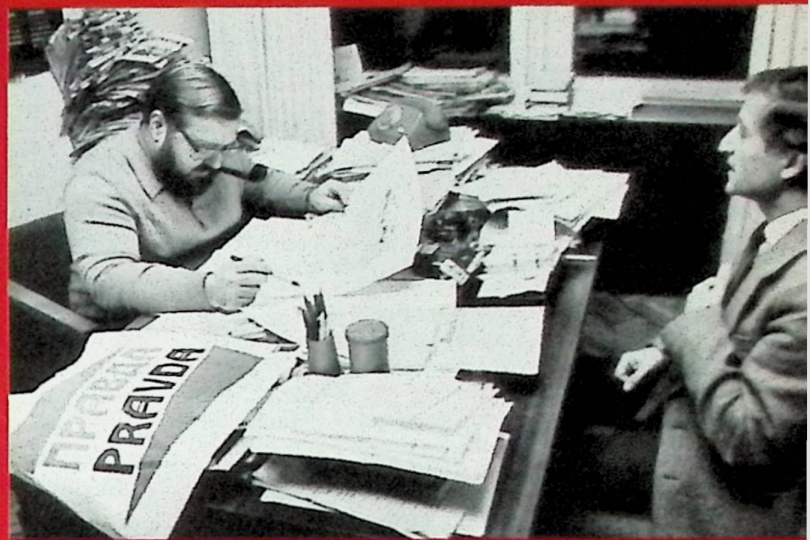
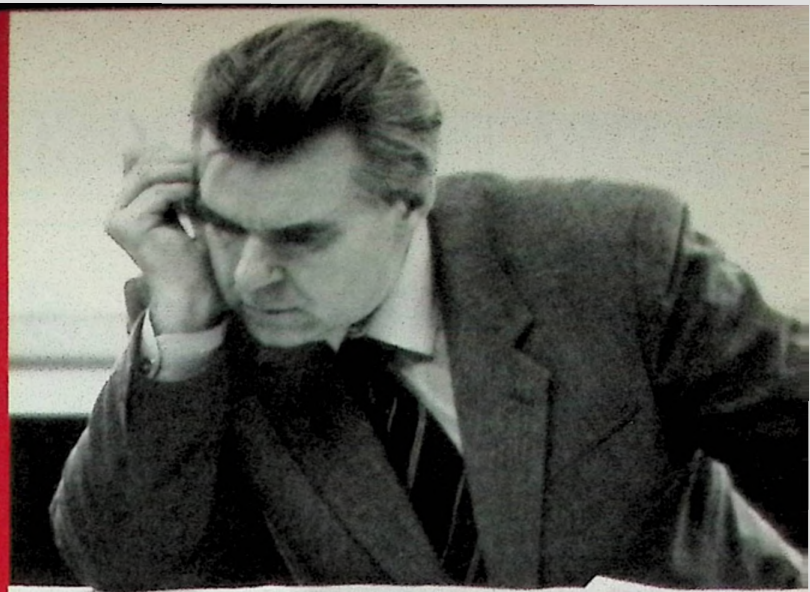
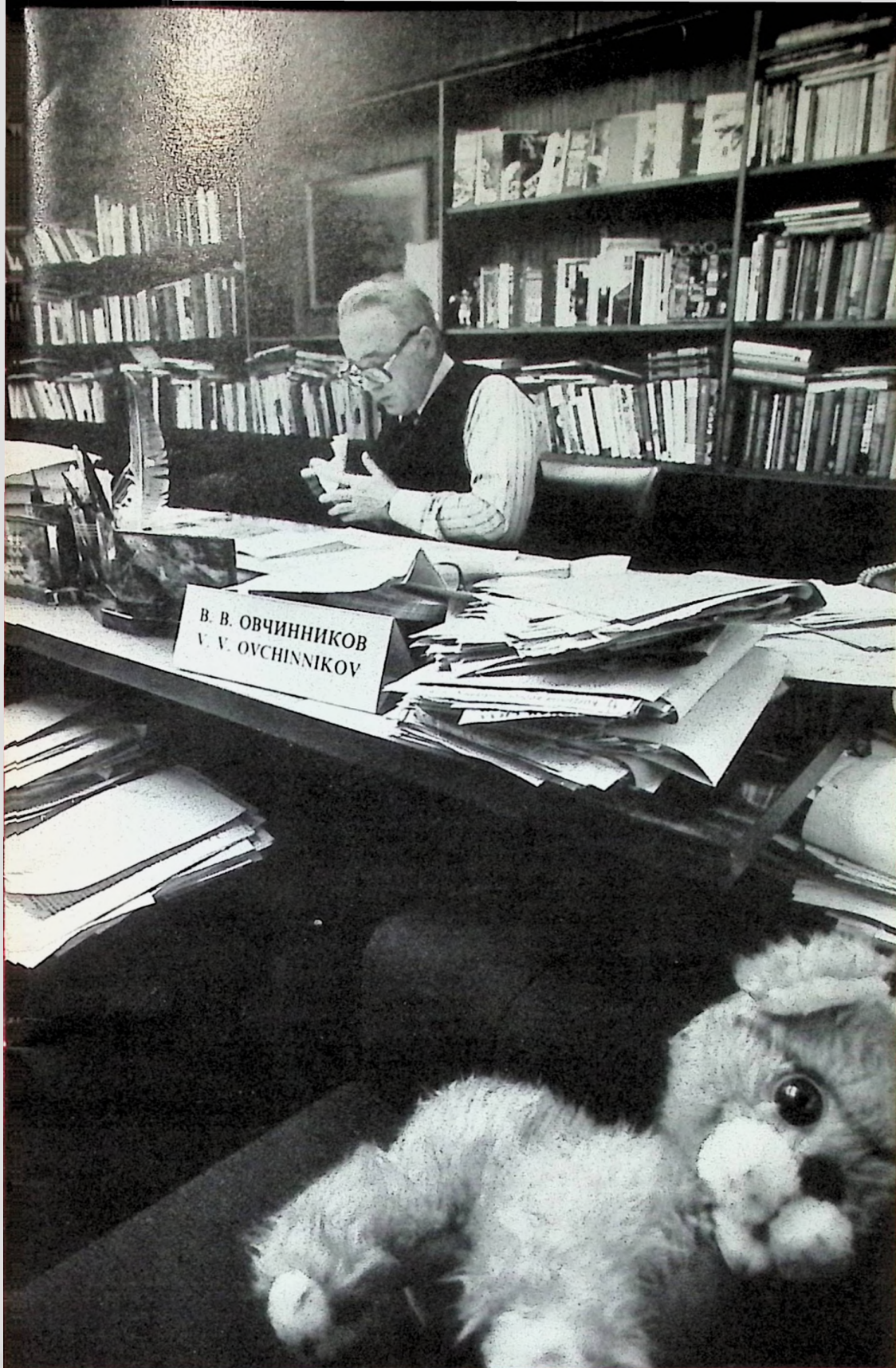
Now let's go back to what we started off with—the incident centering on an issue in a local newspaper that had been destroyed. Exactly a month after the letter arrived at *Pravda*, the

public catering officials who had distorted the true picture of services in Strugi-Krasnyye were sternly reprimanded. The paper reported that news on its pages. This moral punishment, which is an expression of public disapproval, leads to tangible material repercussions as well. A reprimand may be reason enough to deprive a worker of a bonus that would otherwise be due to him for good work. It may also result in delaying his promotion, put a person back to the bottom of a waiting list for an apartment, and so forth.

An interesting fact is that often the paper publishes reports on measures taken in answer to letters that have never appeared on its pages.

Letters may not be published for different reasons. Sometimes readers write about the very same things that have recently been dealt with in the newspaper. Or some things may be extremely important for the reader, yet of little public interest. Finally, it is simply impossible to publish every letter *Pravda* receives.

But all letters that require answers get them. *Pravda* forwards letters to the heads of organizations that would be responsible



IT

Vsevolod Ovchinnikov, political analyst. Far right,

top to bottom: Vladimir Kozhemyko, editor of the

Inner-Party Affairs Department. Vladimir

Mudragel, science editor (left). Taking a break.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

I asked the editor of the Mail Department to whom the editorial office addresses reviews of the letters. "To whom it may concern—up to the General Secretary."

for any corresponding action. Both *Pravda* and those to whom it sends such letters work in accordance with the same law, the Decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which determines the procedure and responsibility for studying working people's proposals, appeals and complaints. The deadline for providing an answer to a letter is 30 days. Violations of the procedure for considering proposals, applications and complaints are punishable up to legal action in the case of actions of officials that inflict considerable damage to state or public interests or to the interests of citizens.

Pravda's Mail Department, just like the mail departments of every other Soviet newspaper, is one of the largest. It has a staff of 61—management, journalists and technical employees, including over 30 people who read the letters.

The daily mail includes answers to letters that the editorial office forwards to the officials so that the facts can be checked and action taken. The decree I have mentioned above specifies that the persons to whom complaints are sent by newspapers should report back on what has been done. These answers must be thoroughly studied in order to establish whether the

approach to the letter had not been formal and the answer not written merely for its own sake.

But the duties of a member of the Mail Department's staff are not limited to this.

In 1922 Vladimir Lenin, the head of the Soviet Government, wrote a note to Vyacheslav Karpinsky, the editor of the newspaper *Bednota* (*The Poor*). That letter was published:

Would you write to me briefly (two-three pages maximum) how many letters come from the peasants to *Bednota*?

What is important (particularly important) and new in these letters?

The moods? The topical subjects?

Couldn't I receive such letters once a month?

I asked Victor Grishin, *Pravda's* editor of the Mail Department, to whom the editorial office addresses reviews of the letters on various problems (such reviews, I had been told, are prepared on a regular basis). "To whom it may concern—up to the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee," Grishin answered. ■

the bronze soldier By Victor Dalmatov and Vladimir Kostyukovsky Photographs by Yuri Sergeev

On May 9 we celebrate the happiest holiday on our calendar—victory over nazi Germany in World War II. In Berlin's Treptow Park there is a monument commemorating that day. A Soviet soldier stands high on a pedestal, cleaving the loathsome nazi swastika in two with a sword in one hand and pressing a little German girl against his shoulder with the other. The monument was erected in honor of the Soviet soldiers who fought to save the world from nazism.

Many people have seen the statue, but not everyone may know that the towering bronze figure is based on a real-life person—World War II veteran, former Soviet Army sergeant, Nikolai Masalov, who now lives in the small town of Tyazhinskiy, Kemerovo Region, Western Siberia.

Marshal Vasili Chuykov wrote the following in his memoirs:

Nikolai Masalov marched 2,500 kilometers of war roads shoulder to shoulder with his comrades. He served in the 8th Guards Army, which was under my command. He fought against the German troops assaulting Stalingrad. He saw action on Mamayev Hill as an artillery private, became a machine gunner when we were fighting in the northern Donets Region and commanded a platoon during the forging of the Dnieper River. He was first wounded on the Dniester spearhead, then wounded again four months later during the forced crossing of the Vistula, but he remained within the ranks and marched the distance from the Vistula to the Oder with his head in bandages.

In the center of Berlin, during the closing battles in Europe, he rescued a little German girl from death. Later his feat, like the valor and courage of all Soviet soldiers, was immortalized by Soviet sculptor Yevgeni Vuchetich in the statue erected in Treptow Park.

"There were six children in our peasant family—two girls and four boys," began Nikolai Masalov. "All my brothers fought in the war; all were wounded but all returned alive. We were lucky. Before the war we lived here, in Siberia, in a nearby village. The region is abundant and picturesque, with a river and forests all around. After high school I worked as a tractor operator on a collective farm. In June 1941, when the Nazis attacked our country, all the men in the village joined the army. I did too. I was 19 years old.

"I remember my first engagement; my best friend Ivan was killed. I wept bitterly over losing him. I was not aware of the horrors that still lay ahead—bodies of children on the side of the road, charred corpses of people who had been burned alive in barns and smoldering villages.

"I remember Stalingrad. I took part in defending it from the first day of fighting until the last. The city was turned to rubble from bombs and shells, and it was in this rubble that we fought. Once I was nearly buried alive. I was shell-shocked and covered with earth. I screamed at the top of my lungs, and I was lucky that my buddies heard me.

"I survived but was wounded many times. Near Lublin, Poland, I came under the fire of a large-caliber machine gun and took three bullets—two in the leg and one in the chest. I crawled for a long time—I don't remember how long. I was picked up the next morning and sent to a hospital. Six weeks later I caught up with my regiment, which was already engaged on the Vistula.

"Then came Germany and the fighting in Berlin. On the eve of the storming of the Reichstag, our commander called us together. We thought he was going to brief us about the offensive, but



A May 1985 photograph of Nikolai Masalov with a little friend, Fritz Zeiske, from the German Democratic Republic. Masalov is the World War II veteran on whom the monument (right) to the Soviet liberator-soldiers in Berlin is based.

instead he spoke about Germany and Berlin. He reminded us about the city's great historical and cultural traditions, and said that the Nazis did not compose the entire German nation. He told us that Berlin had to be saved as well as taken. It had to live on after that. Sure enough, when we attacked, I heard a child crying.

"The Germans had the square under machine gun fire, but I managed to dash across to the spot where the sounds were coming from. I saw a pretty blond woman lying dead. She'd been shot in the back by the SS. The fiends didn't want anyone to escape and survive, even their own. A girl of about three was pressed to her side crying: 'Mutti, Mutti—'

"The only thing I remember is that the little girl was wearing a polka-dot dress. She stopped crying the moment I picked her up. I carried her to a safe place and left her in the care of an old German woman, who was hiding in the entrance way of the neighboring building. Why should the child perish? I thought. After all, we were fighting the war so that kindness and justice would prevail. I rejoined my fighting comrades."

"After the Big Three Conference in Potsdam in the summer of 1945," sculptor Yevgeni Vuchetich reminisced, "I was summoned by Marshal Kliment Voroshilov. He suggested that I prepare a draft for a memorial ensemble dedicated to the victory over nazi Germany. One of the people present suggested that since Joseph Stalin had signed the Potsdam Declaration on behalf of the Soviet Union, the focal point of the ensemble should be a statue of Stalin, life-size and cast in bronze, holding a map of Europe or a globe.

"I fulfilled the commission in no time. Artists and sculptors praised the central figure, but I wasn't satisfied. I felt that I should look for another solution. Then I remembered the accounts of how Soviet soldiers had rescued German children from the zone of fire during the storming of Berlin. So I went to Berlin and met the soldiers. Among the group was Nikolai Masalov. I made sketches of all of them and took hundreds of photographs. That is when I got the idea for the central figure: a soldier holding a child against his chest. I molded a meter-high figure of a soldier standing on the swastika. He carried a machine gun in his right hand and a little girl in his left arm.



"When the time came for me to display both drafts in the Kremlin, members of the artistic council concentrated their attention on the statue that had been commissioned and paid no attention to the second variation. When Stalin appeared, he walked around the table on which the two models stood. Knitting his brows, he said, pointing his pipe at the 1.5-meter-high figure of himself: 'Listen, Vuchetich, aren't you fed up with the guy with the mustache?'

"Puffing on his pipe, Stalin examined the second variation, the figure of the soldier, from all sides, walking around it several times.

"This is the soldier we are going to put in the center of Berlin. Let this giant in bronze, this victor, hold the little girl, a symbol of the hope of the nations liberated from nazism."

"Then, turning to me, he said:

"Only the machine gun should be replaced by something else, you know, Vuchetich. A machine gun is a vulgar object of our day; whereas, the monument will stand for centuries. Put something more symbolic, a sword, for instance, in his hand. Make the soldier split the swastika with it. The sword will be lowered, but woe to those who force him to raise it. Don't you agree?'

"I had no objections.

"It took 7,000 men more than three years to build the memorial, which occupies 280,000 square meters. The ensemble required a variety of materials too: ferrous and nonferrous metals, including bronze, thousands of cubic meters of granite and marble. How did they manage to get all that? The problem was solved by sheer accident. An emaciated German, just released from a Gestapo prison, came up to the builders and said that he knew the whereabouts of a secret store of granite and marble a hundred kilometers outside Berlin on the bank of the Oder River. He himself had helped to unload it. On Hitler's orders, piles of marble had been set aside for the construction of a monument to victory over Russia. But history had turned the tables on Hitler."

Meanwhile, Nikolai Masalov returned to his home town in Siberia after leaving his autograph on the wall of the Reichstag. His war-ravished land was suffering from a shortage of food. He went to work driving a tractor, but his wounds caused him too much pain. So he took a job as a property manager at a kindergarten in Ty-

'WE FLEW IN THE SAME SKY, LEON!'

By Vladimir Roshchenko
Hero of the Soviet Union



Vladimir Roshchenko (right): "My commander and I had our picture taken as a memento. Perhaps my comrade in arms will recognize himself and write to me."

zhinskiy. He liked the work because he loved children, and they grew to love him. In time, he got married and raised a family.

As for his "connection" with the monument in Treptow Park, neither he nor his fellow townspeople knew about it for some time. This is what he says about it: "I bought a box of matches once and glanced at the cover—it had Yevgeni Vuchetich's monument to the liberator-soldiers on it. I remembered that the sculptor had visited our unit and sketched me. But the face of the statue wasn't mine; it was another man's. It never occurred to me that the monument reflected the battle around the Reichstag. It wasn't until later that I learned that Marshal Vasili Chuykov had told the sculptor about it."

Today Nikolai Masalov is quite a celebrity in his home town. Every day the mailman brings him letters from different parts of the country, and many people stop by to see him. When we paid him a visit, we met Beata Zeiske, a visiting journalist from the German Democratic Republic. She had received Masalov's address from colleagues at the Kemerovo TV Studio.

"I was so excited at the prospect of meeting him," said Zeiske. "In my mind he was still a strong young man, a heroic soldier, because I've become so used to the monument in Treptow Park. When I saw him, I realized that he is an elderly man, the same age as my father. We have tried to find the little girl that Masalov rescued in Berlin. After we announced it in the press and broadcast it on TV, we received responses from 198 women. All of them had been saved from bullets and hunger by Soviet soldiers in Berlin alone. I have heard and read of many other instances of Soviet soldiers feeding German children, bringing bread to the children's homes. I know it would be wrong to link the image of the liberator-soldier with Nikolai Masalov alone because it is a monument to hundreds and thousands of noble-hearted men. But when I saw Masalov, the monument acquired new life and became dearer to me."

The Municipality of Greater Berlin has decided to make Nikolai Masalov an honorary citizen of the city.

Courtesy of the newspaper *Sovetskaya Rossiya*

During World War II the U.S. Air Force carried out shuttle operations using air bases in the Soviet Union, Great Britain, Italy and North Africa. Aircraft took off from fields in Great Britain or Italy, flew to Germany, Hungary or Rumania, dropped their bombs and then landed on airfields in either the Soviet Union or North Africa. After refueling, flights were made in the opposite direction.

Shuttle operations involving Soviet air bases were carried out from June 2 to late September 1944 based on an arrangement between the Soviet Premier, Joseph Stalin, and the U.S. President, Franklin D. Roosevelt. A special airport center in the Ukraine (comprising the airfields of Poltava, Mirgorod and Piryatin) was prepared to handle the shuttle operations.

All in all, the Soviet air bases serviced 1,030 American airplanes, which performed 2,207 sorties and dropped about 2,000 tons of bombs onto 13 large enemy targets.

By the end of September 1944 Soviet troops had advanced far to the west, and the Allied troops had moved eastward, making shuttle operations no longer necessary.

Not long ago SOVIET LIFE received a letter from Leon Blanding, in Sumter, South Carolina, saying that he would like to establish contact with a Soviet World War II veteran who participated in the so-called shuttle operations. Presented here is USSR Air Force Colonel (Ret.) Vladimir Roshchenko's reply.

Leon,

I am one of those whom you could have met during the war.

In June 1944 several other fliers and I were taken from our combat regiments and sent to Poltava. We were temporarily attached to a U.S. Strategic Air Force group, which was conducting shuttle flights.

I remember when the first aircraft with white stars on their wings—the markings of the U.S. Air Force—landed at Poltava Airfield, and we were introduced to the crews.

I became the navigator of the lead airplane. The other members of the crew were young and

sturdily-built guys, who wore their military uniforms with elegant negligence. Before the first flight they offered me an armored vest, which protected the breast, stomach and back from small fragments.

My colleague in navigation was of Irish descent. I knew only a few words of English, but we had no trouble understanding each other on the job. As I plotted the course to the target, he looked at the map from over my shoulder, clicking his tongue and repeating clearly, "Okay!"

Our bomber was the first to take off. The others followed at 30-second intervals. The aircraft assembled in close formation and headed for their targets.

We attacked the enemy targets, leaving the Rumanian oil fields in flames behind us, and headed for Italy. Now it was the American navigator's turn to plot the route. Our group reached Foggia Air Base in Italy without any losses.

For two months I took part in the missions as a member of the American crew. Once we were given an urgent assignment to find enemy ships in the area of Naples. We came upon some Nazi ships, which immediately launched a barrage. Our engine and right wing were hit and caught fire.

The copilot was badly wounded and lost consciousness. I replaced him at the controls since I had experience in flying heavy airplanes. When we somehow managed to reach land, the crew commander ordered me to bail out with a parachute. I refused, saying: "I'm a representative of a great Allied power, and I only obey orders from the Soviet command." He shook his fist at me but didn't argue. The two of us dragged our badly injured "Flying Fortress" back to the air base.

Once we landed, the copilot was immediately rushed into surgery, and the doctors saved his life.

I befriended the crew, especially the commander. With a serious face he would introduce me to others as "a great Allied power" and would then mention the number of sorties I had made. The point is that the usual norm for the American fliers was roughly 20 missions. I, however, had participated in about 300 sorties—a figure that really wowed the Americans. But they fought boldly, honestly and selflessly against our common enemy. Many of them did not live to see V-Day.

I eventually received orders to return to my regiment. But before parting from the crew, I had my picture taken with the commander, but I can't recall his name after so many years. That's why I've asked SOVIET LIFE to publish this photograph. Perhaps my comrade in arms will recognize himself and write to me. Maybe you know him, Leon?

When the American airmen and I were saying good-by, we all promised to remember our friendship and to strengthen it.

Please write to me. I will be glad to hear from you.

Sincerely yours,

Vladimir Roshchenko
Hero of the Soviet Union

My address is as follows:

V. F. Roshchenko
30/32 Zemlyachka Street
Block 6, Apt. 21
113184 Moscow
USSR

reforms in

PROGRESS

A

n ECO reporter recently interviewed Leonid Abalkin, corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and head of its Institute of Economics.

Q: Many of the economic problems being tackled today arose quite a while ago. Why has the Soviet economy been going slowly for the past 15 years?

A: To a great extent our problems today are the other side of the coin of success. We should not lose sight of that. Experience all over the world suggests that when real incomes double, people embark on entirely new consumption patterns and attain a new quality of life. Real incomes in the Soviet Union today stand at 250 per cent of their 1960 level.

In that same quarter century productivity grew 220 per cent on the average, 300 per cent in industry. That economic growth was mostly quantitative, however, and for good reasons. The country had just been through hard times: The war with Nazi Germany had left destruction and constant shortages in its wake. So our system was geared to more

quantity, to higher gross social product. The country needed plenty of everything and needed it quickly. Quality was desirable but not essential. The trend was to exceed production targets. That became dogma, the be-all and end-all.

But the economic situation changed greatly. The quantitative approach no longer paid off. There was a gap between society's needs and what industry was producing: Supply was not keeping up with demand. Although there were a lot of goods, they weren't of the quality people wanted.

The first signs of this discrepancy appeared at the end of the 1950s. The problem blossomed as the old principle for growth died in the mid-1970s. The growth curve plummeted and social troubles rose. By 1980 the rate of development was at its lowest point in all of Soviet history.

Q: What were the economists doing? Why didn't they see this problem?

A: They did, and they spoke and wrote about it. But society did not seem ready to face up to the problem. People kidded themselves that it would all blow over. Many faults in the economy were viewed subjectively rather than realistically: Labor was in short supply because of an unfavorable demographic situation; harvests failed because of bad weather; and mineral production was falling off as a result of more complex drilling conditions.

It took courage for the Twenty-seventh Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to call a spade a spade. No external factors, no fluke circumstances, not even international conditions were holding us back—just our own social and industrial relations.

To be fair, a few attempts to refine the economy were undertaken, but not much came of them.

Q: Some say that our economy has cyclical slumps every 20 years. Is that correct?

A: I object to that idea. The people supporting that rationale are trying to prove that our difficulties are simply objective and nothing out of the ordinary. I say that's wrong. This is a matter of political economy. Productive forces grow constantly, and quantitative increases at a certain stage create a fundamentally



"Changes are forthcoming, though perhaps not so fast as we might like. But . . . there is fresh hope in society and a will for change. . . ."

new situation. This happens every 15 to 20 years. Because the forms of production relations do not automatically change, there is a slump. So we need to make conscious efforts to keep productive forces and production relations correlated. If we listen to the voice of history and to science, and if our scientists move ahead and make the corresponding recommendations loudly enough, then these slumps need not be inevitable for socialism.

Q: What about Soviet economics? Is it proceeding as planned?

A: I'm afraid not. And things were wrong five to ten years ago. Right now we're only just beginning to get to the root of the problem. It would be naive, however, to think that economists would be ready with new programs six months after the party met in congress and set new goals. We are talking, after all, about re-assessing, in the light of experience, both our potential and all the ideas that have formed in economics.

Q: You economists are always talking about a "management mechanism." You probably mean our economy should

be managed so that it runs like clockwork.

A: This metaphor gives the impression of synchronization and coordination. In principle our system of management cannot work like a smooth pendulum. Management involves the people—with their vitality, emotions and frictions—of a vast nation, so we must expect that an occasional adjustment will be needed in our economic clock.

Q: How do you view the current mechanism?

A: As inadequate to the new conditions in which our economy is developing.

Q: Is a new model ready?

A: We will have such a mechanism in full measure by the year 2000. But we would be fooling ourselves if we thought the new management mechanism was finalized at this time. Let's assume we have a vision of an ideal machinery for today's conditions and the present stage of development of our productive forces. We couldn't push it through this year or next. We aren't ready yet to put the ideal into practice.

Let me explain. If I need an incentive to improve the quality of work, I give people better pay for good work. But we already have billions and billions of rubles' worth of goods in the stores that no one wants to buy. We need to have quality goods to support the consumers' demand. That won't happen overnight. So the mechanism may be all right, but conditions have yet to fall into line.

Another example. A large-scale experiment under way in engineering gives bosses discretion over engineers' pay. Everyone wanted this very condition. Money was made available for it, and now managers are free to give bonuses of up to 50 per cent of their wages to topnotch engineers. But what has happened? The managers have split the extra money equally so that everyone gets a piece of the pie.

Why hasn't the mechanism worked in this case? A matter of psychology. Egalitarianism has set in. Some people are against an engineer having a take-home pay higher than the boss's. We are often ill-prepared to do what we plan, and paying for performance is a case in point. It will take more than one year for

people to become economically aware. That's why we stress that readjustment hinges on people rethinking their attitudes.

Q: So what must be done?

A: This matter has to be resolved gradually, with a clear goal set before us. The last years of the 1980s should be seen as an important preparatory stage, as a time to test individual elements of our management mechanism. In the years 1991-1995 many new progressive conditions should be established.

Changes are forthcoming, though perhaps not so fast as we might like. But people are taking a new attitude, especially in middle management. They are seeking new ideas and trying them out. Not every new manager will grasp what needs to be done and how, but there is fresh hope in society and a will for change, and this promises intensification, a factor no less important than progressive technology. Today people no longer tolerate many negative conditions that they once considered inevitable.

For our plans to be realistic, we must first and foremost restructure our economy, redistributing resources. Beyond allocating resources, we have to make the production of needed goods really pay. With this aim in mind, we have initiated a broad-ranging experiment that provides differential incentives that are linked to the efficiency of new technology.

Q: Couldn't this cause the large-scale closing of weak, unprofitable firms? Won't we have unemployment? Hasn't fear of unemployment been one of the main considerations keeping managers from taking decisive measures?

A: Unemployment is no threat even with rapid asset renewal and modernization. Industry is short of workers, and there is nothing to fill the gap. Our current labor growth is being diverted entirely to the social sphere, and this too is a structural advance. So we will continue to have more than enough work for all. No one will be without a job.

Q: What about the reform's opponents?

A: I haven't heard anyone saying we don't need changes. And I don't think it's because people are keeping it to themselves. Revitalization is the order of the day. But I repeat that not everyone is prepared for it. Take some workers of the central economic bodies, people who are deeply committed and giving their all. Many of them are locked into tradition and cannot grasp that their activities and convictions have become a brake on progress.

How can we fight this? There are no easy options: We need a whole system of measures, free debate and discussion. We need further democratization of management procedures. Our society needs to develop a fresh outlook, to get rid of bureaucrats and of people who are clearly unsuited to their jobs. We must catch the psychology of the changes. What is intensification? It is a strategic plan to push the economy on to new frontiers. We ought not to let the matter be reduced to one of quantity alone. Growth in output can no longer be the sole criterion for progress.

The Soviet Union now has more metal-processing equipment than the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany and Japan put together. We do not need any more. We produce 50 per cent more footwear per capita than the United States, but we don't need that many shoes. Better one good pair than two bad. We have resolved as of the new year to refuse light industry the right to target production growth in value or in quantity.

Q: What about price flexibility?

A: We have to encourage it. Prices should encourage technical innovation. This goes for consumer goods too. The first steps have been taken. Higher prices for top-quality goods have proved valuable, and we have end-of-season sales at lower prices.

But in setting prices it is important not to lose sight of the social consequences. Our society offers certain social guarantees, which means that various branches, ranging from factories producing things for children to the housing sector, receive state subsidies.

We must look the truth in the eye. We have low-income families who will not be better off in the immediate future because the nation is currently raising the level of senior citizens' pensions and the pay of engineers, doctors, schoolteachers and child-care personnel. That implies that we should have social subsidies.

Most Soviet citizens have government apartments. Thanks to state subsidies, rents are the lowest in the world. But we could stop subsidizing or increase rent for those with the most housing space. We have to strike the right balance between a social boon and the ordinary goods and services that are bought and sold at the going rate.

Q: What intensification rates can be expected by 1990 if the new methods work out? What will people gain?

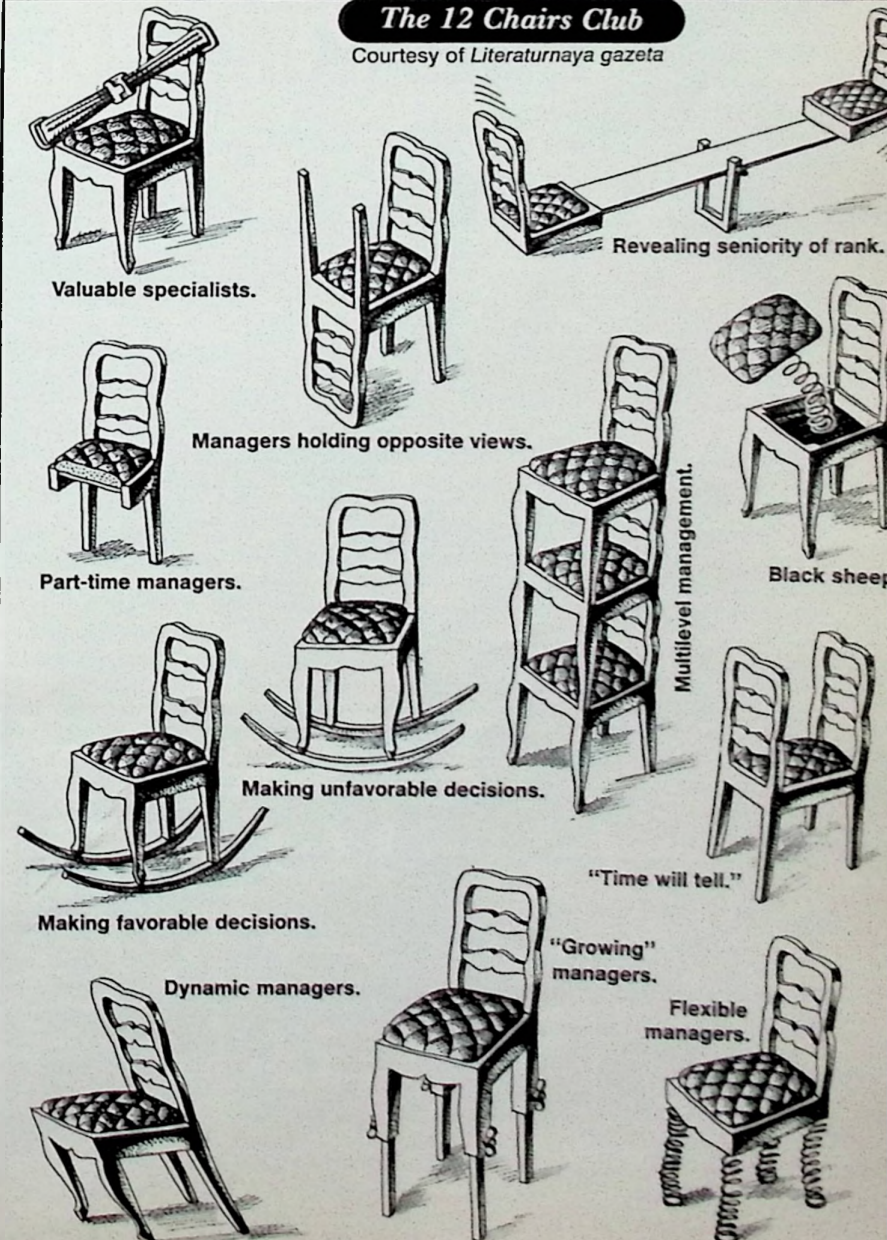
A: The absolute increments planned are 50 per cent more than for 1981-1985. National income should grow 124 billion rubles by 1986-1990 as against the 79 billion for the previous five years.

Mechanization, automation and more advanced methods will improve working conditions and release by 1990 five million manual laborers for more stimulating jobs—more than twice the figure for 1981-1985.

Approximately four-fifths of the national income will go to increase the quality of life of our people. Real incomes will grow by 14.7 per cent generally, 18 per cent in the countryside. Many senior citizens will get a pension increase; the national diet will improve; there will be more consumer goods; and services will grow—notably in health, education and culture.

How realistic are these goals? Entirely, though we will all have to pull our own weight. Each and every one of us will have to act as a coproprietor. That of course takes more than words to accomplish. That co-owner spirit is born of specific opportunities for the worker to influence management and benefit from the fruits of labor. The system of self-government has to be consolidated.

"The people in our society rule the land" is a law on which to base the economy. Certainly Soviet people elect representatives and their government. But you can't rule the country without being personally involved in running the factory, shop or farm where you work. No management system will bring results if the people are not informed as to policy, if worker involvement is not encouraged, if there is no respect for the working man's position. That's what the readjustment is all about. We are talking of far more than just the economy.



THE OTHER SIDE OF THE STORY

By Vladimir Chervyakov
Executive Secretary of the Editorial Board
of the Weekly *Za rubezhom*

The address of *Za rubezhom*, Post Office Box 913, 24 Pravda Street, Moscow, is known to the subscription departments of 111 dailies, weeklies and monthlies in 34 big cities around the world. We receive fresh copies of foreign periodicals from New York, Singapore, Washington, Harare, Paris, Melbourne, Montreal, New Delhi, Hamburg, Hong Kong, Milan, Tokyo, London, Bogota and other cities.

Soviet periodicals receive foreign publications, but for journalists at *Za rubezhom*, these newspapers and magazines are the main source for their material. The Soviet public has always been interested in other people's views, so *Za rubezhom* was set up specially to publish Russian translations of materials from the foreign press.

It is a wonder that the 40 staff members do not get lost among the thousands of press clippings piled up in the office. On the contrary, they aptly find the most essential and interesting items not only in political, social or economic affairs but also in science, technology and culture. The weekly also runs a humor column based on materials from foreign periodicals.

The staff of *Za rubezhom* consists of experienced journalists. Many of them used to represent various Soviet periodicals and TASS, the Soviet wire service, in other countries, so they

have a good command of the foreign press and know many foreign journalists personally. All of them know foreign languages very well. English, French, German, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Arabic and Japanese are the staff's working languages.

Is it hard to choose materials for publication? Of course it is! Heated debates take place every Thursday when the editorial board gathers to discuss what is to be translated and published in the next issue. Though the decision is made collectively, every individual's opinion matters.

For instance, some people believe that the weekly is too keen on U.S. materials—a tradition established by the first issue of *Za rubezhom*, which was published on June 18, 1960. It contained the full text of a speech by Adlai Stevenson, Nelson Rockefeller's statement on the United States' future and an excerpt from Al Morgan's novel *The General's Star*. (Since then we've given up the idea of publishing fiction.)

U.S. sources of information still occupy a prominent place on our pages. In January 1987 alone our readers were able to familiarize themselves with an NBC-TV interview with Secretary of State George Shultz, with information from *Wall Street Journal* and Associated Press reporters, with a five-page excerpt from Robert McNamara's book *Blundering Into Disaster: Surviving*

the First Century of the Nuclear Age, Paul Warnke's and William Fulbright's opinions on U.S. politics, and so forth. We also translated and printed articles by such renowned American journalists as James Reston, Anthony Lewis, Geoffrey Smith, John Oakes and satires by Art Buchwald and Russell Baker. In addition to all that, the Soviet reader learned about a new science, nanotechnology, from a *Washington Post* article and about the latest trends in fashion from *the Atlantic Monthly*.

Yet we never ignore the opinions of renowned public figures from other countries.

You may wonder about the editorial staff's own outlook on international affairs. We make no claim to absolute impartiality, though we do our utmost to present the other side of the story in as unbiased a fashion as possible. The editorial board voices its own opinion in a short preface to the material, in a footnote or a remark in brackets, or even in a special commentary such as the one that accompanied Shultz's interview.

One million of our readers have an opportunity to compare their own views and ideas on international affairs with those of other people whose political, ideological and social outlooks may differ from their own. This is a step toward mutual understanding, without which it is impossible to survive in our nuclear age. ■

BREAKING UP THE PACKAGE

On March 2, the press center of the Soviet Foreign Ministry held a news conference for Soviet and foreign reporters in connection with a new Soviet peace initiative. Alexander Bessmertnykh, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister, opened the meeting. He noted that the Soviet leadership has made a crucial decision aimed at a quick step toward fully ridding Europe of nuclear weapons. General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev on February 28 announced a major new Soviet initiative to facilitate progress at the talks on nuclear and space weapons. The Soviet proposal to the United States implies:

First, immediate signing of a separate accord on the complete elimination of medium-range missiles in Europe and their drastic overall reduction by 100 warheads for the Soviet Union in its Asian part and as many for the USA on its territory. To put it differently, the problem is being divorced from the package of issues currently discussed at the Geneva negotiations.

Second, the launching of immediate talks on tactical missiles with a clear-cut goal—to reduce and then to eliminate fully these missiles.

Moreover, the Soviet Union has vowed to withdraw from the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia, upon reaching respective accords with their governments, its longer-range tactical missiles as soon as an agreement is signed on eliminating Soviet and American medium-range missiles in Europe. These tactical missiles were deployed in Czechoslovakia and the GDR, our allies, to retaliate for the deployment of American Pershing II and cruise missiles in Europe.

The Soviet proposal on medium-range missiles does not push to the background, nor does it remove from the agenda, the issue of substantial cuts in and the subsequent elimination of strategic arms. An agreement on this point will become possible after a decision has been reached on the nondeployment of weapons in space, for both issues are closely connected.

The participants in the press conference answered journalists' questions.

Q: What is the main reason for the Soviet decision to separate medium-range missiles from the package of issues at the Geneva talks?

A: In Reykjavik and afterward, the Soviet side based its proposals on the expediency of solving the entire range of questions. The logic of their interconnection has been quite convincingly explained. We continue to believe that this is the best way to achieve an understanding in Geneva.

Of late, however, people are increasingly concerned over the lack of progress on nuclear disarmament. They have reasons for this. There is a

threat that the Geneva talks will find themselves in a blind alley again. The Soviet leadership has considered the issue on a broad scale, taking into consideration both the increasing anxiety in the world and the alarming situation arising in Geneva. Since the problem of medium-range missiles can be solved most easily of all the issues being discussed, since its parameters were practically agreed upon at the summit in Iceland, we have suggested that the door be opened to an immediate agreement.

At the same time we must emphasize that the possibility of solving the problem of medium-range missiles does not remove the logical interconnection between a radical cut in strategic offensive arms and the nonproliferation of weapons in outer space.

Q: In the context of the steps taken by the Soviet Union in the arms limitation field, including medium-range missiles, a question arises: Will this have a negative effect on the defense capabilities of the USSR and its allies?

A: In the struggle for peace, nuclear disarmament and the elimination of the nuclear threat, the USSR has been making certain compromises, certain unilateral steps—the 18-month moratorium on nuclear tests, the removal of some of the SS-20 missiles from operational duty in Europe, and others. The USSR shows constructiveness and good will not in words, but in deeds.

From the military point of view, the solutions we propose are comprehensively discussed at a governmental level with the participation of military representatives. Prospective changes in the military-strategic situation, as well as the potential of the USSR and its allies, are carefully studied.

Q: How can the new Soviet proposal on medium-range missiles be linked with a prospective meeting between Gorbachev and Reagan?

A: The very important proposal the Soviet Government has just made reveals practical possibilities for the solution not only of the problem of medium-range missiles, but also of the other questions the delegations are considering in Geneva. Understandably, we do not yet know what will be the results of consideration of this and other key issues. So the question of a summit meeting at this moment seems premature.

The Soviet Union has consistently advocated meetings at the highest level—respectable, serious and meaningful meetings. This context will be our framework for analyzing the situation that develops around the problems of security being examined in Geneva.

За рулем 1988

Za rulyom (Behind the Wheel) is a monthly magazine for car buffs. It has a circulation of 3.6 million copies.



Main assembly line worker Irina Myslitskaya with a toy model of the Lada 2101, the first car that was produced at the Volga Auto Plant in Togliatti.

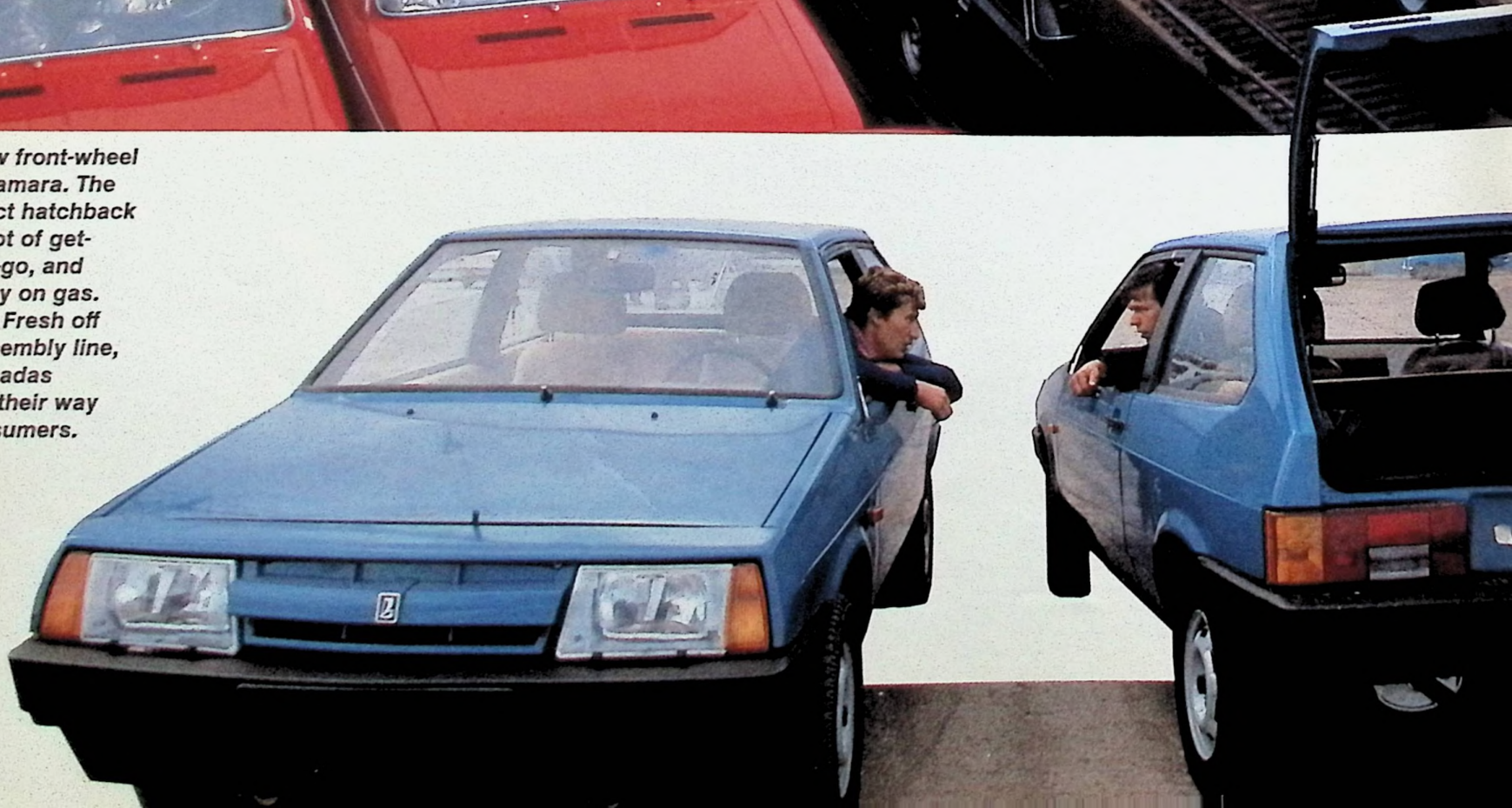
VAZ

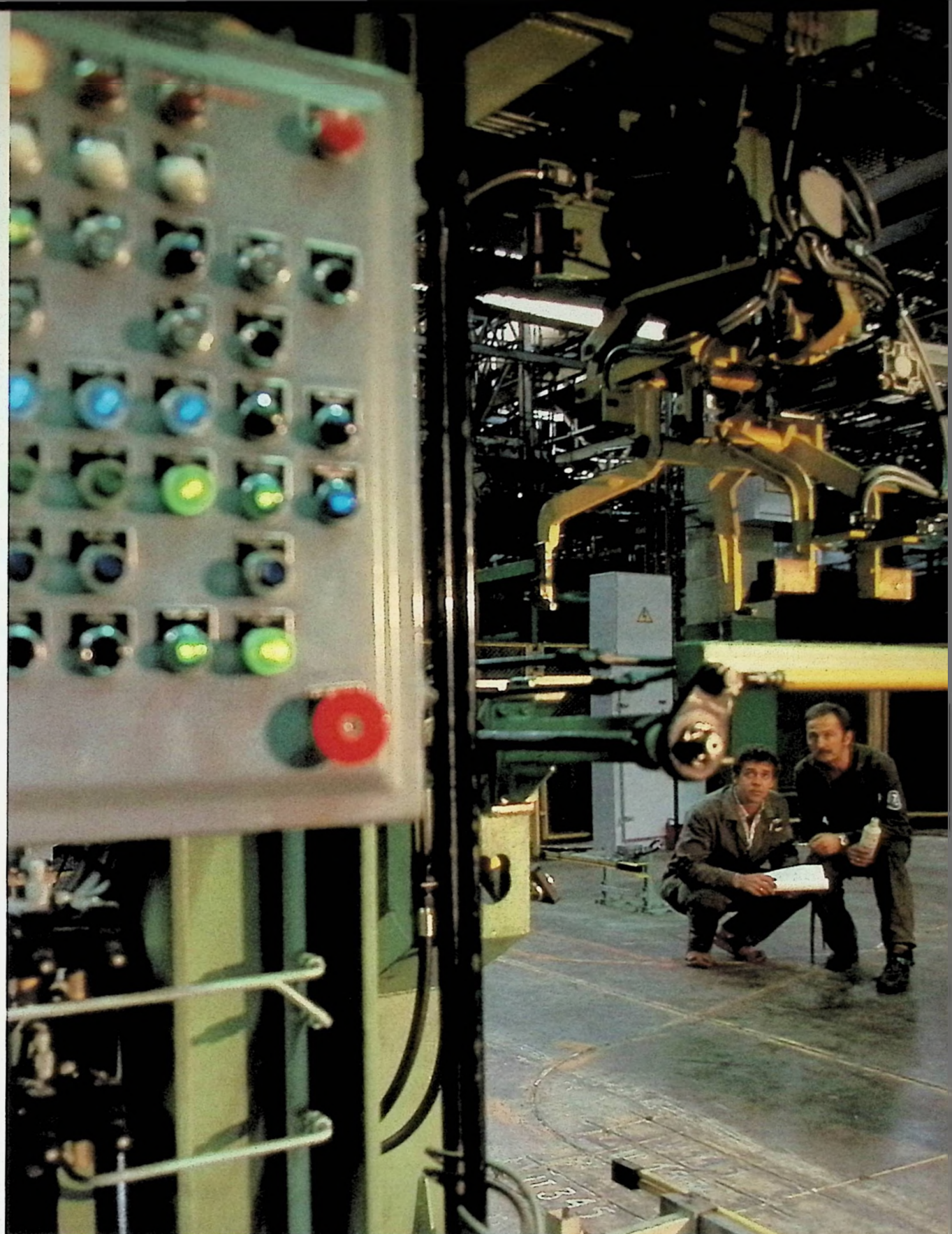
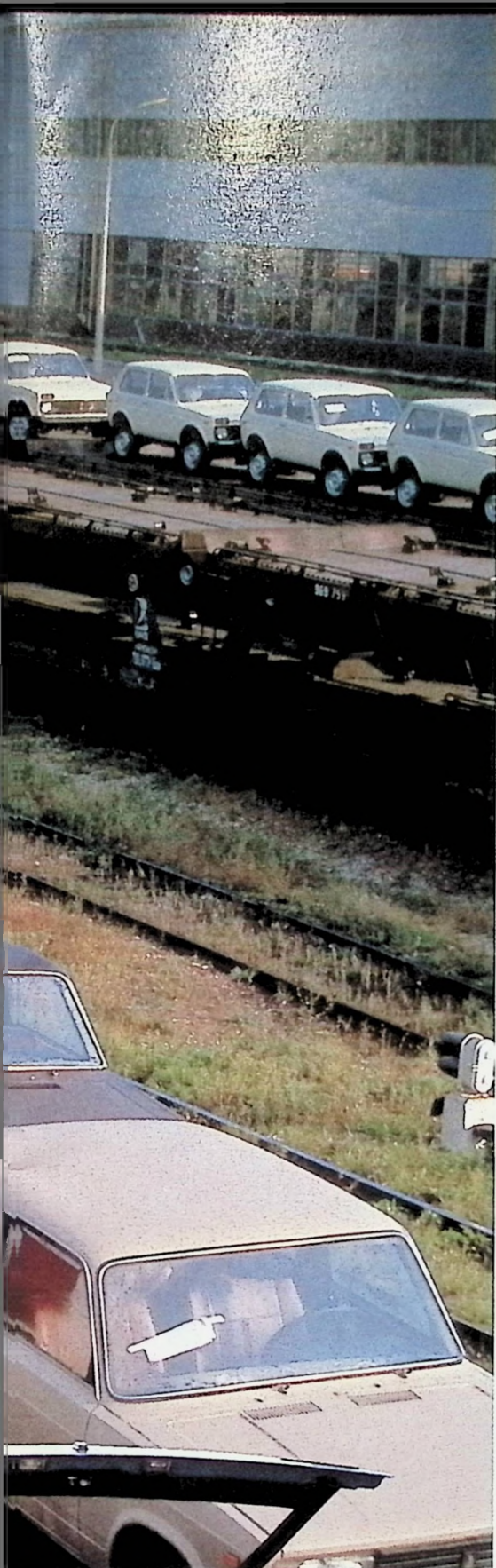
LADA SAMARA WINS THE MARKET

By Leonid Shugurov
Photographs by Andrei Solomonov



The new front-wheel drive Samara. The compact hatchback has a lot of get-up-and-go, and it's easy on gas. Above: Fresh off the assembly line, these Ladas are on their way to consumers.

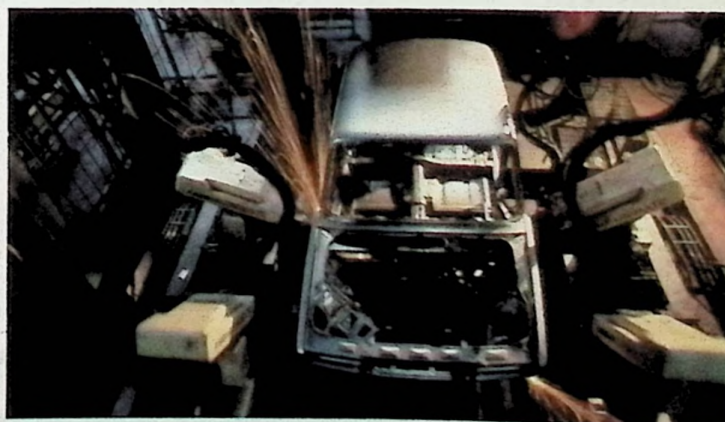




Fifteen years ago the average Soviet consumer would have been happy to get his hands on any automobile, let alone one with all sorts of features.

And understandably so since dealer availability of the four domestic models was just 123,000. However, in 1967 the situation began to change as Ladas started rolling off the assembly line at the newly set up Volga Auto Plant (VAZ) in Togliatti.

The prototype for the basic Lada was the Fiat 124, which, with Italian help, was adapted to the rigorous Russian climatic conditions. So began an automobile boom that has seen sales soar 10 ▶



Top: Electricians Valeri Sidorov (left) and Yuri Pletenyuk check a robot in the assembly shop. Above: One of the 367 transfer lines at VAZ.



A monument of a Russian sailboat, the Lada emblem, stands in Togliatti, the city where it is made. For centuries trading ships plied the Volga River on their way to and from Europe. Right: This high-rise building houses administrative offices. Nearby is the plant's auto track.

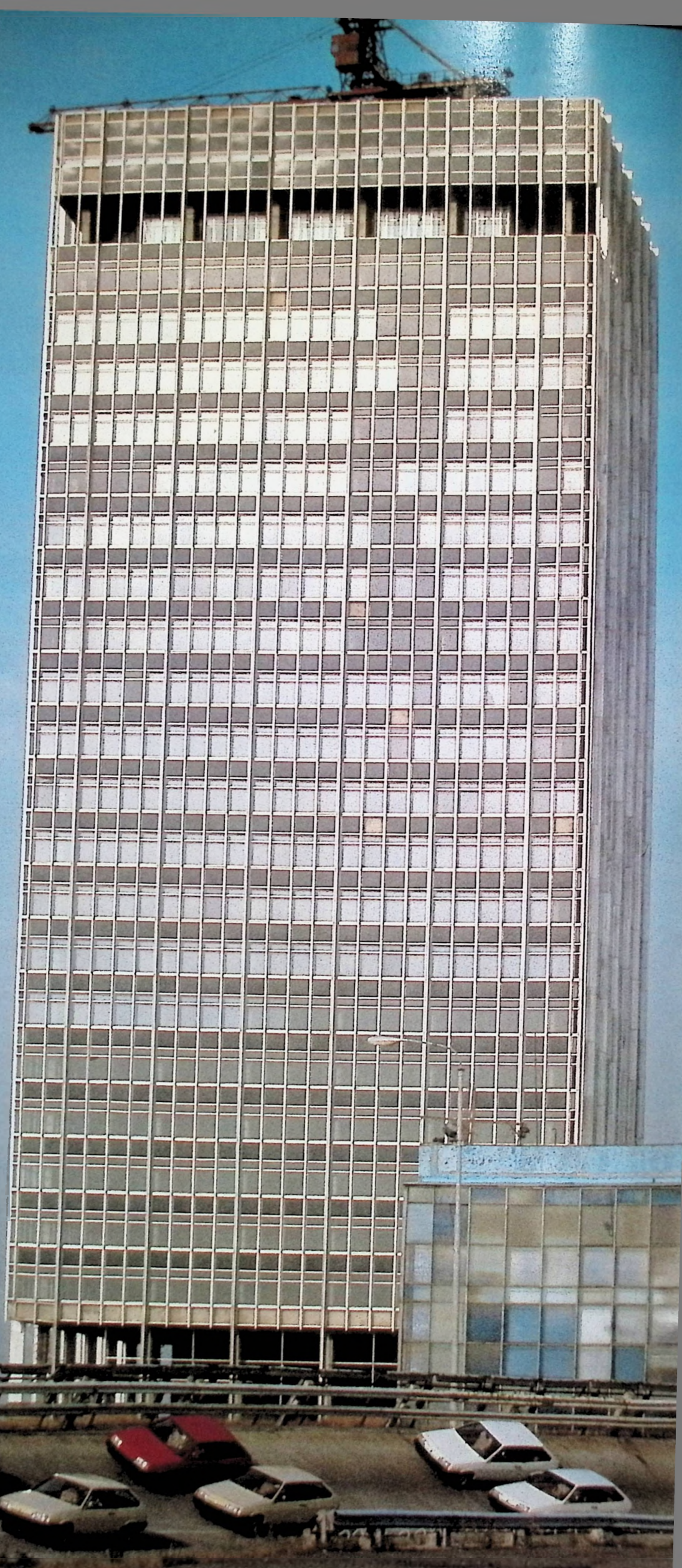
MORE THAN A PLACE TO WORK

times over. Today buyers have a choice of 26 models. Topping the list is the newest Lada, the Model 8, a front-wheel drive hatchback that is as attractive to the eye as it is easy on gas.

The Model 8, called the Samara, came out in 1986, around the centenary of motoring. In 1886 German engineer Karl Benz astonished Berliners with the world's first automobile with an internal combustion engine. Ten years later Yevgeni Yakovlev and Pyotr Freze displayed the first Russian motorcar, but it wasn't until Soviet times that the mass production of vehicles really got going.

For many years trucks and buses were the main thrust of the Soviet automotive industry as the country industrialized and sought a cheap and universal public transportation system. The idea of owning a private car arrived in the USSR much later than in the United States or in Europe.

The Volga Auto Plant in Togliatti has changed things in a big way. Twenty years after opening its doors, VAZ turned out its 10,000,000th car, and today its Ladas, Niva land rovers and now Samaras are exported to 100 countries. Last year a Niva won a grueling rally in Australia. ▶



Georgi Mirzoyev, the chief designer at the auto plant, told me: "The Lada Samara looks fairly similar to the latest Ford or Mazda, which is not necessarily due to a lack of imagination. It's simply that a drive for economy is on. Where does much of the fuel go? Mostly into countering wind resistance.

"Aerodynamics is a big concern among auto makers today. The wind tunnel and computer design are here to stay."

The computer designed the Samara as a wedge-shaped hatchback. The traditional trunk was the first to go, with a saving of two liters of gas per kilometer.

Changes were made under the hood, too. The four-cylinder internal combustion system was kept, but every single part of the motor is new and it is mounted in a transverse position. The result is more passenger legroom—the bigger-inside-than-out effect. The new Samara is 100 kilograms lighter than the Model 5.

Economy and reliability have been boosted through greater compression in the cylinders, a new carburetor and other design innovations. Just one detail: The new engine underwent a challenging 12,000-kilometer race, foot-to-the-floor—the kind of test that causes many an engine to blow.

But not the Samara's. It passed with flying colors! The intrepid little hatchback was also put through its paces on a steep and winding route in the Caucasus. Last but not least, with a mate in tow it made it up to and past the points where the Fords and Mazdas had conked out.

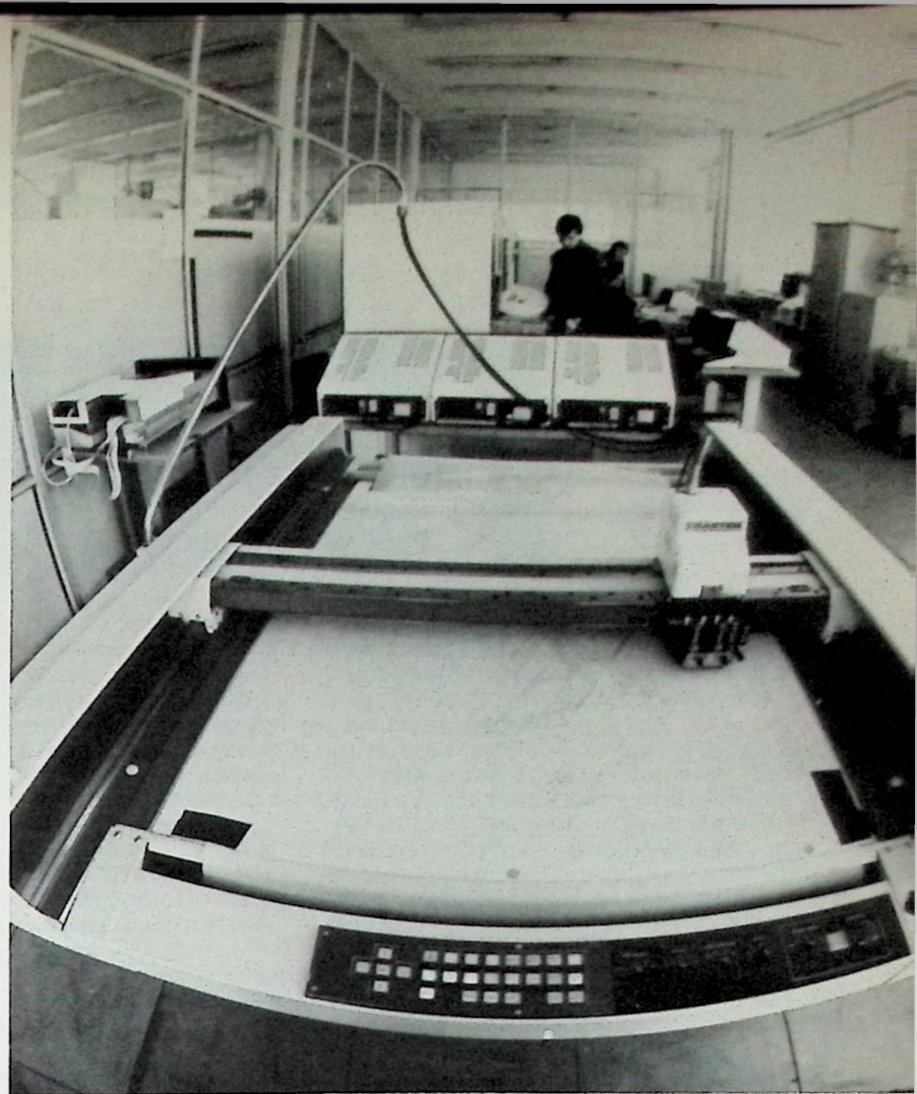
A safety feature of the Samara is its entirely new diagonal-division braking system (brakes on one front and one rear wheel). If one of the brakes should fail, the other will engage.

In short, the new Model 8 Samara has something for everybody—economy, reliability and comfort. And demand for it is great.

Today the Volga Auto Plant has greater economic freedom. Half of its profits and two-fifths of its hard currency earnings are available for reinvestment, social programs and workers' bonuses.

Most of the autoworkers are young—the average age in the town that has grown up around the plant is 29. Many have special college and technical qualifications.

Plans call for the plant to be totally modernized by 1990, with an 18.5 per cent increase in productivity. As the autoworkers say, "All systems are go!" The automobile of the future is now in the making. ■



Above: Computers are playing an indispensable role in auto design. Clockwise from bottom left: VAZ offers workers much more than jobs. Besides providing services that promote workers' health and well-being, the plant supports a variety of social activities. Aerobics classes are held several times a week. In one of the plant's lounges. Sculptors Nina Samoilova (left) and Nina Kolchina work in the VAZ landscaping division. Their earthenware creations can be seen throughout the plant.



FEEDBACK

Like many other Soviet periodicals, *Chelovek i zakon (Man and Law)* regularly surveys its readers. The latest poll, in 1986, elicited 40,000 responses. The survey forms, which were processed by computer, yielded the following data:

Professions. Among the readers are representatives of every walk of life, including factory workers, engineers, doctors and scientists, schoolchildren, pensioners and homemakers.

Geography. The editorial board gets letters from all over, but most of the mail comes from city dwellers.

Age. Most readers (59.5 per cent) are in the 20 to 39 age range. Children under 15 account for 15 per cent of the readership.

Education. The overwhelming majority of readers are college or secondary (or specialized secondary) school graduates or students.

Why are they interested in the journal?

Many readers replied that they regard it as a dependable source of the legal information they personally need. More than 60 per cent subscribe because it helps them understand specific

situations, questions of law and personal rights and obligations.

One out of every four readers is interested in the laws and their application, and half of the readers want to learn more about the bodies of state authority, the courts and the procurator's office.

The readers want to know what measures are being taken to prevent or to eliminate abuses and offenses. Workers are the most interested in these reports (over 60 per cent); people working in services and students are least interested.

Many of the people polled are attracted by the column "Legal Advice, Replies to Letters." Older people are apparently more inquisitive than youngsters. Only 33 per cent of the readers between the ages of 20 and 22 seek legal advice, but 50 per cent between ages 40 and 59 years consult the journal.

Conversations, articles and essays on legal education and morality (the "Interlocutor" column) are liked by more than 40 per cent of the people polled.

Many of those responding to the poll enjoy

articles on law enforcement. Better-educated readers are interested in legal information rather than in intriguing plots.

The readers ask questions about many different subjects, but most of the questions deal with the laws on labor, on marriage and the family, and on housing, and letters frequently contain requests for materials on foreign countries.

What about suggestions?

More than half of those polled believe that it would be good to expand the column "A Visit to a Lawyer." Among older readers and workers in public education, one of every three insists on more profound legal publications. Some 40 per cent recommend a larger number of materials on law, particularly specific parts of it concerning certain categories of people—inventors, members of countryside cooperatives and college and technical school graduates. Fifty per cent of the people suggest that more publicity be given to the war on crime.

The magazine assures readers that their proposals and opinions will be reflected in future plans. ■

GUARANTEED SUPPORT

By Alexander Rekunkov
USSR Procurator General

Every day the USSR Procurator's Office receives about 500 letters and dozens of telephone calls from people offering advice and ideas, asking to have their rights upheld and thanking us for assistance. Most often it is not formal gratitude that brings people to the USSR Procurator's Office, the supreme upholder of the law. Almost all of them come for assistance and support. People are concerned about law and order in some cities, about mismanagement and official abuses. They are outraged by violations of citizens' equality before the law and by attempts to let officials off on charges of malfeasance.

Active social attitudes have been promoted by developments since the Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee in April 1985 and the Twenty-seventh CPSU Congress in February-March 1986. The congress stated that civil rights and freedoms are instrumental to the progress of socialism and to the material and spiritual well-being of Soviet society.

Civil rights include the right to complain, which effectively protects citizens' interests and helps them combat shortcomings in the work of the state machinery and of individual officials.

The USSR Constitution gives all citizens the right to introduce ideas that will help to make government and mass organizations more effective and the right to criticize their shortcomings. Likewise, officials are duty-bound to reply to citizens' petitions and to act on them.

This right and officials' duties are regulated by a decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. The decree, which has the force of law, sets forth a uniform procedure for dealing with letters, complaints and appeals from citizens. Officials must inform applicants of the steps that have been taken regarding their letters. A complaint must be relayed to an official who

is an expert in such matters. If a complaint has been misdirected, it must be rerouted within five days to the proper person and the applicant must be informed accordingly. A complaint may not be dispatched to an organization or an official against whom an appeal is pending.

The law establishes and guarantees the right to complain. Protections of this right include: deadlines for examining the complaints and checks on the progress of the process; executive responsibility (from summary punishment to criminal responsibility) for breaching the procedure of dealing with letters; and judicial protection of civil rights. Since the right to complain has legal force, the USSR Procurator's Office supervises its implementation.

People who work in the procurator's office are doing a lot in this respect. They now visit citizens more often to verify letters on the spot. Their visits help settle matters more quickly and allow citizens to learn more about the procurator's work. Procurators are available to the public at convenient times, particularly after working hours or on days off, and, if need be, at the workplace.

Last year procurators satisfied 90,000 complaints, restoring legality and civil rights. Streamlining the state machinery has markedly reduced the number of complaints.

Often citizens do not get a satisfactory reply from senior officials. For instance, the USSR Procurator's Office upheld the rights of a woman worker from Soviet Lithuania. An efficient shop superintendent at the Kaspukas bulk yarn factory, she was dismissed five months after the management had learned about her alleged offense. She was fired by an order from Lithuania's Minister of Consumer Goods. The Minister should have known that workers can be punished or dismissed only in a period of one month after the offense has been established. Following intervention by the

USSR Procurator's Office, the USSR Minister of Light Industry reinstated the worker, who received average wages for the duration of her forced absence. The Minister was reprimanded and warned that he would be punished under the criminal code if he violated a worker's rights again.

Most often people complain about breaches of their rights as workers that occurred because managers did not know the law well enough or were biased against them.

We must see real people behind the complaints. Letters from citizens help pinpoint widespread sensitive issues.

Our mail shows that complaints about violations of the housing legislation are becoming less and less numerous. Despite huge housing developments, however, apartments are still a problem. The law determines who should get apartments first and how, and this procedure ensures open and fair distribution of housing. However, in Leninabad, Tadzhikistan, some people decided that they were above the law: The city executive violated the apartment distribution procedure, making it the prerogative of the deputy chairman. The city fathers particularly opposed engineer Vishnyakov's family getting an apartment, and we can only guess why. After a procurator's office restored the law, people received apartments as they should have. The USSR Procurator's Office and the USSR Supreme Court upheld the Vishnyakovs' housing rights, and all those guilty of violating the law were punished.

Letters on crime prevention and violations of rights in the judicial process are important to us. They call for immediate action. That was the case when we received a letter from workers who wrote about criminal practices in the Byelorussian city of Gomel. Senior officials of the USSR Procurator's Office went to Gomel and established that citizens' applications about infringements of the law were being treated too formally, permitting some offenders to go unpunished for a long time.

The results of the inspection were publicized, and the culprits were duly punished. The citizens' letter was acted upon. Although not all shortcomings have been removed, the situation in Gomel is better now, with crime on the decline and offenses exposed more quickly and completely. Complaints have stopped coming from Gomel.

We have not yet overcome indifference to citizens' submissions. It is particularly outrageous that some law enforcement officers are callous. We are decisively combating bias and red tape. For instance, the procurator of the North Ossetian Autonomous Republic, some senior officials from the procurator's office of Maritime Territory and other officials have been sacked for gross abuses of legality and irresponsible attitudes toward peoples' complaints. The outcome was inevitable because a concerned

citizen stood behind each letter. Morally and legally, we cannot afford to disregard such letters.

Procurators support around seven per cent of the complaints they receive every year. This is not to say that the rest are unfounded. Many of the complaints that come initially to the procurators' offices are redirected to other competent organizations. For instance, under the USSR Constitution, justice is administered only by the courts. Often we have to explain legislation.

Nevertheless, some people abuse their right to complain, insisting on what the law does not permit them. An individual in Krasnodar Territory has sent to the USSR Procurator's Office more than 50 complaints against his neighbors over a disputed plot of land. He has been told time and again that the decision of the Territorial Soviet's Executive on the procedure for land utilization by his neighbors is correct. Experts repeatedly visited his home, considering all his arguments while they were investigating the case. However, he is still writing complaints, and he demands that the case be settled in his favor, although this would violate other people's rights. He doesn't want to understand that a dispute is subject only to the law and that he may not insist on officials acting against legislation.

An even greater evil is letters, many of them anonymous, containing slanderous concoctions. Slanderers are abusing our common desire to liquidate shortcomings as soon as possible and to foster criticism.

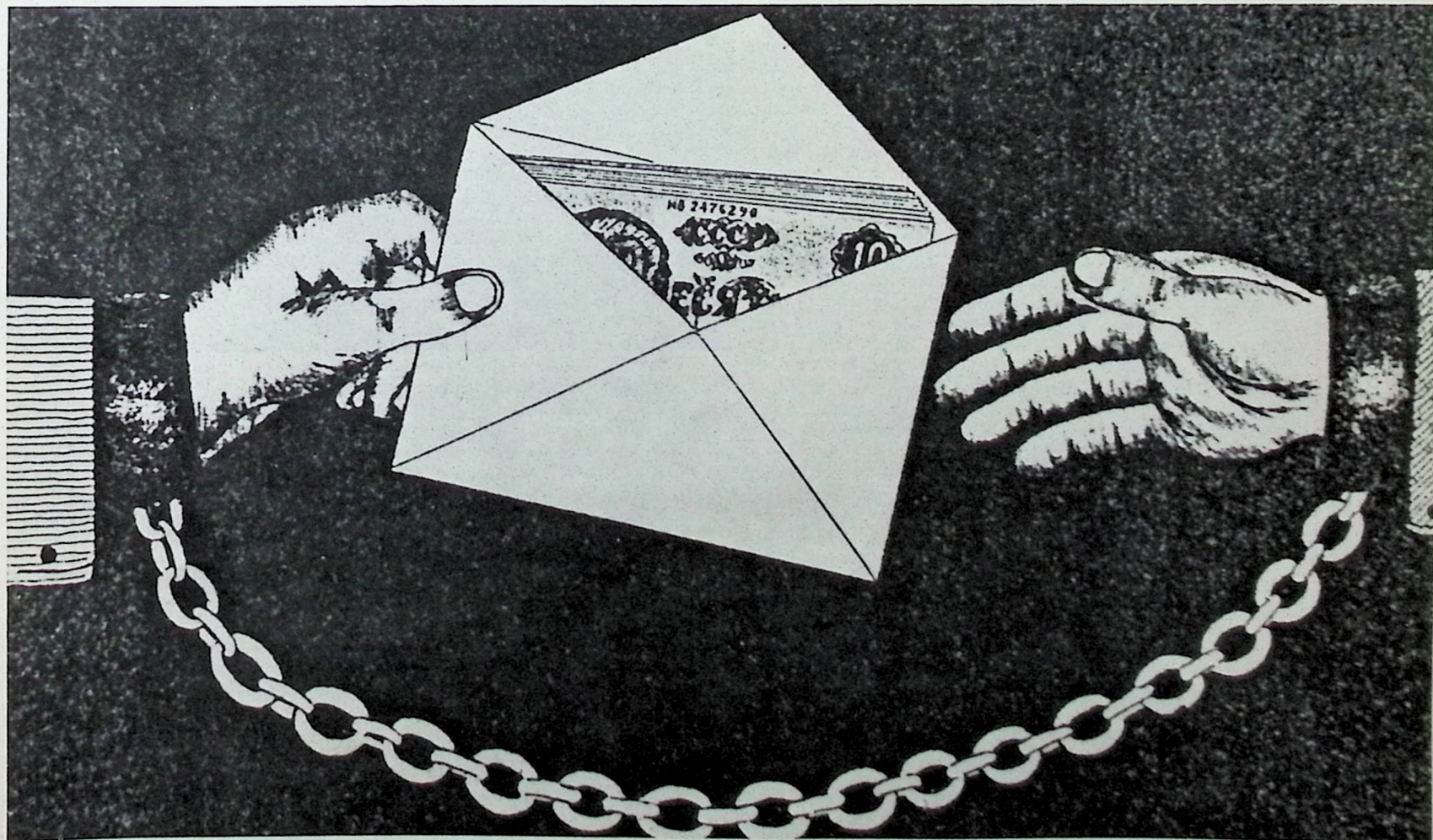
Slander—deliberate concoctions denigrating other citizens—is punishable under the criminal code. When the offense involves accusations of a grave crime, it incurs up to five years in prison. Regrettably, slander continues. Anonymous letters, although they run contrary to our morality, also persist. To combat them, the USSR in 1985 increased criminal responsibility for libel in anonymous letters.

At the same time measures were taken to help citizens criticize abuses more freely without fear of persecution. The USSR Constitution bans persecution for criticism. This is particularly important nowadays. The criminal codes of all union republics now provide for punishing officials who deliberately infringe on constitutional rights and persecute citizens for presenting ideas, petitions or complaints in the established manner, for the criticisms such submissions may contain or for critical remarks in other forms.

Proposals, requests and complaints are viewed as both the right of the individual to guaranteed aid and a gauge of public opinion. All citizens honestly and actively combating negative forces may be sure that they will be fully supported, although, as our readers may now understand, the process can be complicated.

Courtesy of the magazine *Chelovek i zakon*

"Bribe." Drawing by Vladimir Soldatov, from the satiric magazine *Krokodil* (Crocodile).



HE WAS NUMBER ONE JOURNALIST

By Professor Lev Tolkunov
Ph.D. (History)
Chairman of the Soviet of the Union,
the USSR Supreme Soviet

Anatoli Agranovsky, one of the most popular Soviet journalists, would soon have turned 65, but he did not live to see that day. However, his journalistic career so vividly reflects the significance of this profession in the USSR that it would be unfair not to say a few words about him in this issue dedicated to the Soviet press. For 25 years Agranovsky worked for the newspaper *Izvestia*, part of that time as its editor.

Agranovsky was a reserved man. Nonetheless, you can learn many things about him by reading his articles. I read and reread his feature stories, each time with a deep feeling of irreparable loss, sensing the presence of Anatoli Agranovsky in every line.

He always wrote in the first person. Therefore, people who study Agranovsky's writings see a certain aspect of himself in his articles and stories. We, Agranovsky's colleagues, who witnessed how he planned, wrote and published his stories in our newspaper, knew very well that a newspaper was not *belles-lettres*, that a journalist could make his writing much livelier by introducing into his reports some sense of self.

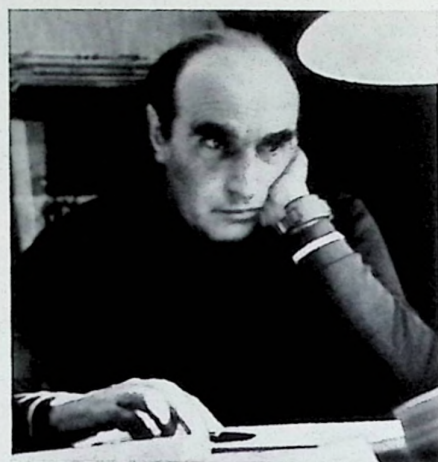
As a young man Agranovsky had not studied journalism but history. When he was still very young, he fought Nazi Germany as a navigator in World War II. After that he worked as an animated cartoon artist, an assistant cameraman and a photo retoucher. Then he devoted himself to writing, publishing more than 20 books. Feature films and documentaries have been based on his stories and film scripts. He could have been a writer. However, until his dying day he considered himself a journalist.

He usually wrote about people who were abreast of life, natural innovators by the cast of their mind and character. Many of them had been unfortunate, to some extent misunderstood and unappreciated before they met Agranovsky. His publications changed their lives, and they became the heroes of our day. Agranovsky was good to many people. His articles supported them in their work and aspirations. Moreover, their causes gained. One of the many examples is the story of Svyatoslav Fyodorov, world-famous ophthalmologist, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, and now the director of the Eye Surgery Research Institute in Moscow. Fyodorov said: "I owe Anatoli Agranovsky and his publications everything I have achieved. And the main thing was time. We have gained time." In this case, time means thousands of people cured, new research, discoveries and scientific progress.

The cause of life stood to gain too. Agranovsky succeeded in persuading people and proving that a given undertaking was absolutely necessary. His articles influenced decisions at the top levels of departments, ministries and other institutions.

Agranovsky dealt mostly with economic development and management, our most difficult problem today. He managed to see many of the things in that area that we are currently discussing. He seldom touched upon purely ethical problems. All his stories and articles, however, including those that dealt with economic or business matters, had a strong moral and ethical flavor. After all, conscience is the basis for people's actions and the meaning of those actions and of life itself.

He wrote much about skill and the quality of anything people



... his journalistic career so vividly reflects the significance of this profession in the USSR. ...

do. This is one of the main problems of our day too. A talented and highly cultured man of letters, he had great skill and experience in his profession. His erudition, faultless literary taste and fine sense of the language ensured the consummate finesse and persuasiveness of his writings. He was the first to use investigative reporting in contemporary Soviet journalism, and he was the best at that genre.

Agranovsky could cover any subject. Nothing was beyond him. He was never afraid of discussing the most acute problems with millions upon millions of readers. He believed in the truth of life. He upheld that truth, remaining very sincere in his arguments for or against an issue. He suggested that his readers either raise objections, thus disproving him, or, if they couldn't, side with him in upholding the dignity of man, honesty in work and the purity of intentions ensuring a smooth-running and healthy economy, and supporting talented people. He invited his readers to fight against the things that he loathed: inertia, more zeal than common sense, excessive red tape and ineptness. Response to his

publications showed that they were in perfect agreement with what contemporary, exacting readers wanted.

Always far from demagoguery and empty chatter, Agranovsky was the number one journalist for the reading public for 25 years. His publications not only brought results, they also directly influenced people's values.

Almost all his stories were critical. Of course, they often brought protests from those he criticized. But it was difficult to criticize Agranovsky because his viewpoint was always well-considered and his mature ideas set forth in precise language, in which not a single word could be changed. Take, for instance, his statement: "I believe it's too early for us to bid farewell to the skill of individuals at a time of scientific and technological revolution, just as it is, say, to bid farewell to the conscience of individuals at the time of collectivism." This statement most clearly reveals the character of Agranovsky the journalist.

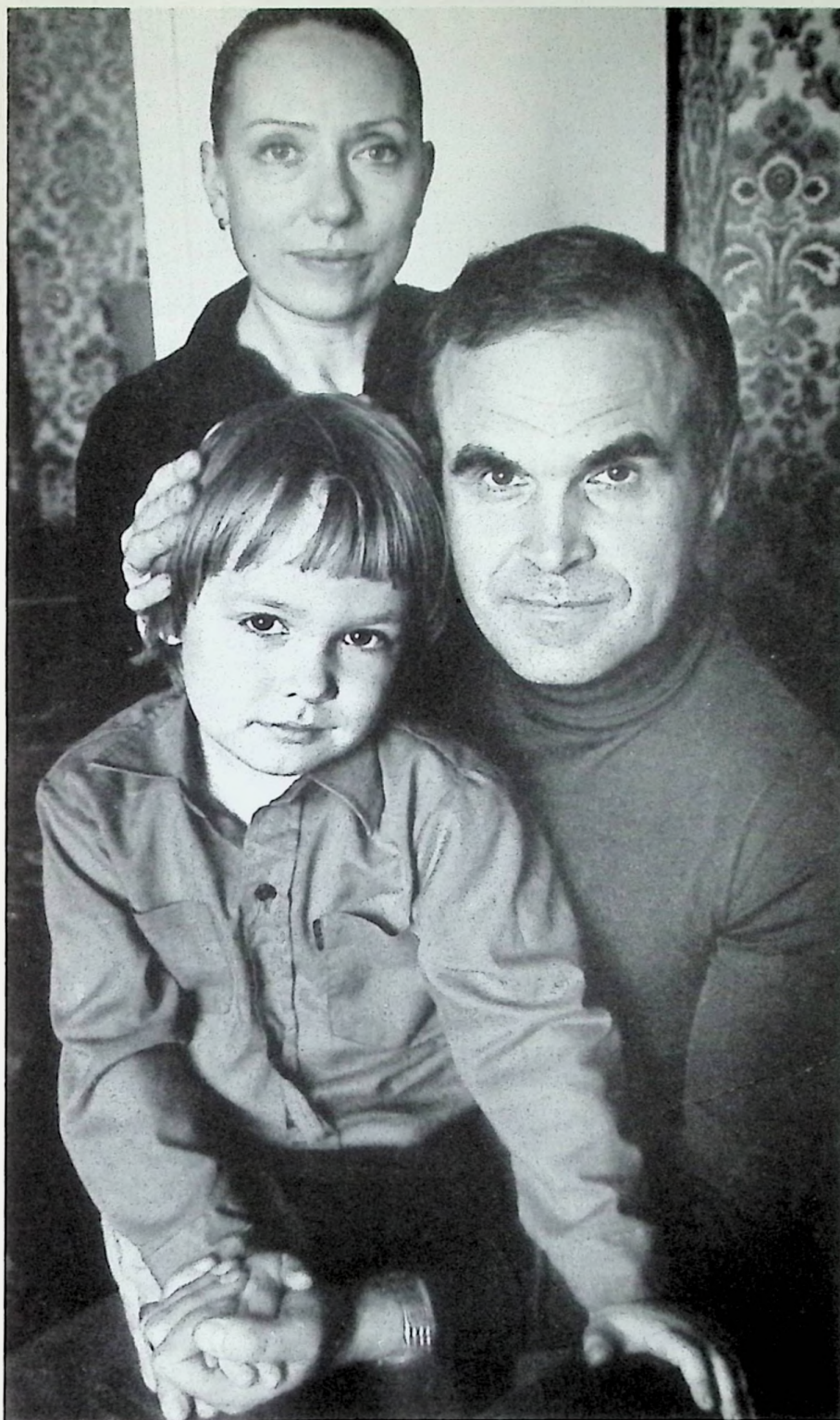
Agranovsky's attachment to *Izvestia* was amazing. His contributions added to the value and popularity of the newspaper. Not only the reading public, but also colleagues impatiently waited for his articles and stories. Moreover, Agranovsky was like a lodestar to his colleagues. His example inspired them to work to the best of their abilities.

Agranovsky also owed much to the newspaper. His work at *Izvestia* gave him creative inspiration and the feeling that he was in the thick of it, that he was directly participating in contemporary developments. But his concern with the latest news by no means diminished the profundity and the objective character of his writings, timely and contemporary as they were.

Although he was not a party man, everything he wrote was connected with the activities of the Communist Party in consolidating Leninist principles in all areas of Soviet society. I would call Anatoli Agranovsky a man of great political awareness. His publications show how a journalist can not only reflect life's ways, but also influence them, effecting progress.

Abridged from *Zhurnalist*, a monthly magazine (circulation of about 65,000) of the Union of Journalists of the USSR.

Rabotnitsa (Working Woman) is a leading magazine put out by Pravda Publishers. It carries articles on a wide range of topics of interest to women. It has a monthly circulation of over 16.5 million.



Film director Gleb Panfilov and his wife, movie and theater actress Inna Churikova, and their son, Ivan.

The family, careers, women and the law, the home, fashions, cooking, health and handicrafts are just some of the topics appearing on the pages of Rabotnitsa magazine. Here are profiles of two famous women of the arts written by their equally well-known husbands.

A CONTINUOUS MIRACLE

By Gleb Panfilov, film director

I was finding it extremely hard to cast the female lead in my first movie, *No Ford Through the Fire*. One night while I was watching television I saw her—Inna Churikova. The program itself was mediocre, but Inna absolutely fascinated me. I knew she'd be just perfect for the part! When the other members of the production crew heard about my choice, some of them thought I was nuts because she was too plain-looking. To me, she was beautiful, and she still is. She is a person with a capital "P"!

Her face is as lovely as a wonderful landscape that suddenly comes into view as you round a bend in the road. You're just driving, and then, there it is!

She is stunning. Her face, her inner self, absolutely intrigue me. I have starred her in all my productions. Each time I think that she has revealed all of her talents, that I couldn't possibly know any more about her, I discover I don't know or understand anything about her at all. I think a great actress is a continuous miracle. Whenever she asks me how she should play a scene, I usually reply: "Don't do anything. Just breathe. You don't have to act; just be yourself."

The film that brought us together won several international awards, and the foreign press called Inna Churikova "the Russian Giulietta Massina." She has something in common with every heroine she plays—compassion, sympathy and concern for people. All of her heroines are women of principle.

It's hard to say what cinematic career I'd be following now had I not met "my special" actress. It's just as hard to say what would have become of me as a person if I hadn't married her.

LOVE AT FIRST SIGHT

By Rodion Shchedrin, composer

Like everybody else, I first saw Maya Plisetskaya on the stage of the Bolshoi Theater in Moscow, and I fell in love with her at first sight. Later my friends Liliya Brik and Vasili Katanian found out about my secret love and invited me to their home to hear a recording of Plisetskaya singing the entire score of Sergei Prokofiev's ballet *Cinderella*. It was like a circus: She had managed to reproduce all of the sophisticated melodies of Prokofiev's score and to imitate all its nuances of timber.

I was awe-struck. It turns out that Maya has a perfect ear for music.

Several days later the same couple was entertaining the famous French actor Gerard Philippe along with several poets, writers and movie actors. I represented the musicians. Maya was there too.

That was our first meeting; fate decided the rest. When I drove her home later that night, she asked me if I could help her transcribe the score of Charlie Chaplin's *Limelight* from a record. It seemed that she and choreographer Kas-yan Goleizovsky wanted to stage a ballet using that music.

It took me two or three days. That was the first thing Maya inspired me to do. And I now say it was Charlie Chaplin who brought the two of us together.

Maya and I have been married for many years, and ever since then, all of the ballets I've written—*The Little Humpbacked Horse*, *Carmen Suite*, *Anna Karenina* and *The Seagull*—have been inspired by her and are formally dedicated to her.



World-famous ballerina Maya Plisetskaya at home with her composer husband, Rodion Shchedrin.



TWO TRIBES ACROSS A RIVER

By Gennadi Gerasimov
Chief of the Information Board,
USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Gennadi Gerasimov, appointed spokesman for the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs in July 1986, is one of the foremost Soviet journalists. An alumnus of the Institute of Foreign Relations, he began his career as a journalist at *Trud* (Labor). He represented Novosti Press Agency in New York, 1972-1978.



Gerasimov conducts a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists at the press center of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Some 10 years ago I went to the movies in New York to see the film *Telefon*—the word was deliberately misspelled to emphasize its Russianness, just like the current notorious *Amerika* TV miniseries. I went to the film well prepared, having borrowed from the library a copy of the novel of the same title by Walter Wager.

Both the novel and its screen version began with a Soviet agent emerging from the ocean at a Long Island beach, where a charming blonde is waiting. The film abounds in Soviet agents, all acting under hypnosis and completely unaware that they are secret agents. As soon as they hear the code sentence over the telephone, they set off, against their will, on blood-curdling sabotage missions according to mental programs that were preset when they were hypnotized. They all end up as suicides—also part of their hypnotic programming.

When the movie was over and the audience was getting back to reality, it really seemed to me much less attractive than before, even sinister. I asked two or three people around me for their impressions. They said they liked the movie.

"You liked that rotten fabrication?" I asked, completely flabbergasted.

"Might be rotten—but it's sheer entertainment," was the reply.

Ten years later I heard the same reply from an American correspondent in Moscow concerning *Amerika*. As for me, I saw nothing funny or entertaining about it. The plot revolves around Soviet troops occupying the United States. The film is a wicked political fantasy, abounding in stereotyped and irrational enemy images to make a greater impression on the minds of the viewers.

This trend began in the United States with the Socialist Revolution in my country. I looked through the *New York Times* for 1917-1918 on microfilm in the New York Public Library, and not in vain. I found ample material for a lampoon series. The newspaper reported, in all seriousness, that maximalists (meaning Bolsheviks) had taken power in Petrograd in order to rob banks and divide the spoils among themselves; that Prince Leopold of Bavaria acted as Lenin's speech writer; and that the Bolsheviks were German agents to a man. Walter Lippmann later counted the instances in which the paper predicted the impending collapse of the Soviet Government.

Were those spectacular faux pas the result of lack of information? Hardly. American journalism had a brilliant representative in Russia in those days—John Reed, who understood the situation very well and later wrote a book about it, *Ten Days that Shook the World*. But the *New York Times* never published his dispatches.

The *Los Angeles Times* later photocopied its 1917 issues at my request. The articles in them kept me entertained for many days.

All comparative analyses of the Soviet and American personality reveal a wealth of similar good traits. Our nations have never made war on each other. We Soviet people emphasize that fact and deliberately pass over in silence the ignoble Russian odyssey of the American troops who took part in the foreign military intervention during the Civil War, in the early days of Soviet power. We well remember and still talk about the American relief effort in starving Russia after the Civil War. We remember our Allied effort against nazism in World War II, which demonstrated that we can act together against a common enemy.

Today we again face a common enemy—the suicide pact, the threat of nuclear warfare.

Several theories presume to explain the origin of the enmity. Some think an enemy image is indispensable. David K. Shipler, once the *New York Times* correspondent in Moscow, wrote: "We need an external villain to attack. The Russians fill the role conveniently, partly because they have a real ideological conflict with us."

When I hear things like that, I wonder what America would do if the Soviets emigrated to another planet: Having to find another external villain would be a real plight.

If a villain or a challenge is necessary to keep up the national spirit, there are enough and to spare—the nuclear danger, hunger rampant in the Third World, environmental pollution resulting from shortsighted progress in science and technology. Isn't space research a challenge? Humanity will never twiddle its thumbs even if there are no wars and no external villains. As to the ideological conflict Shipler refers to, let it be confined to peaceful debates. It is absurd to try to settle the issue on the battlefield.

Objective information can erase the "enemy" image in people's minds. In this respect much depends on journalists and editors.

In our age of instant information, we can see and hear things that happen on the other side of the globe this very minute. Soviet-American misunderstanding is deplorably outdated at a time like this—as if we were two primitive tribes divided by a river. We see each other as enemies only because we live on different shores and our ways of life are unlike each other.

Objective information can erase the "enemy" image in the mind of the public. In this respect much depends on journalists and editors. Meanwhile, the situation in the mass media leaves much to be desired.

Professor Stephen F. Cohen of Princeton University, a good acquaintance of mine, gave me a collection of his essays entitled *Sovieticus: American Perceptions and Soviet Realities*. The book cites many instances of "an old American political disease, Sovietophobia," which leads to discrepancies between American perceptions and Soviet realities. What matters most is to destroy stereotypes.

"Do mainstream American newspapers, magazines and television networks, with their collective power to shape public opinion and influence government policy, give concerned citizens a balanced view of the Soviet Union?" Cohen asks, only to reply to his own question in the negative. Concerned American citizens get a "wicked-witch image of the Soviet Union," he says.

According to Shipler's calculations, 200 books and 2,500 press contributions on the Soviet Union annually appear in the United States. Nevertheless, the American public is deplorably ill-informed about the Soviet Union, he maintains. Because many American correspondents in Moscow have an insufficient command of Russian, Soviet journalists wonder how they could understand the country without firsthand knowledge of our culture.

Now, since my appointment as spokesman for the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, I see it as my primary task to help the 420 foreign correspondents permanently accredited at the Ministry Information Board. I presume they honestly intend to understand their host country and to report about it objectively.

American journalists have said that the Soviet people also failed to do their best for mutual understanding and that the Soviet press harps on the negative aspects of American life.

We do write about such things. As a Novosti correspondent with a long record of service in New York in the 1970s, I would say that the choice of topics greatly depends on the state of relations between our countries. I worked in America during a period of détente, and I did not harp on the darker sides of its life.

Once I wrote a long article entitled "Trip to Marlboro Country," about the Smoke-Enders, Inc., society and the anti-smoking campaign in the United States. To tell the truth, the article brought unexpected fruit: A Soviet firm promptly negotiated a contract with Philip Morris to produce Marlboro cigarettes in the USSR. They are manufactured to this day, proof of the power of the press.

In many of my articles, I explained to my readers those aspects of the American way of life that seem strange or ridiculous to my compatriots. Honestly, our two countries don't know enough about each other.

When one side strives to spoil its relations with the other, the other responds in kind—that's only natural. The latest example was when the release of *Amerika* prompted our journalists to unearth some unpalatable facts about the conduct of the American occupying troops in Vladivostok and Arkhangelsk during the Civil War.

At the same time, I would like to emphasize that our experts on the United States who have spent many years there describe America with the utmost respect, even love. Their books show that the authors try to understand America deeply and are free of prejudice.

Soviet "concerned citizens" also have broad access to American literature in Russian translation. English is widely taught in our schools, so many people can read American books and periodicals in the original. We don't ridicule Americans in our ads. We want to know more about America, and we wish it well.

Professor Cohen must be right in saying that Americans receive biased information on my country, which strengthens negative attitudes and phobias. But whenever I met Americans, I saw only friendly attitudes. My participation in a CNN program, *Crossfire*, was the only exception, but then, contention was part of the game.

A year ago, when I visited your wonderful country, I went to Alaska (which some Americans call "Russian America") and California. Wherever I went—in Sitka, Juneau, Bethel or Lake Clark—I received a cordial welcome. My most memorable impression was of meeting the whole community of Chivak, a tiny Eskimo village, in the local school. A banner above the stage greeted Chivak's first Russian guest. The villagers had many kind words for me, and they honored me with a folk-dance program.

I later went to Silver Spring, near Washington, D.C., to stay with friends, a family whose hobby is computers. My host works with a firm perfecting naval weaponry. That did not prevent us from discussing ways to make our countries and peoples understand each other better. ■

THE TIMES CALL



FOR A NEW WAY OF THINKING

Photographs by Marina Yurchenko

Seventeen prominent cultural figures from 10 countries met from October 13 to 16, 1986, near Lake Issyk-Kul in Kirghizia, a Soviet republic in Central Asia. On October 20 the participants were received at their request by Mikhail Gorbachev. Above: A press conference in Moscow after the meeting. Below: American playwright Arthur Miller and Kirghiz writer Chinghiz Aitmatov, who hosted the forum.

Seventeen international cultural personalities got together to discuss in an unofficial atmosphere how literature, art and philosophy can influence public opinion around the world.

"We contacted one another by mail or by telephone and eventually decided to meet at Lake Issyk-Kul in my native Kirghizia," Chinghiz Aitmatov, a Kirghiz writer, said.

The discussions, which were not bound by any procedural rules, dealt with a wide range of issues. "We expressed our unconditional support for the efforts to prevent war and to promote cooperation in the humanities," Aitmatov stressed. "We are ready to back up political leaders in their search for accord, especially when their efforts require help from intellectuals."

The participants decided that they should meet on a regular basis and agreed to call their meetings the Issyk-Kul Forum.

Federico Mayor, a Spanish writer and public leader, suggested requesting a meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev. Seconded by the others, he sent a telegram to the Kremlin. The Soviet leader's response was prompt and favorable, and they met on October 20.

The full text of the discussion was published in *Literaturnaya gazeta*. We offer our readers this abridged translation.

Chinghiz Aitmatov introduced the participants to the General Secretary. He stressed that the Issyk-Kul Forum could be described as a search for a new way of thinking under present historical conditions.



Mikhail Gorbachev: "I, too, am in favor of a new way of thinking. Would I therefore, perhaps, be eligible to join your club? But seriously, if we are to speak about the shortcomings of today's civilization, there are many. And the biggest shortcoming is the reluctance to adopt a new way of thinking."

Federico Mayor: "People often despair today because of the inequality of the most diverse strata that exists in the world. As we declared in our forum's statement, new ideas should penetrate every sphere, including politics."

"It is impossible, however, to solve new problems by outdated methods. The past is like a rearview mirror of a car. We use it only to determine the correct movement forward. Very often we put aside the facts of real life and prefer to stay in our ivory tower. We must be able to recognize the new realities and facts and also be in a position to anticipate the future."

"We are very glad to have held our forum in the USSR. We recall with great excitement the places in Kirghizia we visited where we saw and learned so much. To be among people is the only way to learn their true hopes and acquaint oneself with their material and spiritual values. The main wealth is in the individual; everybody has a creative potential, and this potential must be able to develop and express itself freely."

"We hope that life will continue in peace, freedom and justice and that wars and other methods of destruction will disappear. We shall do everything we can to remove the existing danger. The Issyk-Kul Forum has particularly stressed the urgent need for a radical change in the educational system in an effort to reduce the gap between the level of knowledge and real life."

Heidi Toffler, U.S. philosopher, said that she had been particularly impressed at an equestrian competition in Kirghizia by the event in which a man tries to catch a girl. If he fails, on the way back the girl whips him with a lash. This is a very strange custom, but it is instructive. Perhaps it should be widely practiced, she ended, to the laughter of all assembled.

Gorbachev: "Let's try to use this metaphor in politics: If we prove unable to gallop toward the ideas of peace, progress and justice, we deserve a really good whipping."

Heidi Toffler: "I have cited this episode only as an analogy. The television programs my husband and I produce end with approximately these words: 'We are all standing at the starting line of great competitions. Some have advantages, others have shortcomings. But it is important that there be neither winners nor losers in these competitions for the right to a future. We must all reach the finish line together.'"

"We think that it is our duty and responsibility to make the future of all humankind more humane and more democratic than any civilization that has ever existed."

Alexander King, president of the Roman Club, Great Britain, said that he had first visited the Soviet Union in 1933 and had returned frequently thereafter, but that never before had he seen such sincerity and openness as during this visit.

"The Issyk-Kul Forum statement points out that a new way of thinking has arisen in the world. This thinking encompasses a great deal—from the physical sciences to biology—but so far it has not penetrated the public mind. Yet it can exert a profound effect there. And the task of our group is to make sure that such an assimilation of ideas occurs with your help and with the help of your colleagues. We highly appreciate your openness."

Arthur Miller, U.S. playwright: "I am a playwright and work alone, and if I personally advance any ideas, they are expressed through my art. However, it is very important that we are able to speak directly to each other."

Mr. Miller believes that it is necessary to overcome the idea that the chief function of government is to be the center of all power. "I think," he said, "that your new approaches, the openness that you are demonstrating in your country nowadays, are very promising."

"You know that it is the job of poets to tell the truth. They must speak from the bottom of their hearts, and this calls for tolerance on the part of those in authority. Not only the poet, but generally anyone who has worthy ideas should have the opportunity to declare something new. I'm not speaking of any particular country. Orthodoxies exist throughout the world, and they all defend each other. If we want to develop, we must have the courage to discard what is no longer a truth and recognize what is the truth. Because reality has no favorites."

Gorbachev: "Reality is my pet subject. . . ."

Alvin Toffler, U.S. futurologist, devoted a large part of his statement to information. He said that many artists and writers have so far demanded freedom of information for political and philosophical reasons. Now they have one more argument, a very weighty one: "Economic reform is impossible in any of our countries without a change in the policy of information. Freedom of information is an immediate economic necessity because new economics is based to a great extent on the use of information technology."

Gorbachev: "I think that humanity is the main factor. When I see technological breakthroughs that are accompanied by great human losses and the exclusion of the people from the political, social and economic process, I think the validity of the system should be questioned, to say the least."



"That's why it is very important today that scientific and technological progress be geared to the interests of humankind so that people and their dignity are not humiliated and suppressed but, on the contrary, so that people have a stronger sense of being creators, veritable and active creators, because they are the source of this forward movement and nature's greatest creation."

Narayana Menon, president of the Indian National Music, Dance and Drama Academy, said that all participants in the Issyk-Kul Forum agreed on the need to ensure world peace and a better life for humankind and that the world and its problems must be seen realistically. He dealt with the problems facing the developing and underdeveloped countries. "More than half of the world's population lives there," he stressed. "Many live in poverty and are malnourished. This is also a problem that deserves attention, and one must be honest and open when speaking about it."



Above: Federico Mayor, Spain (right), and Father Mefody, a priest from the Troitse-Sergiyevsky Monastery. Left: Afework Tekle, Ethiopia (right), and Alvin Toffler, USA.

Gorbachev: "If we dodge this problem, we shall be in for some global surprises. And I also think that it can be likened to a delayed-action bomb."

Lisandro Otero, Cuban writer, pointed out that the most interesting thing about the Issyk-Kul Forum was the diversity of political, ethical and religious views expressed at it. "We all have very different views," he said, "and this is reflected in our positions, of course. But in spite of our differences, we have come to a common view, common positions and a common goal that we must all pursue."

Gorbachev: "You are quite right. Indeed, there were different people at the 'round table,' but the meeting was interesting for all of you. It has enriched you and given you greater understanding and brighter vision. It has given you a new lease on life, so to speak. In this connection I would like to make one point right away. Take the whole world. We are all different. Is that bad? It is reality. It means that we must learn to live with this diversity and respect each people's choice."

"Should we kill each other just because we are different? We must profit from this diversity, benefit from it and enrich one another."



A comic skit performed by James Baldwin and his brother, actor John Baldwin, was part of an impromptu concert the guests gave on their last night in Kirghizia. Below: Arthur Miller with Yakov Gubenko, chief director of Moscow's Jewish Cameo Theater, who wants to stage Miller's Incident at Vichy.

Omer Livaneli, Turkish composer, said that the relationship between artistic intellectuals and governments is a very sensitive issue. "We know from books that in olden times some rules needed poets. In our age, however, we are witnesses to occasional breakdowns of ties and relationships between governments and intellectuals in the arts.

"Today's writers and poets also want to deal with serious problems. They want to convey to the readers their vision of the future and their dreams. We are in a country that gave the world great cultural personalities. It is a wonderful opportunity for us to see the cultural values of the Soviet land, and we are very grateful for this opportunity."

Afework Tekle, Ethiopian artist: "When I received Aitmatov's invitation to come to Issyk-Kul, I thought at first: What can I do for the cause, and how can I contribute to it? But the atmosphere we enjoyed there helped us fully express our ideas. On the shores of Issyk-Kul I realized for the first time that thoughts of the universe, and not of a tiny part of our planet, should underlie everything I do. I was glad to see that many of the colleagues I met at Issyk-Kul shared some of my ideas. I saw not only beautiful landscapes but beautiful souls of thinking people who have pledged to solve twenty-first century issues with the hope and sincere desire to find new ways of approaching those issues."

Gorbachev: "I have the impression that what took place at Issyk-Kul is only the beginning; more is to follow. And you may count not only on our empathy but also on our support.

"As far as I can see, you are satisfied with your meeting. Arthur Miller said here that he is used to living and working on his own, though he works for people. He confessed that he had had his doubts about whether it was worth going so far and whether the meeting would score any results worth mentioning. Now I see that Mr. Miller and all of you have no regrets about having come. I think you are not the only ones to gain, but the many nations you represent will benefit as well.



"Personally, I am on your side. You are making grand efforts, which I welcome. As for this talk, as I see it, it was not mere curiosity that brought us here, though I have no quarrel with curiosity. Not all of us are philosophers; we are, above all, ordinary people.

"I think we can trace our desire to meet to our common worries and concerns, to our thoughts about the world we live in and about its future. We give much thought to the world's present and future for many reasons. The Issyk-Kul Forum attracted people of very diverse viewpoints, which I see as its greatest asset. It was a miniature demonstration of the opportunity the human race has of reaching an accord.

"Recently I met a large group of scientists who came to Moscow to discuss the urgent issues of our time. Among them were people of world renown, including Nobel Prize winners. I told them that politics must be scientifically grounded. It can't provide answers to pressing issues unless it is based on scholarly analyses, unless it is free of voluntarism and improvisation.

"I am even more sure today that politics must draw on what constitutes the intellectual treasures of every nation and of world civilization. Our intelligentsia—I mean that of the Soviet community of peoples—has always put human beings above everything else as the object of its con-

stant study and concern. Politics that ignores human fate is bad, immoral politics. Such politics can't be respected.

"Therefore, I share the idea you voiced here that political leaders and makers of contemporary culture should be naturally linked, that they should meet each other and regularly exchange opinions.

"There is no doubt that both the arts and politics have not only scored victories but have suffered losses and made mistakes, some of them fatal—especially when artists or some artistic trends shunned reality and ignored the urgent problems posed by life.

"I dare voice a somewhat controversial opinion here. Let's take a look at how matters stood in the past, including the recent past. Humanity never lacked the moral sense and intellectual courage to fathom the causes of upheavals and disasters, but we regret that it did so only after the actual calamities occurred. Just think what the world would be like today if people were able to ward off every imminent danger.

"That is why I welcome the Issyk-Kul Forum. I see it as yet another attempt by intellectuals to understand the contemporary world and voice their opinions of what awaits it in order to lead the best forces of every people and nation and ward off the dangers hovering over all of us.

"Diverse people took part in your forum, and that was its major importance. However, the participants rose above everything that divided them and managed to reach accord on the main issue—universal responsibility for the future of humanity. That was a lesson for everyone to learn.

"In his time Lenin formulated an idea of rare insight that the interests of social progress and universal values take precedence over class interests—an idea all the more topical in this nuclear missile age. We want the other side to understand and accept our premise on peace as the value that supersedes all others, no matter how cherished.

"We must speak at the top of our voice about the major apprehensions of our time and together seek necessary solutions for the sake of a peaceful present and future. We must arouse the conscience and responsibility for the destiny of peace in every individual. Civilization with all its difficulties and contradictions should be preserved for the sake of life, for the sake of people. And if humanity continues to exist, it will overcome the contradictions in one way or another.

"That is why the top priority is to preserve this world which is unique in the whole universe. I do not counterpose the importance of the struggle against the nuclear threat to the concerns caused by ecology, by the consequences of the scientific and technological revolution and by the information problem.

"Like you, I hold the view that the world we live in is far from perfect. But I am sure that it can be improved. And I think that the intellectual potential and, as you said, scientific discoveries and technology can be used to attain this goal. But first of all we must save the world from the threat of nuclear destruction.

"People's common anxiety over the nuclear threat is the one thing that unites all of us, regardless of where we live, regardless of our ideological views or religious beliefs. Let all of these remain our own personal choice. But in my opinion, no task is more important for all of us now than understanding the reality of the nuclear missile age.

"These apprehensions were the focus of attention at the Issyk-Kul Forum and have found reflection in the statement which it adopted and which expressed the common desire of all of its participants to develop the ideas of the forum and to continue its work, uniting broader and broader sections of contemporary intellectuals, who are well aware of the crucial issues in the world today. I think this should be appreciated. Each politician has possibilities of his or her own, but the possibilities of the artist in every field of endeavor is just as great.

"Almost everybody who spoke here said that a

new way of thinking is needed to adequately comprehend the realities of today. Proceeding from this idea, we went to Reykjavik with the kind of proposals the Soviet Union had never made before. A lot has already been said about the Reykjavik meeting. It was not a failure. It had its positive points, and we did make great headway. This meeting has shown that it is possible to reach agreements that would mark the beginning of the elimination of nuclear weapons. The package of the new proposals advanced by the USSR does not shut but, conversely, opens the door to the quest for mutually acceptable decisions. It provides a realistic opportunity to end the deadlock. But at the same time the meeting has shown that there are sizable difficulties to be overcome on the road to agreements.

"A major lesson of the Reykjavik summit is that new political thinking corresponding to the realities of the nuclear age is indispensable for dealing with the critical situation in which mankind finds itself at the end of the twentieth century. Deep-going changes in the political thinking of the entire human community are needed.

"It was very interesting for me to hear what you have seen in our country and what you think

of our society. We are going through an interesting stage, through an interesting period of historical development. We want to renovate all the aspects of our life on a socialist basis. We do not renounce our values, what we believe in, what has raised Russia to its present level. We have simply discovered that we insufficiently utilized our system's potentials in developing our economy, social sphere and culture. Furthermore, we have found that certain deformations have occurred in our society that are not consistent with socialist values. The fact that we have now taken the road of reorganization via the openness and democracy route has evoked a hearty response from our people. We are experiencing the kind of support that has been unseen perhaps for decades. We will follow this road.

"Some people in the world welcome our plans and support our intentions and wishes, whereas others are afraid of them for unknown reasons. We think that what we are doing not only meets the aspirations of the Soviet people, but also opens up opportunities for searching out new forms of cooperation with other peoples and states.

"We are aware that this job requires great ef-

fort. In some places the current processes encounter great obstacles. But please keep in mind that we number 280 million and that over 100 nationalities, large and small, live in our country! And today all of us must rethink many things from a new standpoint, from the viewpoint of the vistas that our policy has opened up before our society. It is not such a simple matter after all.

"We hope to get a lot of help from our intelligentsia. It is essential that the Soviet intelligentsia not only actively join the nationwide process but become its ardent advocate. Our entire society is now in motion, and this motion is gaining momentum. It opens up vast opportunities for accomplishing domestic tasks and for resolving global problems.

"I am very glad to see you here and to become acquainted with you. I never had the chance to meet you before, though I have heard about many of you.

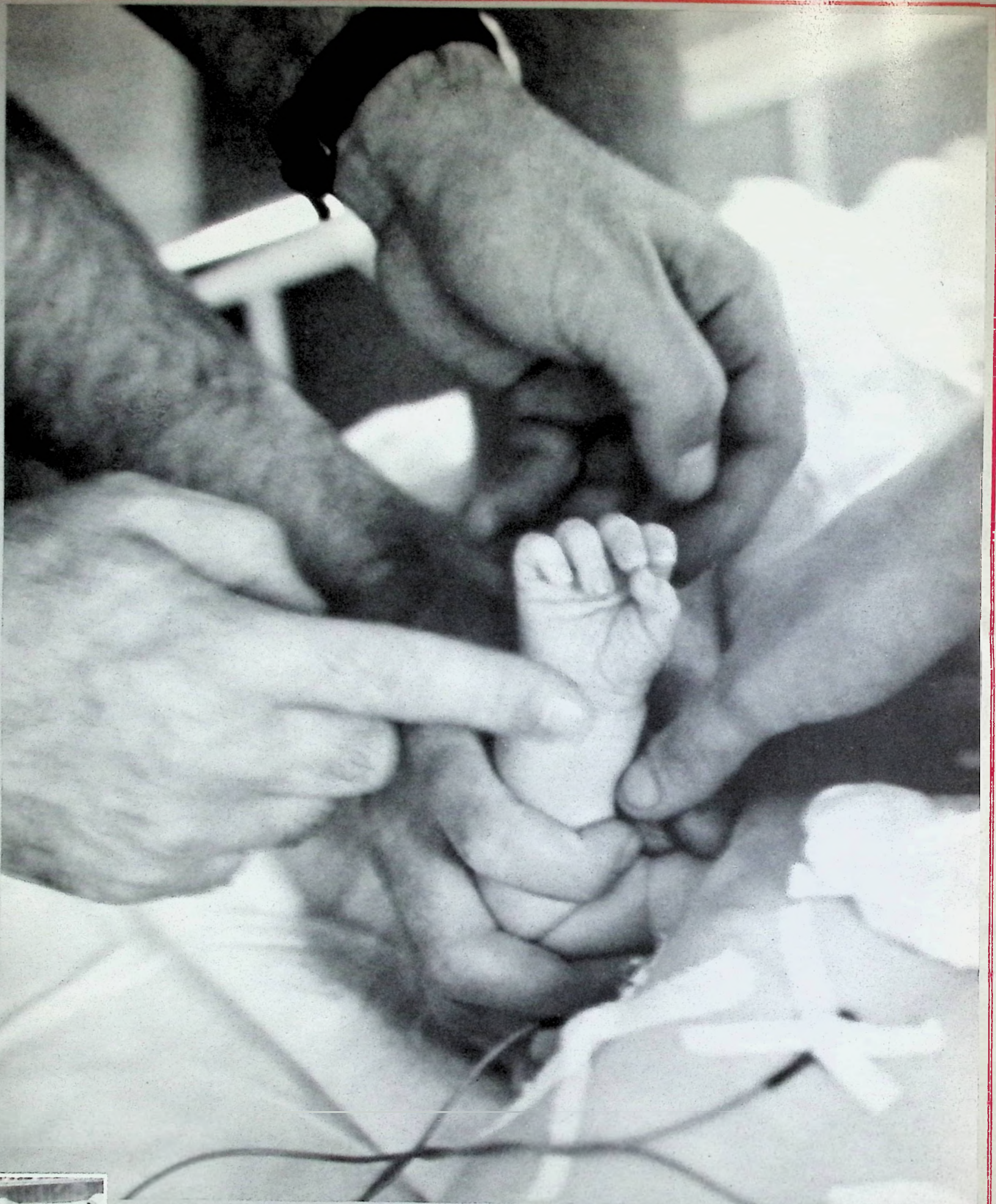
"I am immensely satisfied with the results of our meeting and wholeheartedly wish you all the best."

The participants in the meeting warmly thanked Mikhail Gorbachev. ■

Participants at a tea party in a Kirghiz yurt.



gold eye winner



SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY



Two photos from Vladimir Vyatkin's series "Hands of a Surgeon," for which he was awarded the Gold Eye in the science and technology category.



Vladimir Vyatkin, 35, started at APN as a lab assistant in 1968. Since then he has gone on to become a leading photographer at Novosti. For several years he has also been teaching at Moscow State University. Topical reporting and feature-story illustration are his favorite genre. Vyatkin's one-man show in December 1985-January 1986 aroused a great deal of interest. His photos have won medals and prizes at various international events.

FORUM: FOR A NUCLEAR-FREE WORLD AND THE SURVIVAL OF HUMANITY

Continued from page 1



The discussions showed that the current changes in public awareness and in the Soviet policy are winning the acclaim of people all over the world. People reject the old maxim, "If you want peace, prepare for war." They are beginning to realize more and more clearly that our planet is indivisible, that the destinies of different nations are now closely interrelated and

that there would be no winners in a nuclear war, but only one loser—all humankind.

The participants arrived at the consensus that seeking military superiority is senseless. Although the new thinking is coming up against stubborn resistance from reactionary forces, it is gaining ground.

The Soviet Union has already begun translating the new philosophy of international relations into its day-to-day policies. Addressing the forum participants, Mikhail Gorbachev stressed that either political thinking will change in accordance with the realities of our time or human civilization will perish. The USSR has already demonstrated the new pattern of thinking in a number of practical initiatives, which include a program for ridding the earth of nuclear weapons, announced on January 15, 1986; a unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions, which the Soviet Union honored for 18 months; a package of far-reaching proposals that the Soviet side made in Reykjavik last November; a readiness to eliminate all chemical weapons; and a new attitude toward humanitarian issues.

The reaction of the participants to Gorbachev's address shows that although the forum brought together people of different political philosophies, ideologies and religions, they were unanimous on the main thing—the nuclear guillotine must be

There were eight interest-oriented round-table conferences at the forum in Moscow. Representatives of the world's business community discussed questions of promoting business cooperation for peace and prosperity.

abolished. Eight different groups at the forum held round-table discussions, and all of them emphasized the need to destroy nuclear weapons, to prevent the militarization of space and to enlist every man and every woman in the lofty cause of ensuring a peaceful future for humanity.

John Kenneth Galbraith, a professor at Harvard University, said that Gorbachev is deeply committed to the idea of disarmament and that the leaders of all governments in the West and in the East should also rally behind that cause if they want to avert nuclear catastrophe.

The forum showed that scientists, politicians, physicians, the military and the clergy alike want new policy rather than new weapons. They want a policy aimed at realizing the universal dream of a lasting peace and not a policy serving the short-term interests of one country. This is a very significant factor.

The forum also contributed to building trust among individuals and among nations. The honest and sometimes heated debates helped participants to better understand each other's position. This is of great importance today because, without trust, international security is impossible.

Socialism is again inviting the other social system to join in peaceful competition. This competition should proceed in civilized forms. And for this, new attitudes and new methods of tackling international issues must be adopted. To begin with, we must reject the very idea that a nuclear war is admissible, stop the arms race on earth and prevent it in space, reduce nuclear arsenals and eventually rid the world of all nuclear weapons. We are convinced that such competition will serve the cause of progress and world peace.

The peace forum in Moscow demonstrated that thinking people can save the sacred gift of life. Humankind must not perish.

Courtesy of the newspaper *Sovetskaya Rossiya*



Top: The peace forum in Moscow brought together many old friends. Inga Miller, a U.S. artist, and Andrei Voznesensky, a Soviet poet, did not need a formal introduction. Center: Claudia Cardinale, the Italian movie star, and Vladimir Karpov, first secretary of the USSR Writers Union, had a lot to discuss. Above: Dr. Bernard Lown, the U.S. cochairman of the organization International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (right).

"Constructive and Useful"

Discussions we had at the forum were most constructive and useful. I attended the arms control session, the session on new political thought and others organized within the "round table" of political scientists. I particularly liked the session on new political thought. It was a nice surprise because at a meeting of this sort you expect people who might sound a little bit too theoretical. But everything I heard there was interesting and informative.

First of all the participants decided to do away with polemics and face the fact that both countries—the Soviet Union and the United States—sit on the same side of the table now, facing the common problem of nuclear destruction. Another important agreement we observed was that we must give up the luxury of incrimination and mutual blame if we are going to make any progress. Of course not everybody heeded this advice, and as a result there were polemical interventions on a number of issues. But there was general understanding that both the superpowers and the secondary powers should confront the danger of a nuclear disaster together.

Of course no one expects miracles, but we knew that the main aim of the forum was better understanding, and I think we moved closer to this noble cause as a result of it.



John Kenneth Galbraith.

The peace initiatives put forward by General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev are very important and far reaching, so I think they are bound to bring favorable response from the United States side.

I have the same feelings about the so-called *perestroika* or radical reforms that are taking place in the Soviet Union. I study all the statements coming from the Kremlin and find them to be most encouraging. After coming to the Soviet Union for several visits since 1959, I think I realize the magnitude of the tasks the Soviet Government is planning, especially those in the economy.

The biggest problem for both of our countries is to overcome economic bureaucracy. This is not something you change easily. But the noble aim—greater responsiveness for public needs—is worth it. I found many interesting things for myself in the new approaches you are trying to develop. This was one of the reasons I visited the international forum in Moscow. I found the firsthand information from its participants and the unrehearsed discussions we had there to be extremely open and candid, which I appreciate very much.

John Kenneth Galbraith is a professor at Harvard University.



Yevgeni Velikhov.

"A Historic Event"

I personally think that the forum was a historic event. Judge for yourself: It was attended by about 1,000 prominent scientists, scholars, physicians, writers, cultural personalities, businessmen and clergymen from 80 countries. They participated in round-table discussions based on professional interests, and this made the discussions especially useful and productive. It was a free exchange of ideas and views.

The science group, for example, included world-renowned physicists, mathematicians, biologists, chemists, power experts and meteorologists. They discussed nuclear test control, issues of international security, space weapons, the relation between offensive and defensive arms, and the need to end the arms race and scrap nuclear weapons.

In a word, the discussions we had at the forum centered on the vital issue of our time—securing a future for humankind. Another outstanding feature of the forum was that there were no predrafted resolutions to adopt and no long speeches. It was a free exchange of opinions with frequent clashes of opposing views, but always a frank discussion. No one tried to impose anything on others. And still, the forum managed to completely dispel the fear, which had been voiced before its opening, that we would not be able to agree on anything, that we would not find common ground at all. We were united by the main idea of the forum, the survival of humanity, which is our moral obligation before the present and coming generations.

The Soviet leadership followed the work of the forum very closely. Mikhail Gorbachev's meeting with its participants and, especially, his speech at the joint session in the Kremlin forum are proof of the attention the peace forum received in the USSR.

The results of the forum were, on the whole, given high marks by Western mass media. Yet there were remarks that the theoretical level of the discussions was not very high. Why? Some people can't sleep if there is no fly in the ointment. I would like to cite only one example. It does not happen every day that four Nobel laureates, among other prominent experts, take part in a round-table discussion of such an important issue as ways of organizing international cooperation in science.

We agreed on a number of projects that could be used for the good of humanity—in power development, medicine and education, and decided that an international fund be set up to start working on them. Obviously, the initial stage will

be the most difficult one. We in no way think that the forum was the end of discussion. We are going to send all the materials to a number of U.S. and West European research centers so that experts can take a look at them.

Science can make a valuable contribution to realizing the motto of the forum "For a Nuclear-Free World and the Survival of Humanity." Lately there has been an increased expectation for science to offer recommendations for practical political action, to clear the road, so to speak, for positive political processes.

Let me explain my point. If a complicated situation has developed in the world today, it's because politicians, in the drive to substantiate their argument or to justify their actions, have been using scientific and technical terms sometimes without a proper understanding of them. This is true, for instance, of such major issues as nuclear tests control and the deployment of weapons in space. Juggling complex technical terms may sound very convincing to ordinary people, and it is designed to enlist their support for specific actions. Scientists can say what is right and what is wrong and disperse unfounded illusions.

Furthermore, science has already conducted initial experimental studies of the problems of nuclear disarmament. Take, for instance, the joint work of Soviet and American scientists at the nuclear test site near Semipalatinsk. Modest as it may be, that is science's real contribution to establishing a nuclear-free world.

A very important problem—the creation of space-based arms—was discussed and thoroughly analyzed at the forum. Most of the participants were unanimous that we have a historic chance to keep space free from weapons. This chance must not be missed, for if one country places weapons in space, others will follow suit. Very soon space will be littered with diverse military trash, and it'll be extremely difficult to stop that process.

Academician Yevgeni Velikhov is the vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences and chairman of the Committee of Soviet Scientists for Peace and Against Nuclear Threat.

"It's Now Up to Policymakers"

At the forum in Moscow I represented the Federation of American Scientists [FAS], which has been studying problems linked with the prevention of nuclear conflict for many years. Therefore, I do share the humane idea of the forum—for a nuclear-free world, for the survival of humanity.

It's not my first visit to Moscow—FAS and the [Committee of] Soviet Scientists for Peace have established close contacts. In effect, Soviet and American scientists study one and the same problems, although their methods and approaches are different. At the forum we saw once again that our positions coincide. In brief, we both believe that:

- Nuclear war would be the gravest disaster in the history of mankind;
- There is no effective defense against a nuclear attack;
- At present, the United States and the USSR are really roughly equal in nuclear potentials;
- The arms race should be stopped without delay.

I'm an adviser to the program of the joint Soviet-American experiment in seismology. It is a very important program for laying the foundation for the verification of a future test ban. I hope it won't be too long before we'll be able to stop testing and have an agreement. I'm not an expert in seismology, but in the arms control area I think



Left to right: Andrei Kokoshin, USSR; Frank von Hippel and Bernard Lown, both USA.

there are new techniques being developed that can register even a concealed explosion down to a thousand tons. The parameters of these series are being measured in the Soviet Union and in the United States. So we'll be able to see how the series should be implemented and stationed for monitoring a test-ban agreement. I'm sure that our cooperation will be successful. It's now up to policymakers. Their task is to reach vital-for-peace agreements.

Frank von Hippel is a professor at Princeton University and the president of the Federation of American Scientists.

"Situation Is Too Dangerous"

The main idea of this forum, as far as I can tell, is to try and find means of mutual reductions of the very high level of nuclear armaments. I think any reasonable person, irrespective of his or her political, ideological or religious beliefs, must agree that that's a very important objective. I certainly agree—I wouldn't be here if I didn't.

My scientific colleagues and I—and we have influence in academic circles—feel that the time has come for the most vigorous action. With nuclear weapons the world is a too dangerous world, and we must understand this now, and not when something drastic happens. I think politicians' talk about local nuclear wars is totally groundless. If there were a nuclear war in densely populated Europe or America, it would mean a complete destruction of all human civilization, of all nations, large and small.

This is why we scientists must use all our authority and all our knowledge to convince the governments of our countries that it's necessary to have nuclear arms reduced and destroyed and to avoid provocative new arms races like the one, for instance, in space. That's not easy, but obviously we have no other route.

I was born an optimist, and I believe that the day is not far off when the U.S. President and your General Secretary will get on the hot line and say: "Hey, the situation is too dangerous to allow it to continue. We must cooperate to make sure that such a thing doesn't ever happen." Then, I think, nuclear disarmament will move, at long last, from a standstill. In so doing, the leaders of our countries will be able to refute the bitter thought Albert Einstein expressed in 1945: "The possibility of the use of nuclear weapons has changed everything, except our way of thinking."

Bernard Feld is a professor of physics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, USA.



Gregory Peck (left) and Maya Plisetskaya with her husband Rodion Shchedrin.

"This Forum Is a Start"

I find new openness in everything I see here in the Soviet Union. I know the Soviet people want peace. I know the American people want peace. And our aim is to connect our leaders so they can make positive decisions on world peace. The time has come for the American people to have trust in and belief in the Soviet people. Mr. Gorbachev means what he says. He means business.

I see great changes in the Soviet Union. The last time I was here was 27 years ago and since that time you've solved a lot of problems. The people keep becoming more and more optimistic.

This forum is a start. It is a beginning of genuine friendship between the people of our two countries.

Frankly, I've heard much more than I'd expected at the forum. All of the participants were speaking very openly and looking for positive results.

People who are here are not flower children; they are not empty-headed idealists. All the people here are experienced professionals. Even the fact that they met here is of great importance.

Gregory Peck, an academy award-winning actor and producer.

Science Must Work for All

Of course I believe in the capabilities of science and scientists in the vital cause of disarmament and, notably, nuclear disarmament. Otherwise I would not have come to Moscow to attend this international forum.

However, by the nature of my scientific pursuits, I am an analyst and a pessimist rather than an optimist. Yes, as a physicist I support the position of the majority of the forum delegates: Nuclear weapons must be scrapped so that the peoples of the earth can breathe free at last and feel safe about the future. I even believe that in 10 or 15 years the nuclear powers will come to terms on that major problem. The question is, however, what to do with the funds thus saved.

Unfortunately, many developing countries are not particularly concerned about the nuclear problem. The people there badly need the most elementary things: housing, food and education. I clearly realized this during my recent tour of a number of African countries. In fact, my impressions are quite gloomy. I thought: Here is a chronic ill that must be treated by civilized humankind. That is why I share the view of Mikhail

Gorbachev, who clearly outlined in one of his speeches the spheres of potential application of the material and intellectual resources saved as a result of nuclear disarmament. One of these spheres is the needs of developing countries.

I also support the alternative proposal by Gorbachev for closer cooperation among scientists on major international projects that would serve the progress of humankind. Our International Center for Theoretical Physics in Trieste is an example of just such cooperation. Scientists from many countries, including about 30 physicists and mathematicians from the Soviet Union, work at the center. Frankly, I would rather see Soviet science represented by a larger number of specialists, given the fairly high standard of fundamental physics in the USSR. That would help us absorb each other's ideas and tackle our common problems with greater efficiency. Finally, it is the road to mutual confidence that is so essential in our nuclear age.

Abdus Salam is a professor at the International Center for Theoretical Physics, Italy.

"We Came . . . to Make History"

A very strong collection of Americans came to Moscow. The city is elite in art, literature and film making. And I should say the elite of the world got together here.

In my opinion, this collection of international



Bel Kaufman (right) with Soviet actor Mikhail Ulyanov.

cultural leaders in one place, this forum, is a part of our future history—very promising for the future of mankind.

I even think that we came to Moscow to make history. A lot of views. A lot of discussions. This is very interesting and of great value for all of us.

I see tremendous positive changes in the Soviet Union. The last time I was here was in June of last year. Even since then a lot has changed. The freedom in the Soviet Union is now far greater than it was in everything: in newspapers, in the economy, in the social life.

I see a kind of surprise in my colleagues.

And I see here at the forum the will to listen, the will to do something, to act. It's a beginning.

Bel Kaufman is an American prose writer and dramatist.

"Definitely a Step Forward"

The contribution I made at the "round table" of political scientists, organized within the framework of the forum, was to promote trade, which is the easiest way to leap over existing



Arnold Saltzman.

barriers of mistrust.

Positive changes in the economy of the Soviet Union, which are occurring now, are looked upon very favorably in the United States. Because if the process of radical reforms continues, the Russians will have an economy that reaches out for new opportunities. This obviously will immediately increase the possibilities for trade. Businessmen like to do business, and if the new perspectives appear, why not take advantage of them?

To my mind, one of the proofs of the new interest in broadening trade with the USSR on the part of the U.S. Administration is the recent relaxation of U.S. export rules concerning technological items. I am talking about oil-drilling equipment in the first place.

Of course there are other and even more important issues to be solved and barriers to overcome on the way to U.S.-Soviet trade—the most-favored-nation treatment, for instance, and other things of that sort, which will be slow in coming. However, I am very hopeful that progress may be expected there as well.

I studied carefully all the important statements made by General Secretary Gorbachev, and I must say I am most encouraged by what I read.

Using the thoughts of General Secretary Gorbachev's speech to the participants of the forum, I agree that in our striving toward better understanding and mutual trust, we should now look forward, rather than remain captive to memories of the past.

People in the United States are very concerned with peace. I am sure that people in the Soviet Union are also very concerned about peace, and people in Europe are too. The big issue is how to arrive at this peace and which mechanism to use to get there. What divides us at the moment is not a lack of desire. Mutual mistrust has a deeply rooted history. The improvement will not come immediately. That is why the forum in Moscow was definitely a step forward.

Arnold Saltzman, a former U.S. Ambassador, is the chairman of Vista Resources, N.Y.

"Extremely Important Meeting"

It was an extremely important meeting, highlighted by General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev's address. There were three very important things in his speech. First, his information on the Soviet proposals made at Reykjavik and the continued emphasis on reduction of nuclear weapons. Second, he made it clear that parity is not



H. Jack Geiger (right) and Sydney H. Wanzer.

the same as security, that parity is not necessary for security. I found this idea extremely important because it means reductions are possible even by unilateral initiatives without loss of security. The third very important thing in his speech was the link between the domestic changes and democratization of the Soviet society and international policy. I think it is very important for the West to recognize that.

I hope the speech has a favorable reception in the United States. We face a difficult situation, so we have to rely on people-to-people exchanges between peace activists in the United States and people in the Soviet Union.

In 1961, more than 25 years ago, we founded an organization called Physicians for Social Responsibility to make it clear to the people of the United States and to other doctors the real consequences of nuclear weapons. Some of us worked on this for a very long time. Our national organization has almost 50,000 physicians as members—it is one of the largest medical organizations in the country.

And though the current situation in the world is quite gloomy, I see a great deal of hope with regard to a comprehensive test-ban treaty.

I find highly important a proposal announced by Academician Yevgeni Velikhov to establish an international organization for human survival and for better allocation of world resources for joint projects such as medical aid to the Third World, educational programs, and the like. It is a specific initiative in which people from many nations, including the Soviet Union and the United States, might work together on common projects that will be very helpful.

The major effect of the Moscow forum in terms of the United States will be when we return home and communicate some of the flavor of what took place here.

Jack Geiger is the national president of the Physicians for Social Responsibility. In Moscow he had ample opportunity to speak openly and freely with physicians from the Soviet Union and other countries and discuss new approaches to the present stalemate.

"Not to Be Afraid"

Our peace forum was a true cross section of the entire world. However, we all seem to agree on the necessity for stopping the nuclear arms race. I don't think there was any disagreement on that point. And in his address to the

forum, General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev couldn't have been more open in inviting the rest of the world to participate in de-escalating the arms race. It was also an open invitation to the United States to cooperate in stopping the nuclear arms race. I was tremendously excited, and I thought it was a wonderful speech.

What I also appreciated in his speech was that it was very positive and forward looking.

When one looks at various problems in the world and in particular [at relations] between the United States and the Soviet Union, poor communication and poor understanding are two of the biggest. Relative to them is the perception of the enemy image and the whole issue of mistrust.

We have a lot of misperceptions about one another. Recently a poll in the United States asked average citizens to name which country had unilaterally stopped nuclear testing. More people gave the wrong answer, saying it was the United States that had stopped testing while the Soviet Union had continued. My opinion is, if there is ignorance of such a basic fact as that, then we have a real problem. I find the whole business of the enemy image highly destructive.

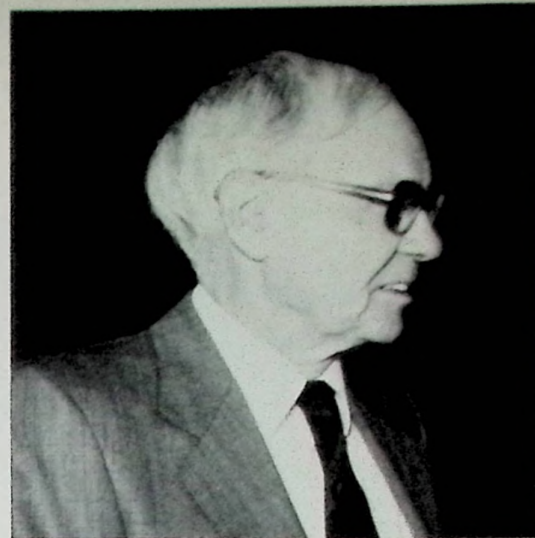
I can see some reason for fear on the side of the Soviet Union. Your country has experienced many troubles through invasions. You lost 20 million people during the Second World War. A whole generation of your young men were killed. This is the sort of thing that most Americans have absolutely no concept of. They have no appreciation of what it is like to have been through what your country has been through. And that in turn explains a lot about why you might feel endangered.

To overcome these fears, to overcome mistrust, we must try—though of course it isn't easy—to increase communications on a number of levels. I believe we should go beyond scientific groups, which have been historically very successful. I'd like us to get into much broader exchanges of students. The TV bridges that we've already had have been extremely interesting, and I believe they should be greatly expanded. Mass media in general I think could do a great deal in terms of increasing understanding. The newspaper link would be important. Personally I would like to see, for example, an American writer having a regular, say, a weekly column in a Soviet newspaper and vice versa.

My stay in Moscow has proved to me once again that people here are no different from people in my own country. Our aspirations are the same. We all want security; we all want enough to eat, a place to live. We all want not to be afraid. These are all basic things that we all want. If we all could realize that, it would help tremendously in terms of reducing tensions! Meanwhile, we have to keep on talking.

Sydney H. Wanzer is the chairman of the Publications Committee of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War.

Physicians at a TV interview.



William C. Norris.

Very Productive Discussions

Whenever you increase business ties, you increase the prospects for peace.

Discussions were very productive. We learned more about policy with respect to joint venture in the Soviet Union. There are great opportunities for U.S. companies and companies in other countries, and I think joint ventures will also be very advantageous for the Soviet Union.

I want to urge broader cooperation in international research and development because every nation in the world must improve the efficiency of creating and applying technology in order to maximize development and job creation.

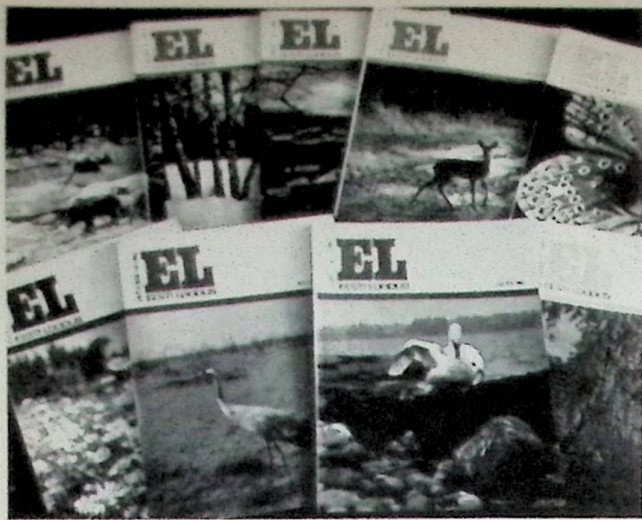
In the field of technology transfer, there is an enormous potential for establishing a multitude of joint ventures between the Soviet Union and other countries, involving small businesses.

The Soviet Union has more scientists than any other country, and the United States has the largest number of small companies. It is well known that small companies are much more creative than large companies. By coupling small companies with Soviet science, thousands of joint ventures could be established.

We did not discuss [in Moscow] cooperation in electronics. Certainly, [it] is an area where there will be cooperation.

Although cooperation in this area was later reduced to practically zero because of all sorts of restrictions and limitations, Control Data has retained its office in Moscow. Exchanges in the field of research in computer technology should be reestablished. Control Data has recently proposed a joint project in computer-based education and training.

William C. Norris, chairman emeritus of Control Data Corp., is a cofounder and the chairman of the board of the Midwest Technology Development Institute.



Some issues of *Eesti loodus*, the Estonian wildlife magazine, whose editor in chief, Ants Paju, uses the magazine's pages to good advantage to carry on the crusade for protection of the environment.

ANTS PAJU

By Leo Vaino
Photographs by Valdemar Maask

Symbolically enough, the magazine *Eesti loodus* (Estonian Wildlife) is run by Mr. Willow, Mr. Birch and Mr. Rose: These are the surnames of Ants Paju, editor in chief, and his deputies, when they are translated into English. Paju's ancestors were farmers to a man. He grew up in the countryside and received a degree from an agricultural school. He worked as a forester before he took up journalism, and he has planted more than a thousand trees during his 41 years.

Tall and athletic, Paju recently threw the discus well over 60 meters, and in the shot-put, he narrowly missed the 20-meter mark. A man of humorous disposition, he says an intellectual needs strong muscles in order to achieve anything at all.

When he was appointed editor in chief of *Eesti loodus*, the staff waited with trepidation: Paju seemed dangerously dynamic. But he surprised them all by not even writing a program-setting editorial. Little by little he remade the magazine into an extremely militant periodical. Paju fought the benign attitudes toward environmental pollution that prevailed even in the Estonian Society for Environmental Protection.

At first sight, Paju should have had no reason to worry. Estonia was the first constituent republic to pass an environmental protection act, which it adopted in 1957. The republic has the Soviet Union's first national park, in Lahemaa, and 30 game and wildlife preserves. Estonian experts lead Soviet efforts in measures to protect the Baltic Sea. In short, we Estonians had every reason to say that we were ecologically minded people. Paju had his doubts, however. He started his work as editor by explaining to us that we had engaged in wishful thinking: an unpleasant realization.

Two issues of *Eesti loodus* carried the results of an opinion poll concerning attitudes about ecology. The poll revealed that most Estonians were aware that acute nature-protection problems did exist. Many saw that they were rooted in our economic activities. The man in the street is, regrettably, worried only by what is under his nose. So most people were concerned about the state of lakes and rivers but not about subsoil waters; about city streets but not about soils within the city limits. The average person doesn't see how closely daily life is tied to the environment. That's why too many people close their eyes to nature's plight.

Eesti loodus has a circulation of 52,000 (a gargantuan figure for Estonia, which has a population of only 1.5 million). The magazine did not limit its activities to making startling revelations. It started a column called "At Peace with Wildlife" to bring home to everyone the idea that protection of the environment depends on the efforts of each individual.

Not every Estonian reads the magazine, so Paju thinks teachers and journalists are his most desirable readers. Managers, too: Critical articles are intended for that group.

Eesti loodus appeals to educators—authors of school textbooks in particular—because the rift ►



AND HIS TRIEES



Protection of the environment depends on the efforts of each individual.

Left: Paju (left) debates issues of ecological concern in other Estonian magazines also. Right: Photography is one of his hobbies.



between what we do and what we know we ought to do begins in childhood. The magazine often criticizes the press, as sociologists contend that most major publications and television fail to hit the nail on the head in environmental protection. Criticisms in *Eesti loodus* made the Estonian Ministry of Education and the Journalists Union step up their activities. But that was not enough for Paju. He carries on his work in the magazine and in meetings with teachers, school students and journalist colleagues.

Paju expressed his opinion at the Estonian journalists congress last November:

"I think everybody now realizes how dangerous it is to be ignorant about environmental issues. But the realization is far too abstract. Even the title of the new children's TV program on wildlife protection—'Panda'—is all wrong. Pandas are endearing little creatures, to be sure, and they need our protection—but they are too far away, in the forests. What if we call children's attention to the trees that are drying up around their houses? Those trees are the best symbol of global issues."

Paju has a lot of allies among both his contemporaries and people of generations past. An example is Karl Robert Jacobson, an Estonian educator of the nineteenth century who wrote a book addressed to farmers. Today his book might well be entitled "At Peace with Wildlife." He set up a model farm, with the cattle shed built a safe distance away from the pond, and the number of cattle and the amount of arable land balanced to keep forage and fertilizer optimally correlated.

Quite recently, agriculturists who think like

Teaching children to plant trees and not to fell them is the most important thing, says Ants Paju.

Paju defended the right of small farms to exist when most people were obsessed with giant agricultural complexes. Cosmonauts, fiction writers and scientists specializing in every field from chemistry to history regularly contribute to his magazine.

Twelve years ago Paju was deputy editor of the daily newspaper in a tiny district in Jogeva township in the heart of Estonia. No less enterprising than he is now, Paju attracted about a hundred young people to the Hecto Club, which he founded. That was a time when affluence was becoming the norm and for some, alas, the supreme value. Paju saw how ominous the trend was. So he set up his club to help spiritual values hold their own. Outstanding people were invited to address the club. Volunteers engaged in community work. They started by planting a birch grove on the site of an abandoned dump. Later they planted a park on four hectares of wasteland. The Hecto Club's guests—prominent statesmen, scientists, fiction writers, cosmonauts and athletes—planted many trees there. Estonia owes dozens of hectares of tree farms to the Hecto Club. The club spent its afforestation earnings on excursions and children's parties.

Paju is no believer in magic mental transformations. "If you told me you woke up one morning and found yourself endowed with the new way of thinking we talk so much about, I'd doubt your sanity. To change the way people think takes lots of time, and we've just gotten started," he says—a viewpoint to be expected of one in the forefront of the reforms sweeping the Soviet Union.

Education and information are not enough for Paju. He is after grand results. Take the recent Great Phosphate Rock Debate.

That Estonia has a large phosphate rock deposit has long been known. Agriculture badly needs phosphorous fertilizers. It seems clear as day that the phosphate must be quarried, and the sooner the better. But there is more to it than meets the eye, *Eesti loodus* journalists are sure. Here is the gist of some magazine debates.

The phosphate rock lies at a depth of 15 to 200 meters in an area exceeding 200 square kilometers. Nature has a nasty surprise for us, however, right where the deposit is the shallowest and therefore easiest to quarry: A layer of argillaceous schist covers it. In contact with air and water, the loosened mineral ignites spontaneously to exude sulfur dioxide and other toxins. Furthermore, the deposit is in the heart of a productive agricultural area which must be preserved, and it is near the Gulf of Finland and the Lahemaa National Park.

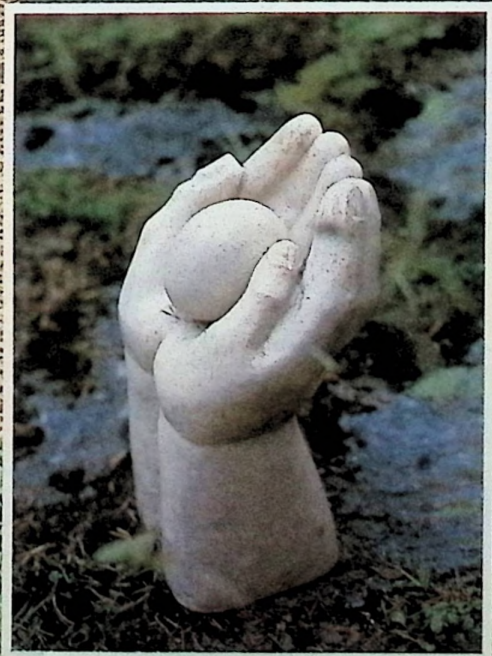
Nevertheless, clay shale, or argillaceous schist, is a valuable mineral even now. Research on its more effective utilization is under way, so it will be precious in the century to come.

Who was to win? Far-sighted economists or those seeking immediate success, who think "After us, the deluge"?

Academician Mikkel Veiderma, a permanent contributor to and an editorial board member of *Eesti loodus*, offered the best solution. It was possible, after all, to obtain phosphate without polluting the environment in the southernmost part of the deposit, where phosphate rock lay the deepest, thickly coated with oil shale. That mineral has been mined and quarried in Estonia for 70 years with environmentally safe techniques. So shale could well be mined at the upper levels, and phosphate rock, at the lower.

Estonian Landscape

Although Estonia was the first Soviet republic to pass an environmental protection act, ecological problems still exist. A sculpture, Environmental Protection (inset), provides a reminder.



Paju the environmentalist knows nature from his own experience.

But, said Veiderma's opponents, worked-out mines are often swamp in which the subsoil water balance is broken. Veiderma's laboratory staff found a solution. Phosphate rock layers contain a considerable amount of refuse: ash, for instance, which lies in mammoth heaps near mine entrances and resembles concrete in consistency. If we dump it into worked-out mines and then pump in water, the mixture solidifies, eliminating the danger of swamping for good.

Eesti loodus helped convert public opinion to that point of view, and the program became the backbone of the official phosphate mining plan.

An interviewer is hard pressed to ask a man who has universal harmony if his life is harmonious and satisfying—especially if you know his family as well as I know the Pajus. I've never seen a friendlier household, despite the frequent business trips of the father and the duties of the doctor mother. Nevertheless, I dared to ask him: "Would you like your son to follow in your footsteps?"

"And become a journalist? God forbid! I'd like him to imitate me in other ways, though—provided he throws the discus farther and plants more trees." ■



gold eye winner



RECIPIENT OF MANY AWARDS

Sergei Guneyev, 36, graduated from the Moscow Aviation Institute in 1973 and spent the following four years working as an engineer. But his love of photography won out. Since 1977 he has been with APN. Guneyev specializes in news and sports events. He has won the Adidas-Kodak, the International Sporting Press Association's prize, in 1980, 1981, 1982 and 1985. He is also a recipient of a Worldpressphoto-81 medal. His photo of a table tennis competition (right) won him the Gold Eye at Worldpressphoto-86 in the sports category.





«DANAË» WILL LIVE!

By Anatoli Yezhelev
Photographs by Lev Sherstennikov

Like people, works of art have their own fates and their own secrets. Some have survived dramatic dangers. Nevertheless, what happened to Rembrandt's *Danaë* at Leningrad's Hermitage State Museum shocked and appalled all who heard about it.



Newspapers the world over often report thefts from museums, smuggling of art treasures and art forgeries. In the Soviet Union such happenings are extremely rare. In Soviet times not a single masterpiece has been lost or damaged (excluding, of course, wartime losses). This made the assault on the *Danaë* seem even more dreadful.

On Saturday, June 15, 1985, a small and inconspicuous man joined a noisy crowd of visitors entering the Hermitage and immediately made his way to the hall where 26 Rembrandts, the

largest collection outside the Netherlands, are on display.

People stopped in front of the masterpiece *Danaë* and lingered a while before walking off to make room for others. The stream of admirers seemed to have no end. Not for a moment did it occur to anyone that a man in the crowd harbored an evil intent. A gray coat, a pale face, a vacant stare from behind the black rim of his glasses: Did he realize what he was about to raise his hand against? He stood almost at the very window, and Danaë's arm, stretched out toward the streaming light, seemed to be held out to him.

The catastrophe occurred within seconds. At

11:50, when no one was standing next to him, the man pulled out a knife and violently slashed at the picture, leaving a gaping wound on Danaë's hip. A further blow cut her stomach. Then the man quickly took a jar out of the bag he was carrying and daubed a smelly dark liquid on the canvas, just above the figure of Danaë.

The shrill cry of a woman brought a militia sergeant dashing forward from behind a stand. Not immediately realizing what a terrible injustice had befallen the masterpiece, he rushed to the aid of the screaming woman. Splashes hitting his face from the right made him turn. Now he saw the mutilated picture and a man standing strangely huddled in front of it, gripping a knife in his right

hand. A brief tussle ensued, and the guard overpowered the man.

The dreadful news was soon all over Leningrad. Telephone calls came one after another. Everyone was anxious to find out what had happened to the painting. But so soon after the event no one could give a definite answer. The experts were busy doing all they could to save the painting. All they knew was that acid had been thrown over the canvas. Nothing was known about the man who had been detained.

When the trial was over, I was permitted to read the investigation reports, which filled two volumes. All the facts and details regarding the perpetrator's personality fell into place.

His name is Maigis, and he comes from the Lithuanian city of Kaunas. In the words of people who knew him, he had a reputation for being a well-read man who played the violin and collected coins, post cards and rare old books. In recent years he had not worked anywhere, but had made a living by dealing. Although he was 48, he was single. He avoided women.

Loneliness and bitterness must have caused a nervous breakdown. One day he came across a magazine with a colored reproduction of the *Danaë*. This gave him his frantic idea.

The conclusion reached by the medical experts was that Maigis "suffers from a chronic form of schizophrenia which precludes his awareness of what he is doing." In view of the diagnosis, the court sent Maigis for treatment at a psychiatric hospital.

The picture, which had always radiated a golden warmth, went black. A thick dark liquid streamed bubbling down Danaë's body. In some places it already seethed on the picture frame and on the lacquered parquet floor. During those first minutes it seemed to the museum staff that this immortal work was expiring before their very eyes. Now we know for certain that the liquid daubed on the painting was acid. But in those first few minutes the museum staff had to be sure that it really was. Before any analyses had been made, the experts showed great resourcefulness—they began to wash away the liquid with water! The reader should not make the mistake of thinking that this was the obvious thing to do—far from it. Moisture is an enemy of painting. We can only imagine how Vitali Suslov, deputy director of the Hermitage, felt when, taking a dreadful risk, he ordered that the priceless treasure be washed with water! The washing lasted some 90 minutes, until tests indicated that the acid was gone. Later a panel of chemists determined that the actions taken had been absolutely correct.

After the canvas had dried for three hours, fur-

ther samples were taken. They indicated that no traces of the acid remained. Now the moistened paint layer had to be reinforced. This was done with the help of a weak solution of sturgeon glue, invented by the Hermitage restorer Dmitri Mitrokhin in the early nineteenth century. For the sake of safety the entire surface of the painting was sized with tissue paper and left to dry overnight.

Early the following morning, as if by arrangement, Academician and museum director Boris Piotrovsky, Suslov and restorers and associates of the Rembrandt Hall assembled. They were all anxious to find out whether any unforeseen

The next stage is to save the painting itself. This will require a huge effort. But whatever the obstacles, the *Danaë* will be restored to life!

changes had occurred during the night. When they turned the painting toward the light, they could see that, under the thin layer of glue-impregnated tissue paper, the varnish, dimmed with water, showed through, and they could clearly see what was damaged and what had become temporarily invisible.

The damage was found to be considerable, especially in the center of the left half of the canvas. Fortunately, however, the entire top and right edge had remained intact. Danaë's head, shoulders, bosom and arm, which lay on the pillow, were found to be in a fairly good state of preservation. Some experts, basing their opinions on rumor, thought that the masterpiece was beyond restoration. Even such noted experts as Philippe de Montebello, director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, and James Wood, director of the School of the Art Institute of Chicago, took a pessimistic view of the problem. They had, however, made these judgments before seeing for themselves what the Hermitage was doing to save the picture.

Suslov, head of the Hermitage's working group set up to restore the *Danaë*, said: "One suggestion was that perhaps some encrustations and losses should be left as they were so that the genuine *Danaë* at least could be seen, even if it was damaged. Like the Venus with lost arms. But then, that would be no solution. We are sure people would want to see the *Danaë* undamaged.

"Our restorers could have followed the com-

monly accepted practice of making up for losses by painting them over, matching the coloring. Museums throughout the world have many pictures that have had serious impairments, even whole areas lost. They were restored by overpainting, and the pictures live on. More often than not, people do not even notice the repainting. But we did not feel we could do that with a Rembrandt."

The first stage of the work is already completed: The technical restoration of the masterpiece has been accomplished. The experts were afraid that the acid might have penetrated the painting and priming and gotten into the canvas. Meticulous research showed that Rembrandt's canvas was safe, that the acid had not seeped through. Nevertheless, new tissue was glued to the back of the picture, a method that is used to reinforce decaying canvases.

The next stage is to save the painting itself.

"The acid that got onto the picture above Danaë's figure," Suslov continued, "ran down in rivulets, mixing with the paint and varnish, which in some places were charred. We hoped that we would be able to remove them by hand using a scalpel or a needle. The restorer made a careful attempt—and saw that it was not going to be smooth sailing. The acid had made the painting beneath the strips fragile.

Luckily that was not the case everywhere. In some places the encrustations lay only on the varnish. In other places the damage revealed islets of the genuine Rembrandt painting: It simply couldn't be damaged. It follows that it is not a question of removing the encrustations, but of carefully and gradually thinning and leveling them and painstakingly collecting the minute fragments of Rembrandt's painting. This will require a huge effort. But whatever the obstacles, the *Danaë* will be restored to life!

Not much is known about the history of the *Danaë*, which passed into the possession of Empress Catherine the Great when she acquired the collection of Baron de Tiers of Paris in 1772. Rembrandt first painted this picture of his young wife in 1636, during a period of great happiness. When he returned to it 10 years later, he made major changes, removing a number of details, altering Danaë's features and giving the picture a wonderful sense of warmth through his use of the color gold. This warmth captivated all who saw the picture. The alterations were discovered by associates of the Hermitage in the course of X-raying the painting.

Following the damage done to the *Danaë*, experts set its value at 10 million rubles, or approximately 13 million U.S. dollars. ■

Courtesy of the newspaper *Izvestia*



The painstaking task of restoring the *Danaë* continues unabated. Above: Museum director Boris Piotrovsky (right) and his deputy, Vitali Suslov.



Vladimir Nadein is a leading satirist on the staff of *Izvestia*, the government daily. Last summer he was in the United States for the Mississippi Peace Cruise.

PROFESSIONAL LAMPOONER

By Vladimir Nadein



It all started with a dinner invitation from the management of the *Minnesota Star and Tribune* on the day before I was to leave on the Mississippi Peace Cruise last July. Roger Parkinson, the publisher of the newspaper, Dowell Kreitmar, the editor, and Robert White, the executive editor, were entertaining Stanislav Kondrashov, a prominent Soviet news analyst, and myself.

Newspaper offices in the USSR differ from those in the United States. For instance, our publications are managed collectively, and the job of editor in chief is a combination of editor and publisher. Still, our hosts' jobs were no mystery to Stanislav, who had spent a dozen years in the U.S. as a correspondent, or myself, who had spent several weeks reading up on the subject before leaving for the States.

Stanislav's introduction went off without a hitch—he was once the U.S. correspondent for *Izvestia*, the government daily, and is now an

Izvestia political analyst and a champion of Soviet-American cooperation. It was an altogether different story when it came to me. I said, "I'm the paper's lampooner."

"What's that?" Bob White asked.

"Well—" I was at a loss. I thought something was wrong with my English, especially since my pronunciation leaves a lot to be desired, so I repeated what I had said, articulating each syllable as best I could. "I'm a lampooner. I write lampoons for the paper."

"How d'you mean?" Bob repeated with the same polite insistence.

Stanislav came to my rescue: "Vladimir's our Art Buchwald."

"O-oh!" our hosts drawled admiringly, and asked with interest: "Is it your job to satirize the government?"

On that, I had information enough and some to spare. One of my VIP victims, the late lamented Alexander Gandurin, then Minister of Services of the Russian Federation, called me after seeing

one of my lampoons in *Izvestia*. He told me good-naturedly that I'd given it to him good, but that I was absolutely right and the ministry would surely set matters straight. He kept his word.

Another one of my satirical contributions, about the then USSR Minister of Trade, elicited a strictly official response: The ministry dryly informed our editorial board that it accepted the criticism and intended to do something about it.

Once the USSR minister responsible for enterprises producing most of the country's color TVs—incidentally, he's still in that post—came under my fire: The ministry retaliated with a caustic letter to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, *Izvestia's* sponsor. "The paper's jeers were making our TV sets, which are exported to many countries, uncompetitive," the letter read. Making a profit at any cost is not the goal of socialist production, *Izvestia* replied. If our criticism protected customers at home and abroad from buying shoddy goods, we are proud of our contribution to world trade. The ministry also said I had



undermined the authority of a well-respected head of a key industry. The paper countered that if the big boss was so insecure that an article in the press had frightened him, the industry would be better off if he retired, and we were glad to give him a good shove.

The minister promptly arrived at *Izvestia's* office. He informed us that the writer (me) had been correct "on the whole" and that "measures would be taken." I guess the situation has been taken care of. Anyway, I no longer receive letters from readers complaining about the defects that I had reported in my article.

However, I wasn't sure that my three ministerial-level lampoons could be equated to Buchwald's biting commentaries. And that wasn't the only agonizing question I asked myself after Stanislav drew his daring comparison. If I were the Soviet Art Buchwald, could, then, Art Buchwald be styled the American Vladimir Nadein? If he could, which one of us did the comparison flatter?



I may seem cocksure if I claim that I can produce a biting satire about a VIP tax evader. But can Buchwald, whom I admire, write a farce abounding in witticisms about the shortage of, say, rubber washers for sinks and get results? I did, and the number of defective washers in this country fell 40 per cent. In fact, I triggered a washer boom and was complimented for my wit in doing so to boot.

There was something else that dogged me as I sought to describe the difference between a lampooner in a Soviet periodical and a satirical columnist in the United States.

Lampoons in our mass media have no analogues in any other country, including the socialist countries. In a flippant form they express burning problems in the economy, mores, culture and social institutions—and help resolve them.

What exactly is a lampoon in a Soviet newspaper? Generally, our lampoons not only look at events from a fresh and sometimes paradoxical angle but also—in most cases—disclose newsworthy information, which has been checked.

However, it's not uncommon for an expert lampooner to appear in court two or three times a year, as no libel suit against the press can be ignored. Editorial staffs must always be able to document their accusations. If a suit is brought against a publication and it cannot substantiate its claims, the court can order the publication to print a retraction.

What makes a lampooner? Teaching the trade in university departments of journalism has been tried, but to no avail. It takes more than a witty pen to write a lampoon. Newspaper satirists must be part investigative reporter and part social scientist. Shrewdness and common sense are far more valuable in my job than scholastic erudition.

God knows where my lampooning colleagues sprang from. I guess they sprouted like mushrooms after a long rain. By a long rain I mean years and years of public activity, with general

“Lampoons in our mass media have no analogues in any other country, including the socialist countries. In a flippant form they express burning problems in the economy, mores, culture and social institutions—and help to resolve them.”

democracy and social awareness.

Alexander Moralevich, now a leading contributor to *Krokodil (Crocodile)*, the nation's satirical magazine, was a metalworker; whereas Marina Lebedeva, one of *Izvestia's* best lampooners, started out as a typist. Now she is a vigorous defender of women's rights. She fearlessly tackles ministers and mayors, fighting for anything on earth, from quality ready-to-wear clothes to safe city

streets. Another celebrity, the satirical poet Alexander Ivanov, began his career as a schoolmaster. Mikhail Zhvanetsky, a household name in the USSR to whom spoken Russian owes many a catch phrase, used to be a construction engineer in Odessa, the "land of wits." He wrote for a drama society sponsored by the regional Komsomol committee. A former veterinary surgeon, a retired army colonel, a lawyer and a film director are just some of my colleagues.

Why, then, is the job so desirable? A high salary, you might say, or a fascinating career. Nothing of the sort! Lampooners share the limelight with fellow journalists, but officially they are considered back-stage hands.

But newspaper lampoons have an unequalled impact on public opinion. That's what attracts gifted writers to the difficult profession.

"Satire is clever people's humor," Zhvanetsky once said. But I wonder if satirists come under the heading of clever people, what with the troubles we have. Leaving the literary specificity of the genre aside, we are constantly taking on bureaucrats who think of a lampoon as a threat to their careers. They are formidable enemies.

Last but not least, it's quite challenging to understand new social phenomena, our only topics: We usually have nothing to do with things to which everybody has got accustomed.

"It's a dog's life you lead, isn't it?" Kreitmar said, half in jest, after I told him all that you have just read.

"Well, I've gotten used to it," I replied. ■

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ROVING REPORTER LENA KHANGA



Lena Khanga, Moscow News correspondent. Left, top to bottom: When Lena was assigned to cover a marathon in Moscow, she donned shorts and a jersey, pinned on a number and got the story "on the run." Interviewing Mayor of San Francisco Dianne Feinstein.

By Andrei Bezruchenko
Photographs by Oleg Lastochkin

I first saw Lena Khanga eight years ago during entrance exams for the school of journalism at Moscow State University (MGU). The good-looking, dark-skinned girl speaking perfect Russian immediately caught my eye.

Having passed the exams, my friends and I decided to celebrate our student status at the Hotel Cosmos restaurant. Boy, was I surprised when I saw Lena (she'd passed the exams too) in the floor show, singing in English!

"I'm earning money for lessons in Portuguese," she told me. "My maternal grandparents are American. They came to the USSR in the 1930s together with a group of other specialists who'd been invited by the Soviet Government to take part in the industrialization of the country. My grandparents decided to stay. My father is from Tanzania. He met my mother when he was studying in Moscow at the Patrice Lumumba People's Friendship University. I was born in Moscow so I'm 100 per cent Russian. At any rate, I don't feel any different from any other Muscovite, and nobody ever makes me feel uncomfortable because I'm Black."

Since our first meeting, Lena and I have kept in touch with each other, getting together now and then. How she manages to do as much as she does, to be in as many places at the same time as she is, simply amazes me. When we were still in college, Lena used to squeeze in a game of tennis in between lectures, studying in the library and working at the restaurant. When she was in high school, she had been a USSR women's tennis champion, and when she entered MGU, she played on its tennis team, which ranks high among other college teams.

Sometimes we wouldn't see Lena for several days and when we did, we asked her what had happened. She'd laugh and say, "You'll see." After a while we'd see her at the movies, on the screen. She was cast as the daughter of Patrice Lumumba in the joint Soviet-French production *Black Sun*, and she's quite proud of it. That's her only "big" role so far; the rest have been bit parts, but she's got a lot of them to her credit.

"It never takes me long to make up my mind, so I get a lot of offers whenever the role of a Black girl comes by. I always accept. It's good experience, and it's nice to have some extra pocket money. And I get to feel like a movie star on top of it."

Lena, now 24, is working in the Information Department of *Moscow News*, where they call her "the flying reporter," and with good reason: She's never in the office.

Once when I called her with some juicy bit of information, she wasn't there so I left a message. When she returned my call, she said: "Sorry, but I've spent most of the morning at a factory, and right now I'm on my way to Sheremetyevo Airport. I'm afraid I'll be stuck here awhile." When she heard my information that the British reggae group UB-40 was holding a jam session in Moscow that night, she said: "I'll be there!"

By the time we got together, the jam session was in full swing. During intermission Lena found Robin Campbell, the group's lead guitar player, and started bombarding him with questions. About a half an hour later she said with regret: "It's a shame I can't stay to the end. I've got a deadline to meet, and I still have to write my story." And off she rushed.

Once she told me: "I'm beginning to think I'm just skimming the surface of everything because I'm constantly on the go. I'd like to stop and think and look around once in a while, but the paper functions on deadlines."

Still, I think that Lena's wish "to dig down deep" is beginning to materialize. She has been given her own column titled "How Do You Like It Here?" *Moscow News* is published in Russian, English, French, Spanish and Arabic and is sold in many foreign countries. Foreign tourists coming to the USSR often read it. Lena interviews them and asks them what they liked and what they disliked. Her very first article turned out to be critical. The Intourist travel agency, which caters to foreigners, was the recipient of several uncomplimentary remarks. That was quite in line with today's *Moscow News*, a paper dealing with the most topical themes.

Lena is willing to write on any topic, but she prefers youth problems. For instance, she took an active part in the creative youth forum discussions, which were organized last winter to be held simultaneously in all the cafés on Kalininsky Prospekt.

It's the rule with Lena to put herself in the place of the "hero" of her story to make things authentic. One of her assignments was to cover Moscow's International Peace Marathon in which Soviet and American runners participated. So Lena donned shorts and a jersey, pinned on a number and started running with the rest.

"It was awfully hot, and I was soon exhausted. I didn't collapse simply because I was afraid that the runners behind me would trample me," she joked. "I interviewed participants in the marathon literally on the run."

I remember, when we were in college, Lena had a boyfriend, who she'd known for quite a long time. They decided to get married before graduation.

"There's just one little thing wrong with you," he told her. "You can't cook."

So Lena signed up for a class in cooking right before final exams. She kept her lecture notes and recipes all in the same notebook.

After receiving her college diploma and learning to cook, she suddenly got to thinking: What am I doing? I can cook; I have a college education; I support myself; I play tennis; I act in the movies. What do I want a husband for? She decided not to get married.

Whenever I asked her if she ever planned to settle down, I'd hear, "I've got very high standards for my future husband. He should be able to do everything I can do and something more besides."

"Lena, your demands are too high," I'd say. "You'll never get married that way."

I was mistaken. She has recently met someone who measures up and they are planning to get married. She wouldn't let me photograph them together for the magazine though. She said, "Sorry, it's bad luck." ■



soviet newspaper

Above: Snowman, mascot of the *Izvestia International Ice Hockey Tournament*. Right: Vyacheslav Fetisov, captain of the Soviet select ice hockey team, holds the tournament's first prize trophy, with a snowman on top. Below: The Finnish team plans its strategy.





sponsors ice hockey tournament

By Vladimir Shchukin



Above: The Soviet and Finnish teams in action. Left: The Soviet select ice hockey team, winners of the twentieth *Izvestia* International in 1986.

In 1967 the USSR Ice Hockey Federation organized an international event in Moscow to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The tournament was attended by six squads, including the select team of Canada's eastern provinces. Top laurels went to the hosts, while the Canadians placed fifth.

The tournament became a yearly feature and quickly gained popularity. In 1969 *Izvestia* assumed patronage of the tournament, instituted special prizes for the winners and issued various badges, souvenirs, booklets, posters and reference literature. The tournament was then named for *Izvestia*.

"If there had been no *Izvestia* International, we would have invented such a contest anyway," said Gunther Sabetzki, president of the International Ice Hockey Federation (IIHF).

Held in Moscow in mid-December, the *Izvestia* International is considered a dress rehearsal for the world championships and one of the IIHF's most prestigious official competitions. Tournaments like this enable teams to master new tactics and to try out new players in real action. But, in keeping

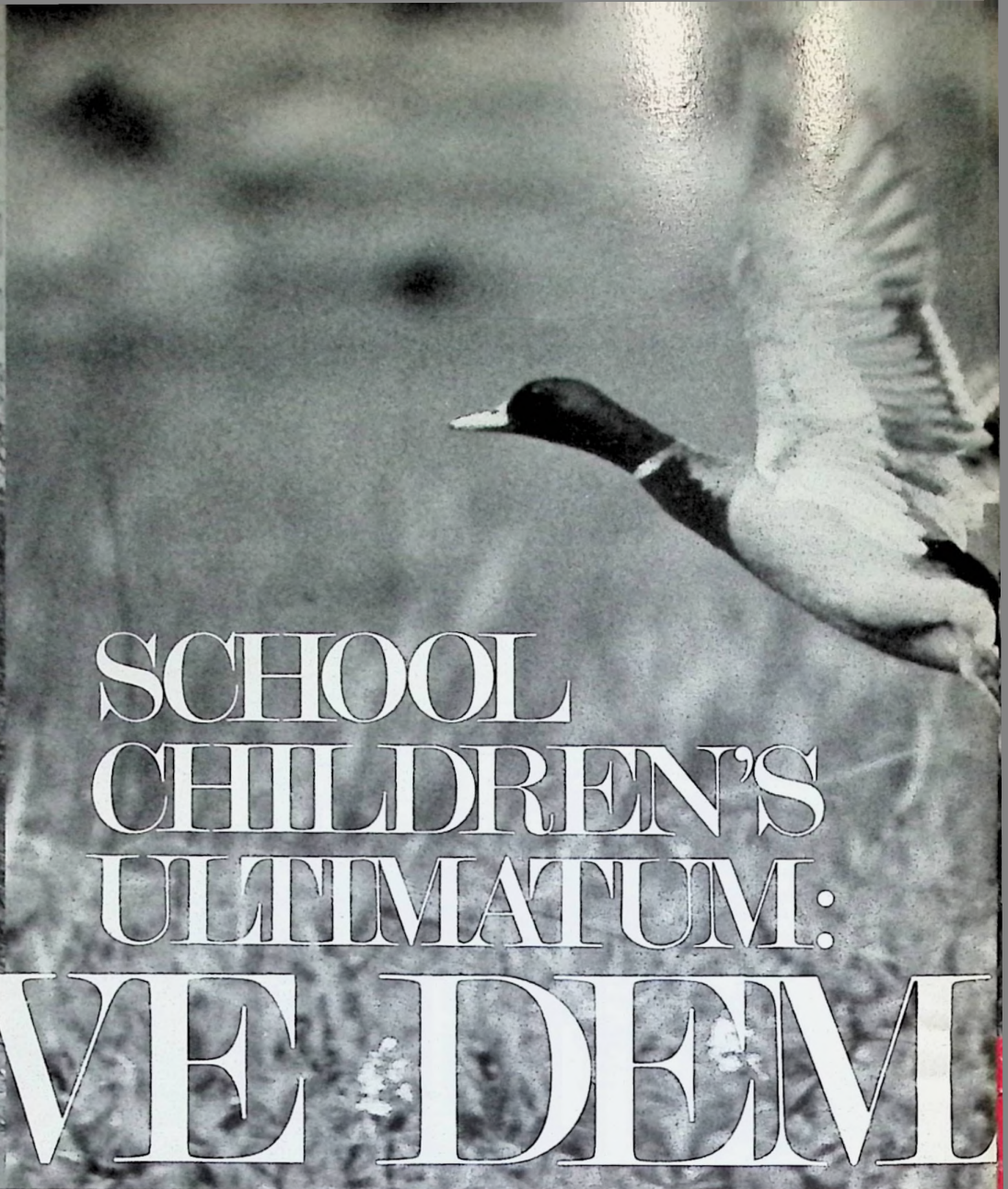
with the tournament regulations, the event's main objective is to promote international sports and to consolidate understanding and friendship among athletes of various countries.

Boris Fedosov, head of the *Izvestia* sports department, suggested a merry-looking snowman with a hockey stick as the official emblem of the tournament. Since then his dispatches from the tournaments have been signed "Snowman." Hundreds of journalists from different countries cover these contests. But Snowman's firsthand account enjoys special respect.

On the eve of the tournaments *Izvestia* carries special questions for hockey aficionados. Fedosov and his coworkers have held 20 such quizzes and received more than three million letters from the readers.

The USSR teams have repeatedly finished on top, ceding the first place only to Czechoslovakia on four occasions.

The main prize of the last tournament, a big ceramic vessel for kvass (a Russian soft drink) manufactured by the renowned Gzhel plant, was presented to the Soviet squad. The young Canadian Olympic team confounded the pundits, taking second place. Third place went to Sweden. Quite unexpectedly, Czechoslovakia came in fourth, with Finland last.



SCHOOL CHILDREN'S ULTIMATUM: «WE DEMAND»

Many generations of Leningrad children have subscribed to the Leningrad daily *Leninskiye iskry* (*Lenin's Sparks*), the USSR's oldest children's newspaper. When they grow up and become parents, their sons and daughters also begin to read the newspaper. My own journalistic career began at age eight, when my first article was published in *Leninskiye iskry*. I don't remember what it was about—too much time has passed since then. Many years later, when I graduated from the local university, I became one of the paper's editors, and I'm still very fond of it.

It is an amazing newspaper. Where else could a child come with a neglected kitten in his arms and say: "Please tell my mother to let me keep this kitten!" The little visitor was quite sure that his mom would faint as soon as she set eyes on his dirty treasure, so the editors were expected to step in. Or imagine an infuriated father who came to the newspaper office to report that his son had taken the manuscript of his thesis to the paper recycling station! Because the thesis was so heavy, the boy's Young Pioneer club came in first in the paper collection competition!

My favorite editorial duty was to read the kids' letters to the paper, and we receive more than 40,000 of them every year. Looking through a letter, I would automatically correct the spelling mistakes with my red pencil. But mistakes don't really matter if the message carries evidence of the child's inborn sense of justice. The ruled sheets of paper torn out of school copybooks contained messages from children who wrote to



Lena Kurolenya (left) was the first of the third graders to sign the letter asking for help in preserving the pond right next to a tall new residential building (top left) in one of Leningrad's new residential districts.

the newspaper to express their indignation or to offer help. Our office was full of books, toys, medicine and candy that the kids brought just in case, to be sent to the victims of disasters—floods, earthquakes or fires—in any part of the world. "We want to be helpful," was their usual explanation.

It would be wrong to think that our children are just preparing themselves for real life. They are concerned about many problems, from the simplest ("Why is the tree trunk round?" or "May I let my classmate copy my written test?") to the most topical.

When I last visited *Leninskiye iskry*, the editors

showed me a letter from a group of 10-year-old schoolchildren. It read:

Dear Editor,

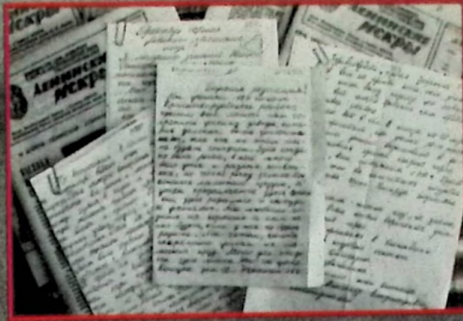
Please help us save the duck pond which will be filled up with earth to build a stadium. Actually it used to be a river, but now it's only a little pond where the ducks still live. You see, they were born there, and they don't want to fly away. We like to feed them, and we are sorry they will have to leave their birthplace and never come back. Please help us save their pond for them! There will still be room for the stadium!

The letter was signed by Lena Kurolenya and 22 other students from School No. 164, Krasnogvar-



Leninskiye iskry

(Lenin's Sparks) received a letter (inset) from the third graders of Leningrad School No. 164 demanding that a wetland in one of the city's new residential areas be preserved for the sake of the wild ducks that lived there. The letter, shown in the center, on top of other letters and copies of the newspaper, was published and the pond was preserved.



By Alla Belyakova
SOVIET LIFE Leningrad Correspondent
Photographs by Mikhail Makarenko

AND...»



Above: Slava Yerofeyev, with teacher Valentina Vasilyeva, was one of the initiators of the letter. Right: After school the children rush to see how their ducks are doing.

deiski District, Leningrad, all the signatures neatly written. Their teacher, Valentina Vasilyeva, wrote in her postscript:

Please answer the children's letter. I know they really care. Could you explain to them why it is better to build a stadium than to preserve the beauty of nature?

This sounded an alarm, and *Leninskiye iskry* correspondent Maria Kotousova decided to launch an operation coded "the duck pond." She went to the Executive Committee of the Krasnogvardeiski District Soviet of People's Deputies (city council) and asked the officials why it was necessary to fill in the pond. The explanation was well founded—in spring the pond rises and floods the area, reaching the neighborhood's new apartment blocks—but it didn't satisfy her, so she arranged an interview with the district architect who was annoyed by the letter written by the 10-year-old defenders of the ducks. "What's more important, human interests or all this fuss about the birds?" he said in an irritated tone of voice.

But the journalist was determined to win. "But isn't it in our interests to protect wildlife, including the birds?" she insisted. "Maybe the children are right, and the project should be reviewed." The district architect agreed to have another look at the duck pond. The session of the Executive

Committee that followed voted for altering the original project.

Soon *Leninskiye iskry* published the following report:

The duck pond won't be filled in, and the new stadium will be built nearby. Let's do even more to protect nature. How about laying "ecological paths" not only near the pond but also in other districts of Leningrad? Every class should protect a green area not far from their school or residential area. Everyone must take care of the environment.

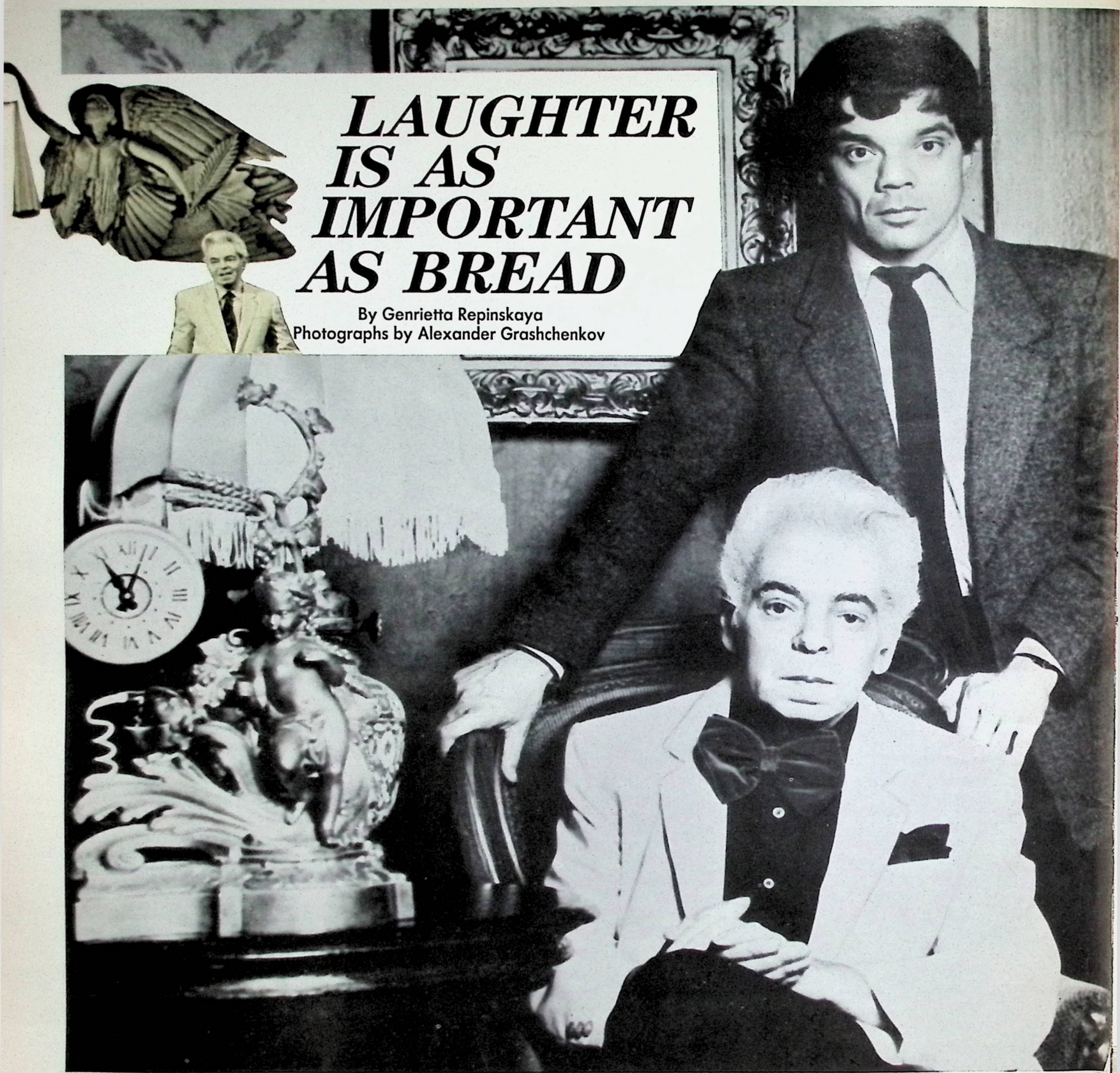
Many schoolchildren have responded to the appeal. They plant and take care of trees, make birdhouses, feed the birds and protect the environment. Without their assistance the adults would find it much harder to deal with the big city's ecological problems.

As soon as the snow melted, the 10-year-olds who had written to the newspaper, causing such a turmoil, gathered near "their" pond to welcome back "their" ducks.





The newspaper *Sovetskaya kultura* (Soviet Culture) covers cultural life in the USSR and abroad as well as sociological, educational, ethical and other questions. Published twice a week in eight pages, it has a circulation of 600,000 copies.



LAUGHTER IS AS IMPORTANT AS BREAD

By Genrietta Repinskaya
 Photographs by Alexander Grashchenkov

A sharp-tongued aphorist once said: "Satirists wouldn't have the slightest chance of winning a contest because the jury would probably be made up of people who have been the butt of their jokes." However witty that statement is, it is not universally true.

Arkadi Raikin, the celebrated master of Soviet satirical drama and the leading actor and art director of the State Theater of Miniatures, has received all of the highest awards of his country. He is a People's Artist of the USSR, a Hero of Socialist Labor

and a Lenin Prize winner. Last fall when the popular humorist celebrated his seventy-fifth birthday, newspapers and magazines around the country joined in the jubilee. Here are just two of the items that appeared on the happy occasion.

On Toothaches And Jubilations

While the rest of the country celebrated his birthday, Arkadi Raikin himself presented the delegates to the congress of the Union of Theatrical Workers of the Russian Federation with the generous gift of a humorous soliloquy (if a formal address to the congress can be called that).

It would be a terrible shame if the (albeit quite large) audience of the congress were the only ones to benefit from his talented piece. We, therefore, reproduce the text of his speech for our readers.

"Evil has many faces. Pure human vices are not so many: cowardice, envy and greed. These are followed by a long list of variations. Vices that enslave the human soul have always been castigated by the arts. Castigation of the vices has always been an art too because no vice ever reveals itself openly or passes for what it is. Cowardice will never admit to being cowardly because it entails shame. It may pass itself off as worldly experience, wisdom, concern or sense of duty—anything to save face. Evil that has been identified and exposed is no longer dangerous. Deprived of its charm, it looks unseemly and can win no followers. That's why evil has always been a good actor. We have tried our best to expose it.

"I belong to a satirical company. Until recently we were often criticized for not portraying positive characters. 'Where is the positive hero? There are so many grandiose and good things in life, yet you, Comrade Raikin, concentrate on drawbacks. The picture you are drawing is unprepossessing.'

"To every person who has said that to me, and believe me there have been many of them over the 48 seasons that our company has been in existence, I have secretly wished one thing—an acute toothache. Let just one tooth give them hell, I thought. Let the pain be so unbearable that they rush to the dentist, and the dentist happens to be me. I'd look them straight in the eye and say: 'What are you complaining about? Only one

of your teeth is hurting; the other 31 are perfectly all right. Why are you letting just one bad tooth spoil your life as well as others'. This just won't do, Comrade, and the spectacle is unprepossessing. Go and rejoice! Rejoice because you are a healthy and blooming individual.'

"Perhaps they'd understand a situation like that. Satire is akin to toothaches, social toothaches. In other areas of our life there has been too much jubilation. Think of all the rejoicing in agriculture, the economy, industry, at meetings, in the press, on the screen and on the stage. The whole country looked like one great big Georgian feast: a society of mutual admiration.

"That wasn't too long ago. But it's no longer the case. Now the faces have grown serious. Our greatest achievement in recent times has been doing away with the jubilant expression. It's no longer fashionable. This is something!

"There've been many encouraging signs lately. When I read the national papers today, I get the impression they're quoting from our past satirical programs. There are references to our topics—careerism, whitewash and fraud—on every page. For goodness' sake, we've been dealing with these issues on the stage for decades. There was more humor then, though. Today it's not a laughing matter. Do you remember my sketch, 'In the Greek Hall,' about a drunkard? We all laughed then, but it proved not to be very funny at all.

"As for red tape, remember my sketch, 'Give Me a Certificate Certifying That You Need a Certificate'? The bureaucrat appears to be the main motivating force of society, pulling it backward.

"We all talk about change and complain about how hard it is to bring it about. I think that's how things should be. It'd be far worse if things came easy. There's something fantasy-like about such ease. Take a passionate speaker addressing a public meeting. Sound familiar? He fervently and zealously speaks about bad management instead of the 'grandiose success,' about the great mess instead of the 'great achievement' and about shirkers instead of 'heroes.'

"A changed man? Apparently. Yet I don't trust his zeal. More than that, I recognize an old acquaintance—the time-server. We've already satirized him. I don't believe in quick changes.

"How can we expect to change people's minds and hearts overnight, beginning from such and such a date? For decades we have been taught that three things tally in neither time nor place. Work is done in the workplace, words are said at meetings and thinking is done lying in bed.

"Are we now expected to be the same in bed, in public and at work? It'll take some training to get accustomed to that. Well, we can certainly manage to achieve the equation part by part: to be the same at work and in bed, for instance. But it'll take time to master the whole of it.

"It'll take time to understand why a factory that never fulfills its plan should carry the slogan: 'We dedicate our inspired effort to you, Motherland!' It isn't just a sign, but an untruth, for which someone must be held responsible.

"Words like 'inspired effort' must not be used lightly. It'll take a lot, including economic incentives, to achieve inspired labor. Better work must be better paid. When a good worker receives a 10-ruble bonus, it is the state encouraging lazy-bones, not the good worker—10 rubles wouldn't inspire loafers. Economy has to stimulate conscientious labor.

"It also requires a high sense of civic duty, public awareness. We must treat everything around us with the same concern as we do our health. This is the point I want to make at this remarkable forum."

Not Just a Name, But a Concept

By Mikhail Ulyanov
People's Artist of the USSR and
Hero of Socialist Labor

Once heard the manager of a factory say with deep annoyance: "We provide food for people, while Raikin just points his finger and laughs—he finds fault with everything. I'd like to see him in our shoes for a change. As for laughing—anyone can laugh." The manager is a clever manager, but he was absolutely wrong about Raikin.

Throughout a career spanning almost 50 years, Raikin has been providing sustenance for the soul—the "bread" of humor. Raikin's art has helped countless people to get through difficult times in their lives and to view problems and all manner of foolishness with hope. Foolishness doesn't seem so awful or repulsive and human baseness doesn't seem so perfidious if they are identified and put to the pillory. Raikin's skill at doing this has no equal.

Arkadi Raikin is not simply the name of a popular actor, it is a social concept. For years he has been raising people's morale. He has done a great deal to influence our spiritual life, though the combination of noble spirit and variety theater may seem somewhat paradoxical. A Raikin performance contains not only hilarious buffoonery and fine artistry, but also courage, intelligence and hope.

Despite his age, Arkadi Raikin is a happy man—he is loved and cherished by people who value him.

Courtesy of the newspaper *Sovetskaya kultura*

The on-stage faces of Raikin. Opposite page: Like father, like son—Arkadi and Konstantin Raikin.





Moskovskiye novosti (Moscow News), a weekly of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries and the Novosti Press Agency, is published in five languages. It has a circulation of over one million.

A LONG-AWAITED SURPRISE

By Alexander Kamensky



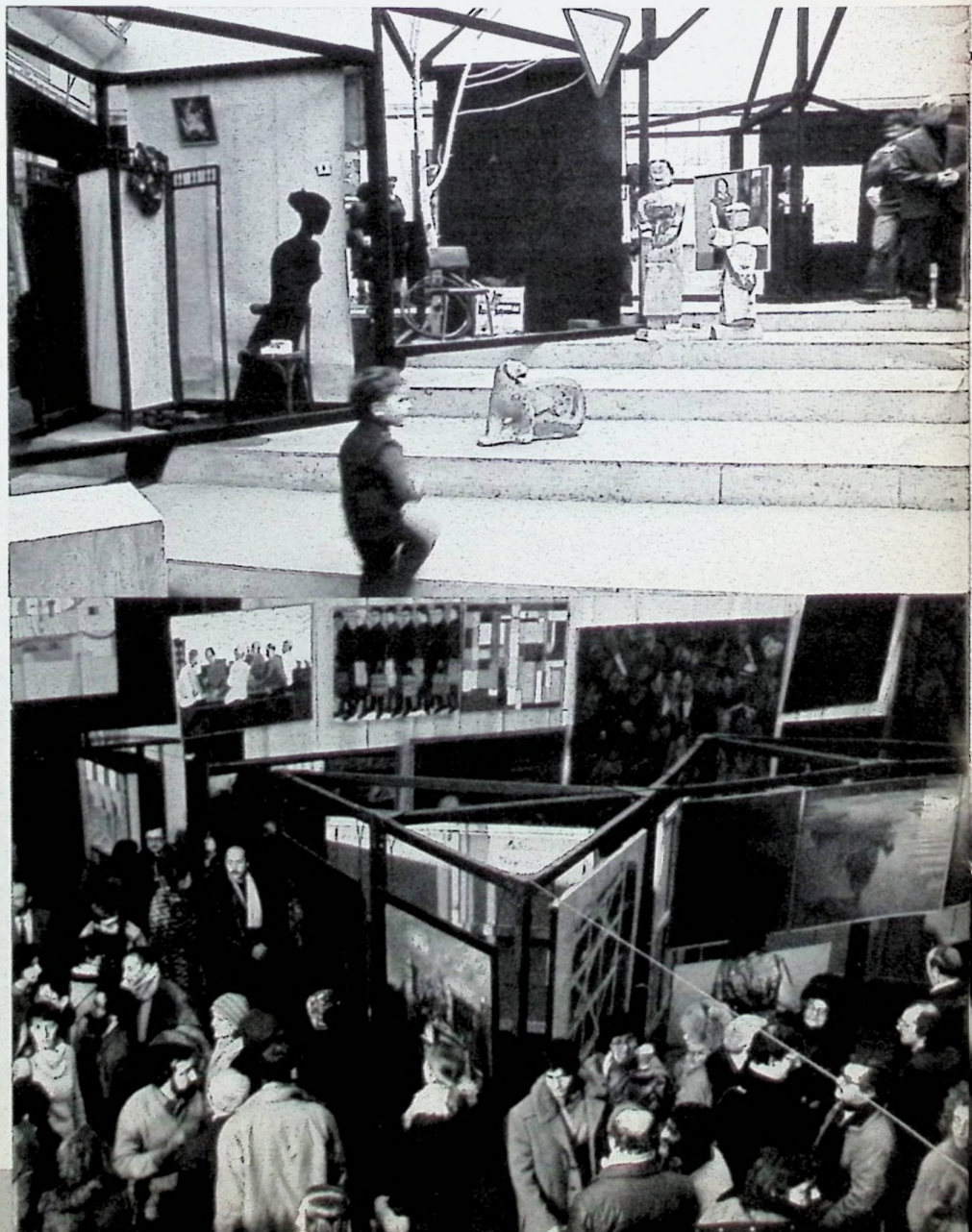
Art, like the weather, is difficult to forecast, but it goes without saying that art does have its own laws of development, which occasionally permit a glimpse of future trends.

A study of the chief trends among young Soviet artists over the past few decades shows how sensitive the young are and how acutely they react to life and to current changes and dreams.

The trend that I dubbed the "austere style," originated in the 1950s and 1960s. It absorbed the lessons of life being taught at the time. The innate characteristics of the style were an abhorrence of all kinds of ostentation and showiness, a romantic view of everyday work and courage.

Later a leaning toward metaphor, complex historical parallel and poetic soaring appeared, bringing with it artists who changed beyond recognition the stylistics and the approach to tradition. They made very sharp and unexpected comparisons between history and our time, between the characters of the past and the vision of the present-day world.

Artists in this group are sometimes referred to as



Sergei Volkov (b. 1956).
The Nikinsky Gate.



"the septuagenarians" because their art peaked in the 1970s. And what about now? Who are "the octogenarians"? How are they molding the current trends in art?

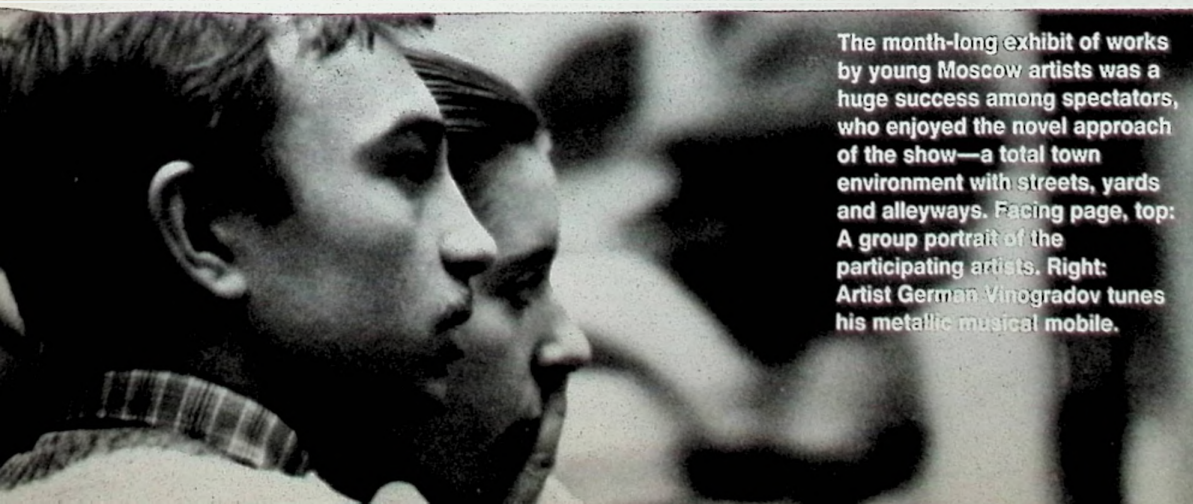
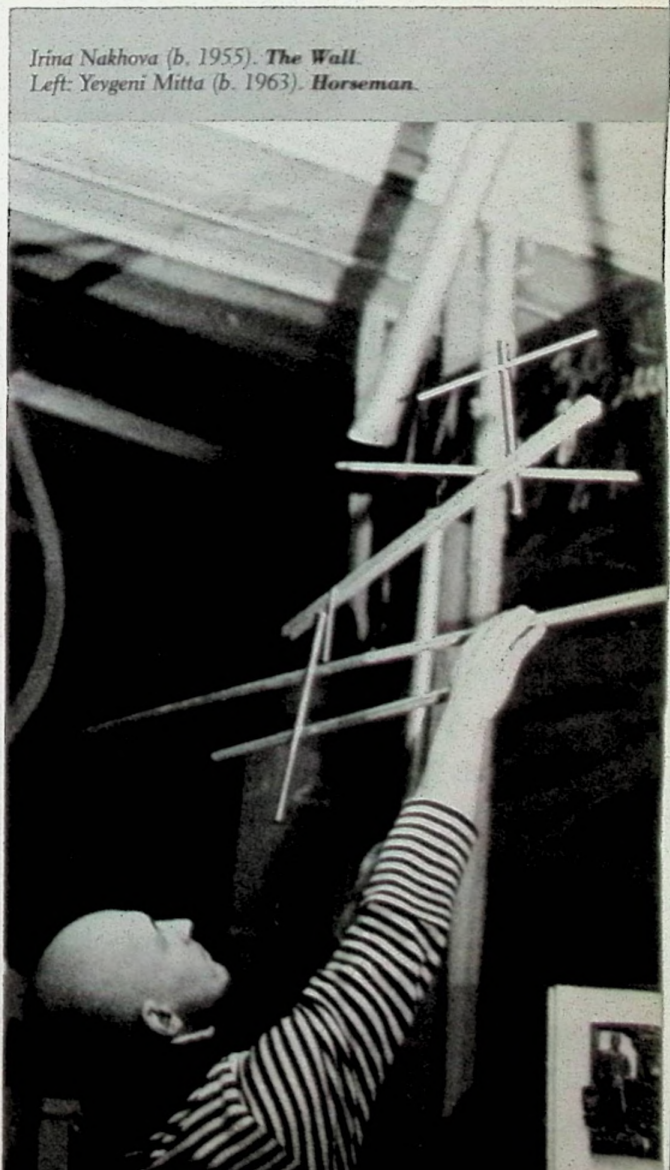
These questions are like straws in the wind. Answers to them are still being sought. In the 1980s a strange pause set in. Exhibits of works by young Soviet artists continued as before, and new names and works appeared, but they left a largely vague and indefinite impression.

This, however, could not last long. The new generation of artists was bound to have its say. In this context the Seventeenth Exhibition of Works by Young Moscow Artists is a long-awaited surprise.

The most successful improvisations often are those that have been thoroughly prepared. The month-long exhibition without a doubt bore out that statement. Well-designed architecturally and expositionally, the exhibition included paintings, sculpture, photographs and other works, which were uniquely and brilliantly displayed. An intricate network of partitions created the illusion of a town with streets, side streets, backyards and blind alleys—a total environment, a complete neighborhood, where people live, get together with friends, look at ▶



Irina Nakhova (b. 1955). *The Wall.*
Left: Yevgeni Mitta (b. 1963). *Horseman.*



The month-long exhibit of works by young Moscow artists was a huge success among spectators, who enjoyed the novel approach of the show—a total town environment with streets, yards and alleyways. Facing page, top: A group portrait of the participating artists. Right: Artist German Vinogradov tunes his metallic musical mobile.

Tatyana Faidysh
(b. 1955).
Watch the Doors!
Fragment of
a diptych.



The works elicited a
myriad of responses—
from skepticism to
admiration. Above
right: Artist Tatyana
Faidysh. Bottom right:
Members of the exhibit's
organizing committee.



the sky, rejoice, cry and dream. The works by young artists were taken as observations made by their contemporaries.

The manner of presentation strongly resembled the eccentric innovations of Soviet theater directors in the 1920s, when Mother Stage was destroyed and actors played in different parts of the auditorium as if inviting the audience to participate.

What are the new art works like? Striving to display all of the trends existing in Soviet youth art, the exhibit's selection committee chose works in a free and easy manner. It had one and only one stipulation, and a rigid one at that—professional execution.

The young artists make a point to see life as it is, in its "simplicity, without adornments," as Boris Pasternak once put it. They regard as false any attempt at deliberate feigning, open statement or "museumlike" effect, that is, everything that is prompted by the discoveries of others, reproductions or that which has been dutifully reduced to some sort of abstract dogma.

The paintings more often than not intertwine the uncompromising truthfulness of documentary observation with metaphor, conventionality and poetic contrast. Take, for example, Alexei Sundu-

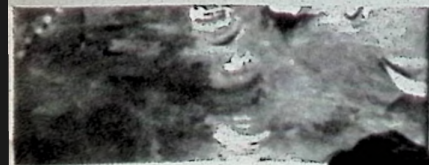




Sergei Sherstyuk (b. 1951). *The Adventures*.
Below right: Valentina Komolova and *Theatrical Fantasy*.



Sergei Polyakov (b. 1956). *Portrait of a Friend*. Below: Artist Tatyana Tolstaya.



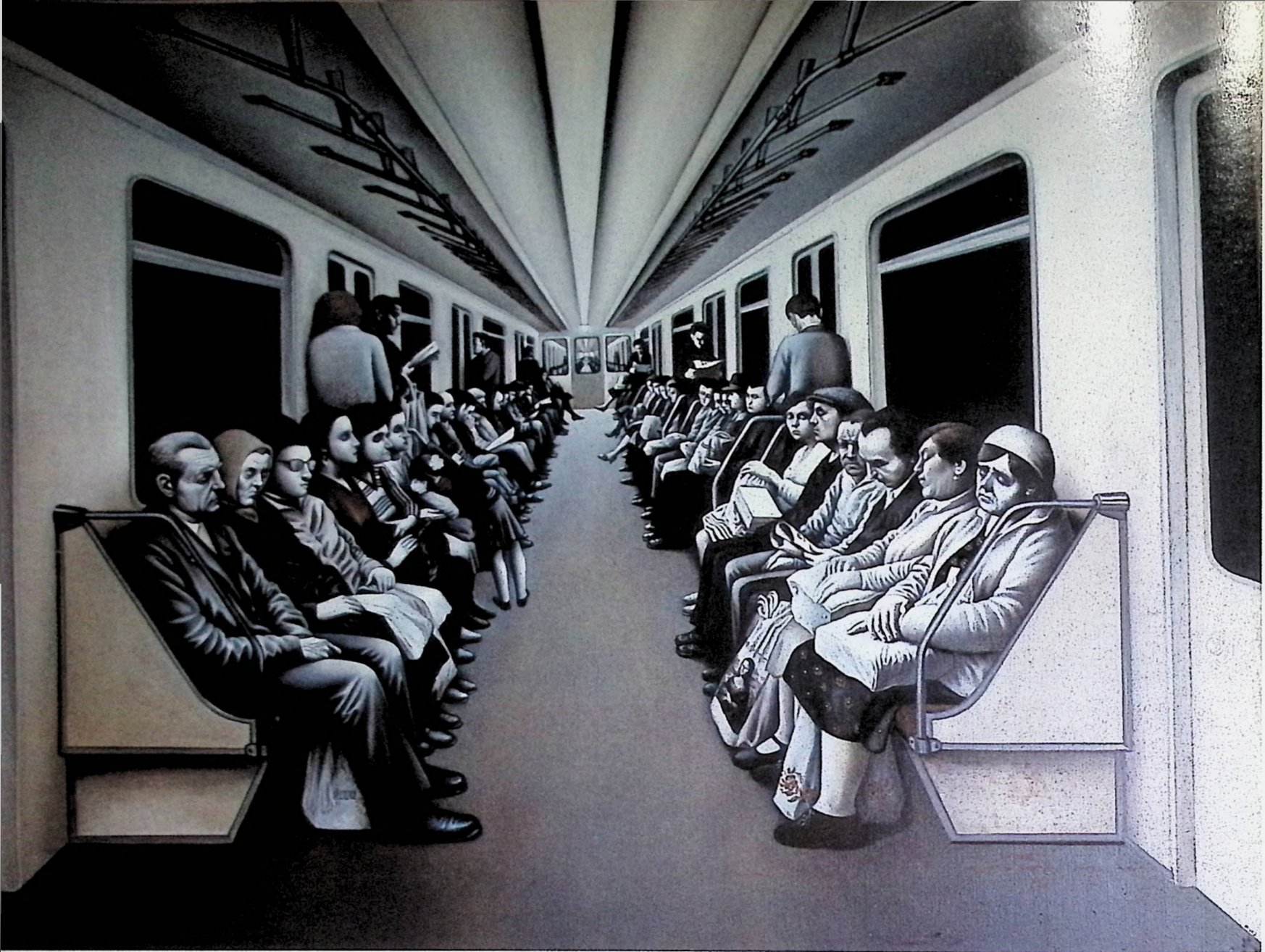
kov's *Endless Train*. Through perspective and repetition, the artist creates the illusion of endless depth. Although the work contains a repeated motif, it is devoid of monotony. On the contrary, it acquires a tremendous dynamism and force of expression—it is life itself, seemingly gray and joyless but with an undetermined depth and a magnetic pull of the unknown.

Curiously, the Metro theme appeared several times in the exhibit. The very look of the Metro, with its overemphasized urban qualities and its energetic rhythms, producing an exhaustive amount of impressions, enables the artists to relate, prolifically, something important and acute about their contemporary view of the world.

Tatyana Faidysh's painting *Watch the Doors!* is a blend of a multitude of different "movie stills" within one composition, a technique that turns the picture into something of a fresco of life. So motley and restless, it combines alarm and hope, the confusion of the soul with the overflowing involvement in the continuity of day following day.

The spirit of games and of carnival was also evident in the works on display—not only in the content of the works themselves, but also





Alexei Sundukov (b. 1952), *Endless Train*.

Far right: This message accompanied Yuri Albert's painting: "I've reached a crisis point in my work. I'm at a dead end and don't know how to get out."



in the deliberate and very involved concern of the artists for the spectator value of the exhibit itself. Does this contradict the artists' declared aspiration for the austere and sober truth of everyday life?

Not at all! It was an exhibit about our times, played out in accordance with all the rules and traditions of a spontaneous folkloric spectacle. Perhaps this is how a new type of beauty emerges. It abandons everything superficial, obsolete and pretentious, and it approaches as closely as possible the current times, speaking its language, its truth.

Obviously, the exhibition could not tell the whole story or show all of the variations and dimensions. Certain features were missing—the breadth of social generalization and many other important themes and qualities. However, the exhibition vividly demonstrated a drawing closer to real life. And out of that is born a new esthetics. That's what makes the Seventeenth Exhibition of Works by Young Moscow Artists a major landmark in the development of the fine arts in the country. ■



When Soviet chess Grandmaster Garry Kasparov, age 22, won the world chess title, *Komsomolskaya pravda* received an avalanche of letters with questions addressed to him. The paper arranged a call-in conference with him at its offices on a certain day from noon to 3:00 P.M. Such is the price of fame!

Kasparov was punctual, as usual. Arriving at the office well in advance of the appointed hour, he sat down at a table where several telephones and tape recorders stood ready—rather than the usual chess board and pieces. He laughed and said that he evidently would set a telephone record that day, though he generally dislikes talking on the phone, preferring direct contact.

The first call came exactly at noon. It was from a student in Kiev, Alexander Kolosov.

Q: Younger athletes are increasingly coming to the fore in sports. Is chess growing younger too?

A: It obviously is. Although more experienced chess players feel the subtle nuances of the positions better and understand the psychology of their partners, the younger players are hardier. Take the two leading Soviet grandmasters: Andrei Sokolov is 23, and Artur Yusupov is 26. They are tougher physically, they play with zeal, and they have a lot of self-confidence and drive.

Q: Will the trend continue? Will we see even younger players than you on the world chess throne?

A: There is a limit to everything, and I think that 20 is the limit for chess. I doubt that a player any younger than that will win over the others.

Q: Is this Garry Kasparov?

A: Yes, I'm listening.

Q: I'm from Togliatti. I am a driver, and my name is Rafik Shukyurov. I know that you studied in the school of Grandmaster Mikhail Botvinnik. For some reason that school closed about seven years ago, and I think that's a great pity.

A: I agree that we need a school like that. I had chess sessions there, and in between those sessions I played in chess games as "homework." Botvinnik analyzed the games and gave me advice, which was very useful. It makes sense that most of our leading chess players came from these classes. The school will reopen in a few months, and I will assist Botvinnik as much as I can.

Q: Hello, Garry, my name is Lena, and I live in Moscow. I hear you aren't married. What is your ideal of your future wife?

A: Frankly, I think it's harder to choose a wife than it is to win the title of world champion. My complete immersion in chess has left me no time to think about a family. Marriage changes one's way of life, and that requires some preparation. I think I won't even consider it for another two or three years. In chess you can make a mistake and then concentrate very hard and win a game. But you can't do that in life. I can't imagine my life without chess, and I suppose people near me should understand that and help me as my mother does.

Q: Does that mean that your wife should play chess too?

A: Nothing of the sort! By "help" I mean something altogether different—I mean love, understanding and support. I think that my future wife should have the qualities I lack. If I am energetic and persistent, if I am forging ahead all the time, she should have the knack of calming me down.

Q: May I write to you?

A: Certainly. My address is Baku, postal code 370007. The letter will reach me. I just want to tell you that I get a lot of letters, so I've relegated the job

HELLO, IS THAT



GARRY KASPAROV?

of sorting them to my grandmother. She has accepted the duties of private secretary with great pleasure.

Q: Hello, is this Garry Kasparov? This is Nikolai Kryukov, a crop expert from Siberia. I had a hard time getting through. Frankly, I am a fan of Anatoli Karpov. What do you think of your predecessor on the chess throne?

A: Karpov stands for a whole era in chess. He managed to stay on top for more than a decade, and during that time he raised the prestige of chess to new heights. He was a world champion who aroused interest in chess on all continents.

Q: Hello, Moscow. This is Yuli Moskov, sports commentator for the Bulgarian youth newspaper, calling from Sofia, Bulgaria. Gary, when our readers learned about your telephone marathon with the *Komsomolskaya pravda* readers, they sent us more than 1,500 questions they want you to answer. Naturally it's impossible to answer them all, but let me ask you the one that interests the majority of chess fans: What do you recommend for beginners?

A: I'm not old enough to be handing out advice. However, I think that a capacity for hard work and perseverance are most important. Another vital aspect of training is not to allow yourself to let down, to relax.

Q: You've reached the top, you're the champion. What now?

A: I'm on the Central Committee of the Young Communist League

[Komsomol] in Azerbaijan, and I feel it's my duty to get young people there interested in chess. I would also like to travel along the Baikal-Amur Mainline railroad because the builders and workers there are mostly young people. Then, when I finish my studies at the Institute of Foreign Languages in Baku, I'd like to continue my education. I'm also interested in history, philosophy and literature.

Q: Hello, Garry. This is Yulia Petrova. I'm a student from Minsk, Byelorussia. Please help me get things straight—people generally believe that you need a mathematical mind to play chess, but I know you're in the humanities. So are you mathematics- or humanities-minded?

A: Perhaps both. Of course you need a mathematical turn of mind for chess, but only up to a point, to calculate the variants and to foresee the course of the game. However, you can't do without the imagination and intuition on which I build my game. A grandmaster's views on chess express his views on life. If you analyze a game attentively, you can understand how the player thinks.

Q: Hello, Garry. My name is Mikhail Oganosov. I'm a building engineer in Yerevan, Armenia. I want to ask how you feel about losing.

A: Before, I used to notice that I always won the day before I lost. Losing always gets my fighting spirit up. But I couldn't do that in my matches with Karpov. Then I realized that losing to a rival such as Karpov was a good experience to reflect upon.

Q: Another question: Just imagine for a minute that Bobby Fischer has appeared once again and challenged you to a match. What do you think would be its outcome?

A: A match with Fischer would be a splendid test of strength for any chess player, world champion included. But only on the condition that Fischer played as he did in 1972.

Q: What are the qualities you dislike most in people?

A: Lack of decency. All human qualities, good and bad, fall into two categories as far as I'm concerned—decency or lack of it.

Courtesy of the newspaper *Komsomolskaya pravda* (abridged)



profile

13—Kasparov's Lucky Number

Kasparov scores a goal during an exhibition soccer game. One of the few dreams he has not yet realized is to attend a world soccer championship.

Chess champion Garry Kasparov has an unlikely avocation—soccer, which he began playing in his childhood, like all the boys in his native city of Baku, Azerbaijan.

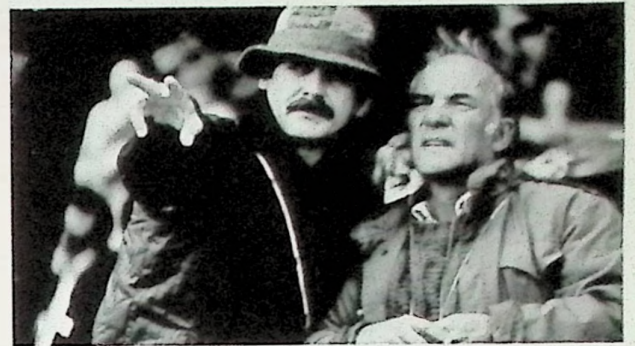
Kasparov's lucky number is 13. Most happy events in his life, beginning with his birthday (April 13), are connected with this number. Kasparov is the thirteenth world champion. He has scored 13 victories over his main opponent, Anatoli Karpov. Though he never specially asks for a ticket in the thirteenth row, he usually gets it.

That's why nobody was surprised when Kasparov chose a T-shirt with the number 13 in a game between sports commentators and a team comprising mainly Kasparov's seconds and coaches. The game, played in a Moscow stadium, ended with a tie score. Kasparov scored both of his team's goals. Lucky 13 again. ■





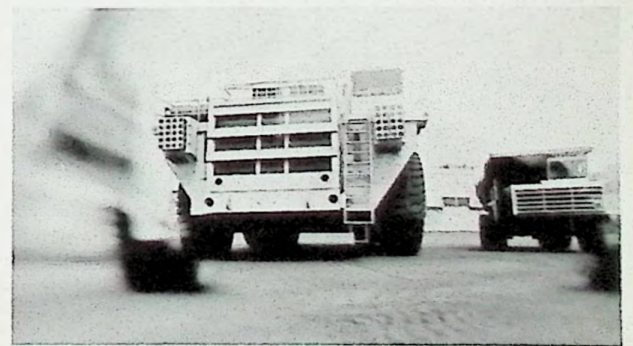
**NEXT
ISSUE**



MARCELLO MASTROIANNI IN CHEKHOV FILM

Commissioned by Italian Studio

A movie based on several short stories by Anton Chekhov is being filmed in the historical Russian town of Kostroma. This in itself is not unusual; Chekhov has been filmed many times in the USSR. What is unusual is that the film *Dark Eyes* was commissioned by Italy's Excelsior Film-TV Studio for Marcello Mastroianni. Mastroianni is fond of Chekhov and has high regard for Nikita Mikhailov's directing. "He is intelligent, resourceful and professional," said Mastroianni. "He has his own idea of Chekhov, and he's good at reproducing the Chekhovian spirit." An article in June tells about the collaboration of two great artists—the Italian film star and the Soviet film director.



AUTOMOBILE RETROSPECTIVE

Trucks Made in the USSR

A permanent display of Soviet cars, from the very first models to the latest ones, has recently opened at the USSR Exhibition of Economic Achievements in Moscow. Since the USSR is one of the leading truck manufacturers in the world, these vehicles are especially well represented. The 180-ton BelAZ-7521, above, was designed for quarry mining in Yakutia, not far from the North Pole. Tested in the harsh climate, the truck came through with flying colors. Designers are now working on trucks with a capacity of up to 280 tons.

COMING SOON

Special Series on Chkalov's Nonstop Flight from
the USSR to the USA Across the North Pole

seventeenth exhibition of works
by young moscow artists



ТРАМАТИ
ТРОМТРАФНКА

The recent month-long art exhibit in Moscow aroused a great deal of interest and a myriad of reactions. Shown here is a section of Valentina Komolova's *Theatrical Fantasy*. For the story, see page 58.