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ANALYSES

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Monday, 4 January 1988
D. Felton

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Soviet-US Relations. THE USA TODAY (Dovlatov, NY 7) cited The New York Times on the basically positive reaction of the inhabitants of Magna, Utah, to the prospect of Soviet INF treaty monitors settling there.

2. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 5) reported on the unclear situation regarding the besieged town of Khost, and the latest diplomatic activity surrounding Afghanistan, including Shevardnadze's visit to Kabul, and that by US Deputy Secretary of State Armacost to Islamabad.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanov, P 6:30) pointed to contradictions in Soviet press references to food supplies to the besieged town of Khost, wondered why the Soviet press talks only of a political settlement "around" Afghanistan, and noted in connection with the signing of a friendship treaty between Afghanistan and Cambodia that both countries became victims of an invasion at the same time. The program cited Komsomolskaya Pravda as justifying the arrest in Afghanistan of French journalist Alain Guillo, and mentioned the campaign in France for his release.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Rahr, M 10) cited an editorial in the unofficial Moscow journal Referendum criticizing the Soviet leadership for having from the very beginning kept the Soviet public in the dark over the war in Afghanistan.

3. USSR-FRG. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 4:30) commented on the recent improvement in Soviet-West German relations, saying that it is only logical for the USSR to seek such an improvement following the INF agreement with the US. The program said the USSR is genuinely interested in bettering relations with Western Germany since it needs the help of such technologically advanced countries to implement economic restructuring.

4. Emigres. AT THE BOOKSHELF (Perouansky and Voynovich, M 29:30) featured the 22nd and final installment of a reading by Soviet emigre writer Vladimir Voynovich of his satirical novel Moscow 2042, about a futuristic communist republic.

5. Restructuring. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Polishchuk, W 4:30) gave the results of a public opinion poll, as reported in The Los Angeles Times, conducted by a Moskovskiy Novosti correspondent which indicates the Soviet public's cautious reaction to restructuring.

6. Education. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gordin and Kroncher, M 5:30) pointed to the significance of the formation of unofficial initiative groups for preparing school-leavers for higher education institutions and drafting scientifically founded curricula. The program commented that the groups are thereby acting as a substitute for the Ministry of Education, and their appearance also suggests the failure of the latest school reform. In this connection, the program noted the failure of Soviet schools to educate children to think independently.

7. The Nationalities. THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Kulmagambetov, M 9), a RERUN from December 18, marked the first anniversary of the unrest in Alma-Ata over the replacement of Kazak party leader Kunayev by Kolbin, a Russian. The program said these events revealed the limited nature of glasnost.

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Limberger and Krikheli, M 10), a RERUN from December 18, commented that despite the campaign for glasnost and democratization, Ligachev complained that there were too many Georgians at Tbilisi University, a center of resistance to Russification, and now, Russian sections have been opened there. The program referred to an appeal to Gorbachev regarding Russification in Georgia by Georgian activists Merab Kostava and Zviad Gamsakhurdia.

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Gordin and Oganessian, M 5:30) commented on an article in the weekly Zhurnal by Levon Manayan criticizing the Armenian leadership for resisting the implementation of glasnost and democratization. The program agreed, saying that restructuring has so far passed by Armenia. The reason lies in the old, Stalinist-influenced leadership. Moscow newspapers are much more informative than Armenian ones. On the other hand, the number of unofficial organizations, some with surprisingly radical views, is increasing, and they are not being subjected to any repressions; they clearly feel they have the backing of Moscow.

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Krimerman, M 6) cited material in the Soviet press on nationals in the

non-Russian republics who are indifferent to their national culture.

8. Literature. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Mihajlov, W 5:30) commented on an article in Moskovske Novosti of December 20 by a former member of the editorial board of Novy Mir, Vladimir Lakshin, expressing satisfaction over the dramatic increase in that journal's circulation. The program said this increase is not surprising in view of the fact that the journal has been publishing some remarkable works by previously banned authors. The program wondered what circulation such journals as the party mouthpiece Kommunist have, and described the choice which Soviet readers have made as a model for possible future free elections.

9. Religion. RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Rahr, M 14:30) cited comment by Grigory Bigel in the unofficial Moscow journal Referendum on a message issued by the Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution, and a reply to this message by a group of Orthodox priests and believers complaining that it attempts to present church-state relations in the USSR in a favorable light. Bigel shows, however, that the reply itself tells only half-truths about the Soviet regime's oppression of the Church and the collaboration of church leaders with the regime.

RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Nazarov, M 12) reported on a congress of Orthodox youth held in Munich on 27-29 December 1987. The program highlighted papers delivered by Father Nikolay Artemov, on "The Christianization of Russia in a Godless Age," by Prof. Panagopoulos of Athens University and archpriest Ambrosius Backhaus on Orthodox teaching on the body and the soul, sex, marriage, etc., and by Soviet religious activist Igor Ogurtsov, who said Christian personalism is a genuine alternative to communist collectivism, and expressed the view that present developments in the USSR give certain grounds for hope for an emergence of a Christian social movement there.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Rahr, M 5:30) gave a profile of St. Anastasia the Deliverer-from-bonds, who helped Christian prisoners in the Roman Empire and who is commemorated today in Russian Orthodox churches. Reference was made to present-day Christian prisoners (such as Vladimir Rusak in the USSR) and those who help them. Excerpts from pre-Christmas Russian Orthodox chants were also given.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

1. Czechoslovakia. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fistejn, M 19) marked the 20th anniversary of the January 1968 plenum of the Czech CP which ushered in the Prague Spring. The program discussed the official party position on the Prague Spring, which has not been changed by the replacement of Husak by Jakes as party leader, and which amounts to an admission that the party's policies

merely produce constantly recurring difficulties; however, only the party can solve them. Furthermore, any political initiative in Czechoslovakia must be sanctioned by Moscow. The program then recapitulated the events leading up to the Prague Spring.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gordin and Fistejn, M 7:30), marking the 20th anniversary of the Czechoslovak CP CC plenum which ushered in the Prague Spring, also remarked that in contrast to the change in the party leadership which took place then, the replacement of Husak by Jakes as party leader signifies no radical change in party policy.

2. The French CP. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 6), citing the Paris weekly L'Evenement du Jeudi, commented on a defeat for the so-called "revivalists" in the PCF, and saw the party's decline as symptomatic of the decline of West European CPs in general.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

None

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

1. The US. THE USA TODAY (Rubin, NY 13) gave some of the results of a poll conducted by US News and World Report in which Americans expressed their views and expectations on various issues.

THE USA TODAY (Khurgin, NY 7) cited facts and figures given by Time and the Brookings Institute contradicting the popular view that Americans are thrifty.

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RADIO FREE EUROPE
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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Tuesday, 5 January 1988
M. Rudin

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanov, P 12:30) reported on the condemnation in France of the sentencing of French journalist Alain Guillo by an Afghan court to 10 years in jail for spying. It was noted that even the French CP protested against the sentencing, although it had never protested against the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. The program also read the text of a French government statement calling on Soviet leaders to use their influence to secure Guillo's release and highlighted articles critical of the Guillo affair in Le Matin de Paris, Liberation, and Le Figaro.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Benis, M 6:30) discussed the prospects for reaching a peaceful settlement of the war in Afghanistan, noting that a visit to Kabul by Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze coincided with a visit to Pakistan by US Under Secretary of State, Michael Armacost. The program took issue with a TASS statement which calls on the US and Pakistan to join the peace efforts and said that the continuing presence of the "limited contingent" of Soviet troops is not an obstacle to solving the Afghan question. The program explained the points in the Soviet peace plan.

2. Dissidents and Human Rights. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Vail, NY 6) gave the substance of an article in The New York Times of January 5 by Bill Keller assessing and backgrounding the events leading to the enactment of a new Soviet law which will protect the rights of citizens against the abuse of psychiatry. In part, the article noted that historian Roy Medvedev and Dr.

Alexander Podrabinek are skeptical of the new legislation and say that everything will depend on how it is practically applied. An AP dispatch of January 5 was also used.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rahr, M 12) featured a talk with former long-time Soviet political prisoner Igor Ogurtsov, who recently left the USSR, in which he spoke, in particular, about the All-Russian Social-Christian Union for the Liberation of the People (VSKhON) which he cofounded in the 1960s and which was broken up by the authorities. Ogurtsov said the charge of conspiracy leveled against the organization was false. Its basic aim was to formulate a Christian alternative to the totalitarian system. He spoke of similar movements which have subsequently appeared.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Genis, NY 5:30) gave the gist of an article in The Los Angeles Times which previewed the upcoming visit of members of the International Federation of Human Rights Groups to Moscow on January 25 to discuss the fulfillment of human rights in the USSR. Moscow extended this invitation with the hopes of overcoming opposition in the West to the Soviet Union's proposal to organize in Moscow in 1988 an international human rights conference. Among other things, members of the delegation hope to visit six prisoners at the Perm political prisoner camp and meet with members of Soviet public organizations.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Malinkovich, M 5) commented on an interview in APN with the Minister of Internal Affairs of the RSFSR, Alexander Vlasov, in which he accuses English and French television of falsifying facts about Soviet reality in connection with a documentary movie about Soviet prisoners in Siberia. The program drew attention to the factual errors made by Vlasov.

HUMAN RIGHTS (Kaminskaya, W 7:30) discussed the role and perspectives of the growing number of unofficial groups and alliances in the Soviet Union. The program welcomed the formation of these groups, describing it as a very positive phenomenon which is a sign that people's civil awareness is awakening. The status of these unofficial groups is unclear: on the one hand, the USSR signed the international convention on the right of free associations; on the other hand, the USSR adopted regulations, according to which independent groups must be registered with the state. The state has the right to refuse a request for registration.

HUMAN RIGHTS (Malinkovich, M 6) drew attention to an article in Sovetskaya Kultura which carried a discussion with four leading Soviet legal experts from the Institute of State and Law. Among

other things, the discussants dealt with the question of the status of unofficial unions in the USSR, from which the reader learns that the old regulations will be surpassed by a new law on independent groups. The program also cited an article by Fedor Burlatsky, the chairman of the newly created committee on humanitarian cooperation and human rights, in Sovetskaya Rossiya.

HUMAN RIGHTS (Shragin, NY 9:30) highlighted an article in The New York Times by A. Rosenthal of December 11 which makes the point that Americans should not be satisfied with the results of the Reagan-Gorbachev Washington summit as long as the new Soviet government does not fully solve the problem of human rights in the Soviet Union.

FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 29:30), a RERUN from 12 December 1984, featured the 19th installment of Utopia: the History of the Soviet Union from 1917 Until the Present by Soviet emigre historians Mikhail Geller and Alexander Nikrich.

3. The Economy. ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Dreyer, W 6) discussed the goals and probable consequences of a successful price reform in the Soviet Union, noting, among other things, that it will achieve a redistribution of the real income of Soviet workers and will signify that low income groups will become poorer while high income groups will become richer.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Limberger, M 7) excerpted comments assessing the prospects for the new economic regulations which were introduced January 1 in The Washington Post, The Chicago Tribune, The Daily Telegraph, and an AP dispatch.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 4:30) highlighted a program on Moscow radio which featured a talk with Prof. Mozolin from the Institute of State and Law concerning how the state should deal with the dismissal of those workers in scientific-research institutes who are left without jobs under the new economic reform. It was observed that, according to Mozolin, the state is obliged to give these workers a new profession, not any lower than their previous job. The program said that Soviet society will, as before, continue to pay for the well-being of many people from whom there are no benefits.

4. The Soviet Press on the Economic Reforms in the PRC. ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Krasin, W 8:30) pointed out that the USSR has, since spring 1987, radically changed the tone of its media coverage of the reforms in China and is now actively propagandizing the reforms and the development of the private sector in the country. Reference was made to an article in Literaturnaya Gazeta and a discussion on a Moscow television show.

ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Chianurov, M 1:30) noted that Soviet official Oleg Bogomolov in a recent interview in La Stampa said that China's experience with the economic reform is of extreme value to the Soviet Union. At about the same time leading Soviet economist Abel Aganbegyan at a meeting at the US National Academy of Sciences said that the USSR is not striving to imitate China and will not introduce on a large scale elements of a market economy.

5. Armenia. In THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Oganessian, M 5), a member of the Armenian Service, said that the restructuring process has not started in Armenia. The press, the intelligentsia, and the leadership have remained silent on this subject. During the last six months there have been signs in the Armenian press that the subject is being opened for discussion. In this connection, the program referred to articles by Balayan in the satirical journal Vosni (Hedgehog), an article by Sarkisian, and an article in Kommunist.

6. Latvia. In THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fistejn and Strunskis, M 4) a member of RFE's Latvian Service commented on an open letter written by Latvian human rights activist Linards Grantins, founder of the group Helsinki 86, who was recently released after serving a six-month sentence. Grantins noted that Latvians are indignant that the authorities broke up recent demonstrations held in Latvia; said that unless authorities give Latvians at least partial self-rule, there might be bloodshed; and observed that no democratization is taking place in Latvia.

7. Music. OVER THE BARRIERS (Volkov, NY 9) recalled the premiere of Shostakovich' 13th Symphony Baby Yar 25 years ago in Moscow, which became a very significant event in Soviet cultural life. The program described the strong emotions evident at the concert and talked about the developments leading to the concert, noting that there was great uncertainty until the last moment about whether it would even take place at all (Khrushchev was against the symphony). Shostakovich' interest in the Jewish question, as evinced by the presence of Jewish themes in his music, was commented on by the program.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

1. Eastern Europe. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Genis, NY 12:30) highlighted two articles in The New York Times, one by Bill Keller of January 3 focusing on relations between the USSR and Eastern Europe in the political and trade spheres and one by

Eohn Tagliabue of January 4 devoted to the economic situation in eastern Europe and Soviet efforts to strengthen ties with an provide economic assistance to Eastern Europe. These two articles are part of a cycle of articles about Eastern Europe which will be published by The New York Times.

2. The PRC's Space Program was briefly discussed by SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY TODAY (Muslin, NY 2). It was noted that China is being contracted by several countries to launch their satellites.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. Nicaragua. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Polishchuk, W 4:30) noted that a Latin American commission formed to monitor Nicaragua's compliance with the peace accord, signed last August, is in Nicaragua at the present time and will hear a report on this question by Nicaragua's Cardinal Obando y Bravo who has been mediating talks between the government and the Contra rebels. It was noted that the US Congress will soon have to decide whether to continue financial aid to the Contras. The program used an article in The Washington Post of January 3 and a UPI dispatch of January 4.

2. The Arms Trade. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gordin, M 2:30) reviewed the contents of an article in the Sueddeutsche Zeitung of January 5 which gave facts and figures on the buyers and suppliers of arms on the world market from 1971 to 1985. It was noted that the Soviet Union was the main supplier of arms.

3. The Famine in Ethiopia was an item included in ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Genis, NY 5:30) on the basis of an article in Time. The program was a RERUN from 16 December 1987.

4. The US. OVER THE BARRIERS (Paramonov, NY 9) reflected on the US experience in such issues as socialism and historical-religious matters in the context of the thoughts expressed by Alexander Solzhenitsyn in an interview he gave to Der Spiegel in October of last year.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

1. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY TODAY (Muslin, NY 25:30) discussed the prospects for the transplantation of animal organs; reported on new methods of making movies; and presented brief items from the medical and technical spheres, including developments in the treatment of AIDS.

2. The Notorious American Literary Agent Andrew Willey was profiled on OVER THE BARRIERS (Dovlatov, NY 9:30) by a Russian emigre writer who is Willey's client. An article in Vanity Fair was cited by the program.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Wednesday, 6 January 1988
D. Felton

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Chianurov, M 7) reported on the latest developments in and around Afghanistan, namely the fighting around the besieged town of Khost, and diplomatic activity in the form of visits to Kabul by Shevardnadze and UN representative Ermacora, and to Pakistan by US State Department official Armacost as a prelude to the next round of UN-sponsored talks in February. Kabul's expression of support for Ermacora's mission was contrasted with the recent arrest of French photoreporter Alain Guillo.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanova, P 13) featured a telephone interview with French Senator Jacques Gollier, recently back from Afghanistan, on the sentencing in Kabul of French photoreporter Alain Guillo. Gollier expressed indignation over the sentencing, justified Guillo's journalistic mission, and rejected the charges leveled against him. Gollier, in Izvestia to the effect that he was aiding "counterrevolutionaries." The program also cited facts and figures on the losses suffered by the Afghan civil population presented at a Paris press conference at which Gollier reported on what he had seen in Afghanistan.

2. Dissidents and Human Rights. HUMAN RIGHTS (Malinkovich, M 20) drew attention to falsifications in a statement by USSR Interior Minister Alexander Vlasov distributed by APN on January 4 concerning recently released writer and human rights activist Leonid Borodin and his reference to the masses of political prisoners still in Soviet prisons and camps. The program also commented on the fact that members of a new discussion club in Moscow established under the auspices of the Soviet Peace Committee declined an invitation by various independent public groups to attend an international seminar on humanitarian problems. A RERUN from 17 December 1987 was given of the text of a letter of invitation by one of the organizers of the seminar, sociologist Lev Timofeyev, in which he stressed that glasnost demands respect for dissidents. The program remarked

that the seminar took place despite obstructionism on the part of the authorities.

SPECIAL FEATURE (Rahr, M 27:30), a RERUN from January 5, featured a talk with former long-time Soviet political prisoner Igor Ogurtsov, who recently left the USSR, in which he spoke in particular about the All-Russian Social-Christian Union for the Liberation of the People (VSKhON) which he co-founded in the 1960s and which was broken up by the authorities. Ogurtsov said the charge of conspiracy levied against the organization was false, its basic aim was to formulate a Christian alternative to the totalitarian system. He spoke of similar movements which subsequently appeared.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 7), using an article in Le Quotidien de Paris which cited recently released Soviet human rights activist Anatoly Koryagin, expressed skepticism as to the extent to which a resolution just approved by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium will stop the abuse of psychiatry against dissidents in the USSR.

3. Restructuring. HUMAN RIGHTS (Kaminskaya, W 8) cited Soviet press material illustrating the restricted nature of "socialist pluralism" tolerated under glasnost. The democratic principle of pluralism, said the program, is incompatible with a one-party system.

4. Literature. OVER THE BARRIERS (Gladilin and Dovlatov, P 27:30) discussed positive developments on the Soviet literary front in 1987. The program said that it is good that many previously banned works have been published, but new young talent does not seem to be much in evidence. Russian literature faces the challenge of having to prove itself by producing high-quality works under new conditions of freedom, democracy and glasnost. The program spoke of possibilities for a dialogue and a comparison between Soviet and emigre literature, and of hope for an eventual unification of the two literatures.

SPECIAL FEATURE (Semenova, M 49:30), a RERUN from 6 January 1974, gave the abridged text of a lengthy poem by Maximilian Voloshin entitled Saint Serafim (1757-1833) with a foreword by Archbishop Ioann of San Francisco, who rescued the manuscript of this previously unpublished poem from his personal archives. The poem and the foreword were published in 1963 in the 72nd issue of the New York-based Novy Zhurnal.

5. Religion. SPECIAL FEATURE (Rahr, M 159), a RERUN from 6 January 1986, presented a recording of excerpts from Russian Orthodox Christmas services conducted by Archbishop Anthony in San Francisco.

6. History. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mihajlov, W 5:30) observed that, in contrast to the October Revolution, the February Revolution of 1917 is rarely mentioned in the Soviet press. The

program recalled how the Bolsheviks dissolved the freely elected Constituent Assembly following their poor showing in elections.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

1. Eastern Europe. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gordin, M 4) cited an article in the Frankfurter Rundschau to the effect that 1988 may be expected to be a crucial year for East European countries in view of the restructuring and glasnost campaign in the USSR.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

None

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

1. Religion. SPECIAL FEATURE (Rahr, M 4:30; Benigsen, NY 10:30; Artemov, M 7; and Miloslavsky, Jerusalem 7:30) was entirely devoted to Christmas, and included talks on the meaning of Christmas and historical background on the birth of Christ. The program consisted largely of RERUN material from 6 January 1987.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Thursday, 7 January 1988
M. Frost

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Soviet-US Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Polishchuk, W 4:30) covered American press reaction to recent articles in the Soviet press criticizing psychiatric malpractice in the USSR. The program reported that articles appearing in The Washington Post, The New York Times, and The Los Angeles Times expressed a mixture of hope and skepticism with regard to the use of punitive psychiatric practices against religious and other dissidents in the Soviet Union.

IN THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Paramonov, NY 4) reported on a new school course proposed by the B'nai B'rith International on a comparative study of American and Soviet moral and political values entitled "The Government of the People and the Government over the People."

2. Anglo-Soviet Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, M 5) reviewed a Komsomolskaya Pravda article on Margaret Thatcher which stated that relations between Britain and the USSR are at their best since the Second World War. The program commented that the Soviets admired Prime Minister Thatcher for the robust realism of her approach to international affairs. A Reuters report from January 7 was used.

3. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Muslin, NY 4:30) gave the contents of Shevardnadze's statements on the prospects of a peaceful resolution of the Afghan conflict during his visit to Kabul.

The program welcomed Shevardnadze's comments on a possible early withdrawal of Soviet troops which is a precondition for participation in a new Afghan government for many Mujahidin leaders.

4. Dissidents and Human Rights. DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Malinkovich, M 15) broadcast an article published in the new Moscow-based independent journal Referendum by the widow of Anatoly Marchenko, who died in captivity last year after a prolonged hunger strike. The article rebutted accusations levelled at Marchenko by a Trud journalist who said Marchenko was a Fascist sympathizer. The program used a samizdat document (AS-6126).

SPECIAL FEATURE (Fishbein, M 29:30), on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the birth of the Ukrainian poet Vasily Stus who died in a Soviet special regime camp on 4 September 1987, presented a biography of the celebrated poet with excerpts from his poetry, much of which was composed during lengthy spells of imprisonment.

5. Emigres. IN THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Gordin, M 4) summarized the contents of an interview with the former director of the Taganka theater in Moscow Yury Lyubimov which appeared in the Sueddeutsche Zeitung. Lyubimov talked about his decision to accept Israeli citizenship and his plans to stage Hamlet in honor of Vladimir Vysotsky.

6. Restructuring. DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Malinkovich, M 12) reviewed the first issue of a new independent journal, Referendum, published in Moscow under the editorship of a former political prisoner, and broadcast an economic article from the first issue of the journal which analyzed the results of a November 18 conference on the pressing agricultural problems facing the country. The article called for new methods of dealing with the crisis in Soviet agriculture and criticized the conference for repeating worn-out slogans on the need of party cadres to ensure adherence to party directives. The program used a samizdat document (AS-6126).

7. Glasnost. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kovalev, NY 7) gave the contents of the first issue of a new independent Moscow-based journal on current events in the USSR Referendum. The program then broadcast a joint address by Referendum and the Glasnost Club announcing the establishment of a fund to provide material support for the newspaper and the club.

8. The Nationalities. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Limberger and Oganessian, M 9) discussed demands for the removal of Demirchyan from the post of First Secretary of the Armenian CP.

9. Literature. FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 29:30) broadcast the final installment of Soviet dissident writer Felix Svetov's Attempt at a Biography.

10. History. IN THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Rahr, M 4:30) recalled that 175 years ago on December 25 Russia celebrated its great patriotic victory over Napoleon by building the Church of Christ the Savior.

THE FORTUNES OF SIBERIA (Kushev, M 27:30), a RERUN from 21 September 1986, was dedicated to the memory of Siberian General Anatoly Pepelyaev.

11. Religion. IN THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Rahr, M 3:30) broadcast greetings to all those who celebrate Christmas according to the Julian calendar on January 7.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

1. Eastern Europe. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gendler, NY 8) continued to summarize a series of articles on the effects of Gorbachev's reforms on Eastern Europe appearing in The New York Times on January 5 and 6. The current articles focused on the reaction of East European intellectuals to the "Moscow Spring."

2. Czechoslovakia. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Belotserkovsky, M 8:30) criticized an article in Izvestia from January 5 which chided Western journalists for drawing false comparisons between the Prague Spring and events currently taking place in the USSR. The program justified the comparisons and pointed out that the proposed reforms for Czechoslovakia were much more sweeping in scope than Gorbachev's reforms and were supported by a far greater percentage of the population.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. Berlin. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 5) discussed the prospects of Berlin becoming a center for international air traffic in the wake of President Reagan's proposals for improving cooperation between both parts of the divided city.

2. France. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 5:30) covered the debate in the French and Soviet press over the fee received by French singer Yves Montand for an appearance on French television.

3. French-GDR Relations. IN THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Salkazanova, P 5) covered Honecker's state visit to France based on reports from AFP and various French newspapers from January 7.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

1. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Paramonov, Vail, Genis, and Volkov, NY 28) reviewed the latest season of American films and the popular music scene for 1987.

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RADIO FREE EUROPE
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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Friday, 8 January 1988
D. Felton

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Soviet-US Relations. OVER THE BARRIERS (Vail and Paramonov, NY 15) gave the substance of an article by American writer Joyce Carol Oates in The New York Times Magazine of January 3 in which she said how impressed she was by Gorbachev at his meeting in Washington with American intellectuals and artists. After this, the program regretted that among the American films selected by the Soviet authorities for showing in the USSR are films by Coppola and Milos Forman which Soviet audiences could misinterpret as indicating that in the US, citizens are subjected to sophisticated electronic eavesdropping, and sane persons are confined in mental hospitals. This, said the program, is in line with the present Soviet propaganda tactics of conveying the impression that while things may not be so good in the USSR, they are no better abroad.

2. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gendler, NY 5) highlighted statements by Shultz, at a Washington press conference, that the US was prepared to stop military aid to the Afghan partisans once a serious Soviet troop withdrawal began, and by Shevardnadze, in an interview to the Bakhtar press agency, and Soviet official Yury Alexeyev, at a Moscow press conference, on Soviet readiness to withdraw. The program noted generally positive reaction by US officials to the Soviet statements, and cited David Shipler of The New York Times on the US insistence that Moscow stop military aid to the Kabul regime.

PRESS REVIEW (EVENTS AND PEOPLE) (Chianurov, M 5:30) reviewed world press comment on the situation in and around Afghanistan in connection with the latest American and Soviet diplomatic activity. The program cited The Wall Street Journal's correspondent Robert Kaplan on the USSR's "grand design" regarding Afghanistan; The Djakarta Post on the possibility of a peaceful solution to the conflict; Corriere della Sera on the possible influence of the Afghan War on the Muslim population of the USSR; and The Wall Street Journal on the extreme unpopularity of the war in the USSR.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanov, P 6:30) reported on the campaign in France for the release of French photoreporter Alain Guillo, arrested in Afghanistan. Statements by Mitterrand, Chirac, French Foreign Minister Raimond, and Soviet Foreign Ministry official Perfilev were quoted.

3. Dissidents and Human Rights. DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Malinkovich, M 10; Fedorov, NY 7; and Goryn, M 10) began by giving background on Ukrainian Political Prisoner's Day, January 12. This was followed by the text of an article by Ukrainian writer Vyacheslav Chornovil published last year in the samizdat journal Ukrainsky Vestnik on arbitrary actions by the Ukrainian KGB under Fedorchuk against Ukrainian writers and dissidents. Former Ukrainian political prisoner Mikhaylo Goryn then talked about the plight of fellow inmates and compatriots still in a special-regime camp at Kuchino, Perm Oblast. Former Ukrainian political prisoner Yury Fedorov then described how Ukrainian Helsinki Group member Oleks Tikhy was brought to his death in a Perm prison camp in 1983. In conclusion, Mikhail Goryn described how he was released, but merely pardoned instead of being rehabilitated as he should be in accordance with the present spirit prevailing in the USSR.

4. Jews. JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Simis, W 8:30) pointed to the problem of Soviet Jews who wish to stay in the USSR and preserve their national culture, and highlighted an appeal by a group of such Soviet Jews to the Soviet government proposing the establishment of an all-Union public organization uniting all Soviet Jews.

5. Restructuring. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Belotserkovsky and Malinkovich, M 20) discussed references in the Soviet press to restructuring having become bogged down, especially by Shmelev in Moskovske Novosti who claimed that the new law on a state enterprise has been emasculated and that enterprises remain under strict ministerial control, and the traditional rigid methods of agricultural control strengthened. Even the critics of the conservatives, said the program, offer no remedy for the situation, and the public has little confidence in restructuring, which has so far failed to produce adequate supplies of consumer goods and services. The program cited, as highly relevant to the present Soviet situation, a petition sent to the Polish Sejm in 1983 by a group of prominent Polish scholars in which they stressed the need for genuine self-management, for independent enterprises and trade unions. However, said the program, the Soviet people has no experience of democracy and a capitalist market economy. A solution could lie in international convergence, an international division of labor in which the West could help out initially by providing the USSR with capital, goods, and economic experience. The prerequisite of effective self-management is democratization.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Limberger, M 6:30) commented on an article by Nikolay Shmelev in Moskovske Novosti in which he shows, with remarkable boldness, that the law on state enterprises which has just gone into effect could remain an empty piece of paper; the other reforms too could simply peter out. He points in particular to the fact that the ministries are demanding the fulfilment of state assignments accounting for most if not all of a factory's output, and are claiming most of its profits. In addition, enterprises still have to get permission from above for all expenditures. In this connection, the program drew attention to a letter by a group of Polish scholars to the Polish parliament calling for workers self-management as a means of breaking bureaucratic resistance to reforms.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Chianurov, M 4:30) gave the Russian text, published in the Russian emigre newspaper Novoye Russkoye Slovo, of an article by The New York Times' Moscow correspondent Bill Keller on the prospects and problems of the new law on the state enterprise which has just come into effect in the USSR, and the risk of the public's high expectations being disappointed.

6. Society. PRESS REVIEW (EVENTS AND PEOPLE) (Limberger, M 6:30), in a review of the Soviet press, drew attention to an unusually frank article in Sotsialisticheskaya Industriya by USSR Education Ministry official Novichkov on the sorry state of the Soviet family which amounts to an indictment of the entire Soviet family welfare system, and an article in the journal Semya giving facts and figures on the high rate of juvenile delinquency in the USSR.

7. The Nationalities. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Oganessian, M 5) commented on a polemic on the subject of the assimilation of nationalities which took place between two discussants in a round-table talk on national processes in the USSR which was published last December in the journal Istoriya SSSR. One discussant argued that this assimilation is a natural process and enriches the absorbing nation; the other took the view that the loss of an ethnic entity was always a tragedy. The program author, from RL's Armenian Service, agreed with the latter opinion.

8. Literature. AT THE BOOKSHELF (Fiszbein, M 27:30), a RERUN from 17 March 1987, gave the first installment of a short story entitled The Talisman by the late Ukrainian writer Volodymyr Vynnychenko, a leading revolutionary writer, whose works have been banned in the USSR since 1929. The story, which is probably based on autobiographical material, takes place in the 1900s in a tsarist prison.

9. Religion. THE MILLENNIUM OF THE CHRISTIANIZATION OF RUSSIA (Rahr, M 27:30), a RERUN from 25 December 1987, gave historical background on monks and monasteries in Russia.

10. Sport. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rubin, NY 6) said it is a good thing that the USSR has virtually decided to take part in this year's Seoul Olympics, but wondered why, despite glasnost, Soviet statements on the matter have been made abroad, to Western reporters and Olympic officials, and not at home, to the Soviet public.

11. History. OVER THE BARRIERS (Vail and Genis, NY 11) discussed material in the 19th issue of the Paris-based Russian-language journal Syntaxis on the 50th anniversary of Stalin's year of terror, 1937, showing how talented Soviet writers tried to outdo each other in their vituperative attacks against so-called enemies of the people. The program commented that such cheap attacks have not ended with the Stalin era.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

None

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The Middle East. JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 7:30 and Gordin, M 3), in a review of the past week in Israel, focused on the unrest in the occupied territories. Among other things, the program mentioned the PLO discussion on setting up a government in exile, the incident involving a British Foreign Ministry official who criticized the situation in the occupied territories, and the UN Security Council resolution condemning the Israeli decision to deport nine Palestinian extremists. In this connection, the program spoke of Western hypocrisy, and recalled the deportation of Jews by the British mandate authorities. Material from the Swiss Juedische Rundschau was cited giving the deportees' record of trouble-making and terrorism. Reference was also made to statements by Shamir and Peres concerning Middle East peace talks, and Arab dilatoriness regarding a solution of the Palestinian problem. Aside from other events briefly listed, the program particularly mentioned a TV program revealing contamination of one of the most popular foodstuffs in Israel, khumus.

JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Gordin, M 9:30) gave the abridged text of an article in the Russian-language Israeli journal Zerkalo on the history of the Star of David.

2. The Persian Gulf. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Polishchuk, W 3:30) backgrounded US Defense Minister Carlucci's statement during his visit to the Persian Gulf region that the US had no intention of increasing its naval forces there.

3. Ethiopia. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Muslin, NY 4:30) highlighted statements by the head of the American international development agency, Alan Woods, on a serious deterioration in the food situation in Ethiopia.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

None

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Saturday, 9 January 1988
M. Frost

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Soviet-US Consumer Prices. WRITERS AT THE MICROPHONE (Dovlatov, NY 8:30) contrasted the fluctuating prices of goods in America with the fixed prices of most Soviet goods and contested the notion that inflation does not exist in the USSR.
2. The USSR and the Persian Gulf. SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, 8) reported on the composition and activities of the Soviet naval presence in the Persian Gulf using articles from Izvestia and Krasnaya Zvezda.
3. The Armed Forces. SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, M 20) broadcast excerpts from two recent short stories on the humiliating and physically life endangering hazing that recruits are subjected to in the Soviet Army.
4. Stalinism. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Limberger, M 11) criticized a recent statement by Soviet President Gromyko praising Stalin's role in establishing "a Socialist Poland friendly to the Soviet Union." The program enumerated Stalinist crimes against the Polish people including the Katyn atrocity and the Molotov-Ribbentrop nonaggression treaty.
5. History. SOVIETOLOGISTS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Shragin, NY 20) summarized and broadcast excerpts from Robert Daniel's 1960s book on the workers' opposition within the party from 1917 to 1937 and its attempts to protect workers rights and defend the original ideals of the revolution.
6. Literature. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gladilin, P 11) discussed the unprecedented bloom in Soviet literature over the last year, noted that many of the texts recently published in the Soviet Union have long been available in the West and are often only accessible to a privileged minority. In reviewing an article in Literaturnaya Gazeta on the astonishing literary output of the last year the program cautioned that the struggle in Soviet literature has only just begun.

WRITERS AT THE MICROPHONE (Maximov, P 6:30) argued that contemporary Soviet literature still does not consistently attack the "accursed questions" of the day and more or less follows the official line dictated by the party.

WRITERS AT THE MICROPHONE (Voinovich, M 13:30), a RERUN from 31 December 1983, related a humorous story about a New Year's tree in the Soviet Union.

7. Religion. NOT BY BREAD ALONE (Benigsen, NY 8; Rahr, M 10; Aksenov-Meyerson, NY 9) included a Sunday sermon, an address by Archbishop Feodosiya to Gorbachev appealing for the opening of sacred burial places in and around Kiev, and an item on saints' days celebrated at this time of the year in association with the millenium of the Christianization of Kievan Rus.

SUNDAY SERVICE (Rahr, M 50) presented a Russian Orthodox Church service.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

1. East-West Trade Relations. EAST-WEST (Chinanurov, M 7) discussed the present state of East-West trade and focused on Western capital and expertise which is being used to prop up "socialist" economies. The program cited commentaries from The Washington Post, The Journal of Commerce, and The Christian Science Monitor, and used a Reuter report from January 6.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The US. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Polishchuk, W 8) presented a summary of reactions in Washington to foreign and domestic news as reported in The Wall Street Journal, The Washington Post, The New York Times, and The Los Angeles Times.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

1. Religion. SPECIAL FEATURE (Rahr, M 4:30; Benigsen, NY 10:30; Artemov, M 7; and Miloslavsky, Jerusalem 7:30) was entirely devoted to Christmas, and included talks on the meaning of Christmas and historical background on the birth of Christ. The program used RERUN material from 6 January 1987.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Sunday, 10 January 1988
D. Felton

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Afghanistan. PRESS REVIEW (EVENTS AND PEOPLE) Gregory, M 5:30), in a review of Western press comment on the USSR's declared willingness to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan, cited The Baltimore Sun on what US policy should be in this matter, The New York Times on justifiable hopes that the USSR has at last come to its senses, and The Daily Telegraph, which expressed considerable skepticism over Soviet intentions.

THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Predtechevsky, M 3:30) cited an article in The Independent (Cornwell) of January 7 reporting that Tajik KGB chief Petkel admitted that the war in Afghanistan was having a destabilizing effect on the Tajik population.

2. Foreign Affairs. THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Predtechevsky, M 6) cited an article in The Financial Times (Wattenberg) which discussed how during the past year the USSR did not appear as the victor in such areas as arms agreement, Afghanistan, and Nicaragua.

3. Dissidents and Human Rights. SPECIAL FEATURE (Rahr, M 27:30), a RERUN from January 6, featured a talk with former long-time Soviet political prisoner Igor Ogurtsov, who recently left the USSR, in which he spoke in particular about the All-Russian Social-Christian Union for the Liberation of the People (VSKhON) which he co-founded in the 1960s and which was broken up by the authorities. Ogurtsov said the charge of conspiracy leveled against the organization was false, its basic aim was to formulate a Christian alternative to the totalitarian system. He spoke of similar movements which subsequently appeared.

4. Restructuring. THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Predtechevsky, M 3) cited comment in the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung on the Soviet leadership's refusal to acknowledge similarities between the reformist policies of Gorbachev and Dubcek.

5. The Economy. THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Predtechevsky, M 7) excerpted an article in The Financial Times which assesses Gorbachev's economic reforms. According to this article, Gorbachev is repeating the mistakes of his predecessors.

6. Ideology. SOVIETOLOGISTS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Shragin, NY 20) began by citing from the present CPSU Program to illustrate how the party clings to its thesis that eventually communism will triumph throughout the world. The program then highlighted a book by Prof. Tony Smith of Taft University in which he pointed to contradictions in Marxism connected with its claim to offer solutions to all problems, and expressed the view that in the USSR, Marxist ideology obscured the danger of Stalinism.

7. Culture. FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe and Frumkin, M 29:30), a RERUN from 29 November 1987, was entirely devoted to the life and work of nonconformist Soviet bard Bulat Okudzhava. The program was based on a foreword by one of the contributors to the program, Soviet emigre musicologist Vladimir Frumkin, to a collection of Okudzhava's songs published by Ardis in the US, and an article by Soviet emigre literary critic Alexander Zholkovsky published in the Munich-based Russian-language journal Strana i Mir. Statements made by Okudzhava at his concert in Munich last November were also quoted. The program demonstrated Okudzhava's outspokenness, especially his castigation of Stalin.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Yurenen, M 10) drew attention to a contribution made by Moscow culture expert Mikhail Epshteyn to a round-table discussion published in last December's issue of Voprosy Literatury in which he urged the need for fresh new ideas in Soviet literature as well as in Soviet society in general.

In OVER THE BARRIERS (Glezer, M 9:30) Alexander Glezer, a director of museums of modern Russian art in the US and France, gave a profile of nonconformist Russian artist Anatoly Zverev, who following his death in December 1986 eventually received official recognition.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Savitsky, M 9) took a critical look at the film Black Eyes, a joint Soviet-Italian production, which won an award at last year's Cannes film festival and was shown in August at the Moscow film festival, where it was received coolly by Soviet critics.

8. Sport. WORLD OF SPORT (Rubin and Shamkovich, NY 7) discussed the quality of play in the recent Kasparov-Karpov world chess championship final, and world press coverage of the contest.

WORLD OF SPORT (Rubin, NY 7) cited an article by The New York Times Moscow correspondent Tobman which in connection with Soviet sports official Koloskov's reference to the need for restructuring in Soviet ice hockey too, speaks of the need for more liberal training conditions for players. As Soviet newspapers are now doing, Tobman also pointed to the counter-productivity of strengthening one individual club team at the expense of all the others.

9. History. COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Shragin, NY 18), a RERUN from 29 November 1987, discussed a chapter from a book by American historian Walter Laqueur concerning the personality cult which grew up around Lenin, and Western appraisals of his personality and policies.

SOVIETOLOGISTS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Shragin, NY 20), a RERUN from January 9, summarized and excerpted a book by Robert Daniel written in the 1960s on the workers' opposition in the party during the period 1917-1937.

COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Mihajlov, W 5:30) noted that voices are being raised in Soviet society urging official admission that the Civil War in Russia following the October Revolution was indeed "fratricidal."

THE FORTUNES OF SIBERIA (Kushev, M 27:30), a RERUN from January 7, was dedicated to the memory of Siberian General Anatoly Pepelyayev.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

1. Poland. WORLD OF SPORT (Rubin, NY 7) included an item on prospects for Polish figure skater Grzegorz Filipowski at the Winter Olympics in Calgary.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The Middle East. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Miloslavsky, Tel-Aviv 10), commenting on the unrest in Israeli-occupied territories, recalled the late Moshe Dayan's observation that peace between Israelis and Palestinians could only come with outside assistance, in particular from the US and the USSR. The program noted the sharp reaction in Jerusalem to the UN Security Council resolution condemning Israel's decision to deport nine Palestinians, as well as critical reaction in both Palestinian and Israeli circles to a call by the editor of the Jerusalem newspaper El Fadzher, Siniora, for a campaign of passive resistance by the Palestinian population. As regards the possibility of a Palestinian government in exile, the program pointed to the problem faced by the Palestinians of deciding exactly who would be the subjects of a Palestinian state. The program cited comment in the Israeli newspaper Haaretz that the

only way of achieving peace in the region is to make a territorial division between Israelis and Palestinians. However, said the program, the advocates of territorial concessions are in a minority in Israel.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Muslin, NY 3:30) reported on the UN Security Council resolution condemning the Israeli decision to deport nine Palestinians. The program cited statements by US and Israeli UN representatives Okun and Nathaniahu, as well as Shultz.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

None

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Monday, 11 January 1988
D. Felton

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fistejn, M 5) featured a talk with Italian journalist Savik Shuster in which he suggested that the USSR has chosen to talk of 1988 as the year in which Soviet troops could be withdrawn from Afghanistan because it hopes to drive a wedge between the Republican and Democratic Parties in the US Presidential elections. Shuster expressed the view that the real reason for the Soviet operation to relieve the town of Khost is to demonstrate the Soviet troops' ability to crush the resistance of the Muhajidin, and to apply pressure to Pakistan in connection with the Geneva talks on Afghanistan.

2. USSR-PRC. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 8:30) discussed Gorbachev's statement in an interview with a Chinese journal that a summit between the two countries would be a logical development. The program gave a chronology of the changing relations between the USSR and the PRC and listed obstacles to a summit.

3. USSR-Yugoslavia. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Kh. Peterson, M 4:30) suggested that the reason why a concrete date has yet to be fixed for Gorbachev's planned visit to Yugoslavia lies in Yugoslavia's present complicated internal political situation and the failure of its leadership to agree on a common platform vis-a-vis the USSR. The program cited the Yugoslav newspaper Vjesnik, which expressed optimism that Gorbachev would be favorably disposed to the Yugoslav experience, although Yugoslavia is no longer setting an example for other socialist countries.

4. Dissidents and Human Rights. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Malinkovich, M 4:30) gave background on Ukrainian Political Prisoner's Day, January 12.

5. Gromyko on Stalin and Poland. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Roitman and Predtechevsky, M 20) discussed Gromyko's statements to the visiting Deputy Chairman of the Polish Sejm, Rakowski, praising Stalin's efforts on behalf of Poland during World War II. The program pointed out that Gromyko is himself a product of the Stalin era, and was an active participant in Stalin's foreign policy. It was suggested that his latest statements are designed to support conservative elements who feel that a new wave of de-Stalinization would endanger the USSR's political development and the status of the nomenklatura. The program spoke of a challenge to Gorbachev and a lack of unity within the Politburo. The program also drew attention to Jaruzelski's references in Kommunist of last July to negative aspects of the USSR's past relations with Poland, and pointed to aspects which he did not mention.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Henkina and Roitman, M 6) remarked that Gromyko's statements appear inappropriate in the present period of glasnost, and constitute an affront to Gorbachev. The program noted that Gromyko began his diplomatic career under Stalin, and commented that in view of the fact that Gromyko was ousted as Foreign Minister by Gorbachev, he doubtless does not experience any particular liking for him.

6. The Economy. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mihajlov, W 4:30) commented on a recent article in Kommunist by economist Otto Latsis expressing approval of Bukharin's proposal for a slower rate of industrial and agricultural development than that insisted on by Stalin. The program said that while Latsis may well be right in his appraisal, more important is the question of why a small group was allowed to decide such matters above the heads of the people, why the economic life of a huge country was subordinated to a central state plan.

7. The Construction Industry. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 7) expressed skepticism over the optimism voiced in an article in Ekonomicheskaya Gazeta by Deputy Gosplan Chairman Serov to the effect that all will now be well in the construction industry because a stop is being put to the practice of starting all kinds of projects which cannot be finished due to funds running out. Citing Pravda, the program showed that the problem consists not in a shortage of money but in a shortage of construction materials, which are diverted primarily to military needs.

8. The Standard of Living. WORKERS' MOVEMENT (Simis and Krasin, W 18 and 9:30) commented that while there are still no official Soviet statistics on the subsistence level in the USSR, the problem is now at least being discussed. Soviet sources do not admit the full scope of the problem, and in respect to the income gap between the poorly and better-off sections of the population, fail to take account of the considerable privileges enjoyed by party officials, etc., for example in the form of access to special shops, restaurants. A letter from a minister's wife published in Literaturnaya Gazeta last December was given as an example of the caste mentality of the privileged classes in the USSR. Facts and figures, including some provided by RL's Research Department, were given in amplification of Soviet figures showing how the Soviet standard of living compares with that in other countries.

9. The Armed Forces. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 9) reported on an international conference held in Paris by French research institutes on the subject of the Soviet armed forces in the era of restructuring. The general opinion was that Soviet generals are in favor of restructuring.

10. Ideology. RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Nazarov, M 8), noting references in the Zhurnal Moskovskoy Patriarkhii to "Christian socialism," suggested that the concept could be used as a tactical facade for implementing restructuring.

RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Kublanovsky, P 7:30) drew attention to a call in Novy Mir, No. 11, 1987, by Igor Klyamkin for the reissue of the pre-Revolutionary collection of articles by Russian philosophers published under the title Landmarks (Vekhi), whose authors are for evolution, spirituality, and existential freedom, and against revolution, nihilism, etc.

11. The Nationalities. THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Avtorkhanov, M 10:30) took issue with the concept of "the large and the small homeland" being propagated under Gorbachev, describing it as absurd since a person can have only one homeland. As regards the new concept of "bilingualism," the program said this is at least progress, although there is still a discrepancy between Moscow's words and deeds in this area. Lenin was quoted on the need to carefully respect the rights of the nationalities.

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Rahr, M 8:30), a RERUN from 15 December 1987, reviewed developments in Lithuania in 1987 in the nationality and religious spheres and mentioned the changes in the top party leadership.

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Limberger and Soldatov, M 5), a RERUN from 22 December 1987, reported on recent demonstrations of national sentiment in Estonia, and increased friction between Estonians and non-Estonians in the republic. The limited glasnost displayed in respect of these incidents was noted.

12. Literature. AT THE BOOKSHELF (Fiszbein, M 27:30), a RERUN from 19 March 1987, gave the second installment of a short story entitled The Talisman by the late Ukrainian writer Vladimir Vinnichenko, a leading revolutionary whose works have been banned in the USSR since 1929. The story, which is probably based on autobiographical material, takes place in the 1900s in a Tsarist prison.

13. Religion. RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Fotiyev, M 4), citing Moskovskiye Novosti of last December 20, spoke of hopes for the return to the Russian Orthodox Church of a convent and two monasteries during 1988, the year of the millennium of the Christianization of Russia. The program also mentioned upcoming celebrations of the millennium in Istanbul and Moscow, and a symposium taking place in Bergamo, Italy, on the work of Russian priest and theologian Pavel Florensky, who died in internal exile in 1943. A group of Soviet scholars was invited to the symposium.

14. History. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 2:30), continuing a series of excerpts from Soviet newspapers 70 and 50 years ago, cited Pravda of 11 January 1918 that the liberation of the working class demanded the liquidation of bourgeois rights and freedoms, and Pravda of 10 January 1938 complaining that a new trade union activists' program was not tough enough against "enemies of the people." As an illustration of how this mentality is still alive in the USSR today, the program cited a reader's letter in Ogonek, No. 44, 1977, criticizing the publication of Ilya Ehrenburg's notes in that journal, and calling for harsh measures against such cultural personalities as Yevtushenko, Okudzhava, and Rybakov.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

1. Czechoslovakia. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 7) gave the substance of the interview given by former Czech party leader Alexander Dubcek to the Italian CP newspaper l'Unita in which he drew a parallel between the Prague Spring reforms and restructuring in the USSR.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Bensi, Rome 3) featured an RL interview in Rome with Prague Spring activist Jiri Pelikan in which he said that both the Czech and the present Soviet reformers had the same motivation, namely to combine socialism with democracy, but the former went much further along the road of reform.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The Middle East. PRESS REVIEW (EVENTS AND PEOPLE) (Paramonov, NY 6), reviewing American press comment on the unrest in the Israeli-occupied territories, cited The Washington Post's correspondent Frankel on the general situation there, and former US UN chief delegate Jeane Kirkpatrick, in the same newspaper, criticizing US policy on this issue. By way of contrast with Kirkpatrick's viewpoint, the program recalled a January 3 article in The New York Times by former Jerusalem Deputy Mayor Benvenisti on Israel's dilemma of either strengthening Israel as an exclusively Jewish state with a subordinate Arab minority, or creating a democratic state in which this minority would occupy a worthy place.

2. FRG-Poland. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gordin, M 5:30) discussed FRG Foreign Minister Genscher's visit to Poland, noting that it is taking place at a time of greatly improved relations between the two countries. The program cited a statement by Genscher to this effect, as well as a statement by his Polish colleague Orzechowski on Poland's readiness to strike "reasonable compromises." The program mentioned as disputed issues the designation of formerly German Polish cities, and the status of ethnic German Polish citizens.

3. The US. THE USA TODAY (Rubin, NY 12:30) pointed to the dynamism and innovativeness shown by state legislatures in the US in the past year, suggesting as reasons the changed character of relations between federal and local authorities under the Reagan administration, and the higher educational level of members of the legislatures.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

1. The US. THE USA TODAY (Kozlovsky and Rubin, NY 9:30 and 5:30) gave background on organized crime in the US, with especial reference to the growth of the Chinese mafia, as well as facts and figures issued by the Census Bureau on house buyers in the US.

2. Religion. RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Aksenov-Meyerson, NY 8:30) outlined the state of modern research into the Gospel according to St. John.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Tuesday, 12 January 1988
M. Frost

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fistejn and Shuster, M 6:30) featured an interview with veteran Afghan War correspondent Savik Shuster on the Afghanistan situation. Shuster commented that the recent Soviet tactic of establishing posts around the city of Khost to deter the Mujahidin resistance is designed to strengthen the Soviet's bargaining position at the Geneva talks on Afghanistan. Shuster also welcomed Shevardnadze's announcement concerning possible Soviet troop withdrawals commencing as early as May of this year but cautioned that the West must insist that the Soviet invasion troops leave Afghanistan at the earliest possible moment. Shuster utilized information received by telephone from RFE's correspondent based in Pakistan, Dee Smith.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Paramonov, NY 4:30) gave American press reaction to Shevardnadze's recent statement made in Kabul on the possibility of Soviet troop withdrawals from Afghanistan in 1988. The program cited commentaries from Time and Newsweek indicating that it is still too early to open the champagne bottles with regard to the situation in Afghanistan.

2. USSR-PRC. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 9), a RERUN from January 11, discussed Gorbachev's statement in an interview to a Chinese journal that a summit between the two countries would be a logical development. The program gave a chronology of the changing relations between the USSR and the PRC, and listed obstacles to a summit.

3. USSR-Swedish Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Matusevich, M 5) reported on the successful conclusion of negotiations between the USSR and Sweden over the resolution of disputed territorial waters between the Swedish island of Gotland and Latvia.

4. The USSR and the Seoul Olympics. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rubin, NY 4:30) gave American official and press reaction to the Soviet decision to send a Soviet delegation to the Summer Olympics in Seoul. The program cited positive commentaries on the decision

in The New York Times, The Washington Post, and The Chicago Tribune from December 12.

5. Dissidents and Human Rights. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 4:20) commemorated January 12 as the day of the Ukrainian Political Prisoner. The program pointed out that a disproportionately high percentage of all political prisoners in the Soviet Union are of Ukrainian extraction and listed the names of those Ukrainian prisoners still incarcerated in the notorious Perm "especially-strict regime" camp near the village of Kuchino.

HUMAN RIGHTS (Kaminskaya, W 7) commented on Gorbachev's response to NBC correspondent Tom Brokaw's question on the emigration rights of Soviet citizens. The program found that Gorbachev's answer was entirely unsatisfactory and that the right to freely leave and return to the Soviet Union should be guaranteed in Soviet law and should not depend on the whim of bureaucrats.

HUMAN RIGHTS (Fedoseyev, M 2) commented that Gorbachev's pronouncements on the emigration rights of Soviet citizens during the Tom Brokaw interview demonstrate that the Soviet leadership considers itself to be above the law of the country.

6. Glasnost. HUMAN RIGHTS (Shragin, NY 16) assessed the impact of glasnost on the Soviet press during 1987. The program opined that while the official press has become more readable it is far from being "free", in the Western sense, to debate issues which have not been officially sanctioned by the party. At the same time the unofficial press is being contained by the strict laws on typographic reproduction which severely limits its impact on Soviet society.

7. The Economy. ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Dreyer, W 8), a RERUN from December 18, described the system of taxation for individual enterprises in the USSR and argued that, by taking such a high percentage of the profits, the government is discouraging the development of individual enterprise in the Soviet Union. The program compared the Soviet taxation laws with those of several Western countries where the trend is for reduced personal taxation in order to stimulate their economies.

IN THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nadirashvili, M 5:30), on the basis of a letter published in Pravda from January 11 discussed the relation between Soviet exports for hard currency and domestic deficits in a wide variety of goods. The program likened the structure of Soviet exports to that of a developing country, relying mainly on the export of raw materials such as oil and gas which are subject to wild price fluctuations.

8. Society. ROUND TABLE (Roitman, Matusevich and Malinkovich, M 20) featured a discussion of the Pamyat organization which recently sent an address to the Russian people complaining of Zionist control of the press in the Soviet Union. The

discussants agreed that Pamyat had chosen the press and in particular Central Committee member Yakovlev for criticism because the press under the aegis of Yakovlev has openly criticized Pamyat's ideology and activities. The discussants described the organization as a xenophobic, chauvinistic, anti-Jewish group characteristic of a society undergoing a rapid urbanization process whilst supporting a large empire.

9. The Environment. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Chianurov, M 8) cited commentaries in Ogonek, Pravda Ukrainy, Zarya Vostoka, Argumenty i Fakty, and Pravda Vostoka on environmental issues ranging from the pollution of the Aral Sea and Lake Baikal to the effects of exhaust fumes in Tbilisi.

10. Agriculture. ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Krasin, W 9) analyzed the results of a conference devoted to agrarian reforms in the USSR held in November and summarized the speeches of Ligachev and Nikonov which did not explain the long lines for food products despite the apparent "success story" of Soviet agriculture in the last two years. The program commented that the attempt to introduce more efficient family units into the system of agricultural production has failed because it provides no benefits for the vast majority of state farm workers. The program suggested that the Soviets follow the Chinese example and liquidate their state and collective farms in favor of small rented plots of land which have proved to be far more cost effective.

11. History. FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 29:30), a RERUN from 13 December 1984, broadcast the 20th installment of Utopia in Power: The History of the Soviet Union from 1917 until the Present by Soviet emigre historians Mikhail Geller and Alexander Nekrich.

IN THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 2) broadcast excerpts from the Soviet press from 70 and 50 years ago.

12. Culture. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Yurenen, M 5) analyzed Pravda's January attack on the latest play by Soviet playwright and Gorbachev supporter, Mikhail Shatrov, depicting the events of 1917. Pravda accused Shatrov of producing plays which are a "direct insult to historical science."

13. Religious Affairs. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fotiyev, M 4:30), referring to an article in Moskovskie Novosti from 20 December 1987, discussed the decision to reopen the famous Tolgsky Monastery after 64 years. The monastery, which is situated in the Yaroslavl district, was founded in 1314 and played a prominent role in the development of Russian spiritual and cultural life, providing the model for Dostoyevsky's Father Zossima in The Brothers Karamazov. The program welcomed the trend towards opening monasteries and appealed for the invaluable icons and library which belonged to the monastery to be returned to the church authorities.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

1. The Economies of Eastern European Soviet Bloc Countries were discussed in ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Gordin and Kroncher, M 7). The program described the dismal state of several of the debt-racked economies of the Soviet bloc and concluded that no substantial improvement in the Eastern European economies can take place until the political systems that govern the economies are changed. The program was a RERUN from 21 December 1987.

2. Yugoslavia. IN THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Peterson, M 3:30) reported on the proposed reforms to the Yugoslav constitution against a background of increasing economic chaos and minority unrest.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. US-French Relations. IN THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Mirsky, P 4:30) reported on Frank Carlucci's talks with French leaders on the Persian Gulf and NATO. The program was based on articles in Le Figaro, Liberation, Le Monde, and The International Herald Tribune from January 12.

2. Nicaragua. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 5) previewed the upcoming meeting in Costa Rica of the representatives of the five Central American countries involved in the regional peace plan. The program used reports from The Washington Post and AP.

3. Guinea. ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Kushev, M 5) reported on the success of the economic reforms taking place in Guinea since the country rejected the Soviet economic model. The program was a RERUN from 29 December 1987.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

1. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Paramonov, Vail, Genis, and Volkov, NY 28), a RERUN from January 7, reviewed the latest season of American films and the popular music scene for 1987.

2. Science. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY (Muslin, NY 27:30) included items on the construction of a giant telescope in Chile, on the production of superconductive batteries in the US capable of storing up to 5 million kilowatt hours of electricity, and gave some examples of last years inventions registered with the patent office in the US.

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RADIO FREE EUROPE
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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Wednesday, 13 January 1988
M. Frost

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Afghanistan. IN THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fistejn and Shuster, M 4:30) discussed the implications of a possible Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan commencing in May of this year and detailed the problems associated with such a withdrawal of an invading force which has generated so much hostility from the Afghan people.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, M 4) gave British press reaction to the possibility of a Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan commencing in May of this year. The program cited commentaries from The Daily Telegraph and The Independent.

2. Dissidents and Human rights. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanov, P 19:30) reported on the January 11 Paris conference on "Human Rights and International Relations," and interviewed Vladimir Bukovsky who insisted that the question of human rights in the USSR is inseparably linked to the nature of Marxist-Leninist ideology which still dominates every aspect of Soviet life.

3. Arms Control. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 5:30) commented on the head of the Soviet arms control delegation's statement that further progress in the area of nuclear disarmament is linked to American willingness to limit SDI research and implementation. The program analyzed this and other problems surrounding the proposed 50 percent reduction in offensive nuclear weapons.

4. The Nationalities. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Ikram and Nadirashvili, M 5:30) discussed the recent replacement of the First Secretary of Uzbekistan, Usmankhodzhaev, with former Soviet diplomat, Rafik Nishonov. The program commented that TASS's announcement that Usmankhodzhaev was retiring on grounds of ill health disguised Moscow's dissatisfaction with the former leader's implementation of the restructuring program in the republic and his unsuccessful struggle against corruption.

5. Restructuring. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 6) articulated some of the problems encountered by individuals engaging in private enterprise in the USSR. The program commented that the attempt to legitimize vast sections of the "black market" by the Soviet authorities has produced innumerable conflicts between individuals and bureaucratic interests.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Chianurov, M 6) reported on Gorbachev's address to representatives of the mass media which has been scantily covered in the Soviet press and summarized an article appearing in The Washington Times from January 12, in which Marshall Goldman's pessimistic views on Gorbachev's chances of success in reforming the Soviet economy were expressed.

IN THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Mihajlov, W 4) used a recent article in Moskovskie Novosti by Soviet economist and writer Nikolay Shmelev to highlight the problems confronting Gorbachev in his attempts to reform the economy.

6. Glasnost. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 6) previewed the upcoming conference of unofficial groups from over 40 Soviet cities to be held in Moscow from January 29 through January 31. The program noted that the conference organizers' requests for assistance from the Komsomol with a conference site has met with a mixed response since, according to Gorbachev's dictum, glasnost will proceed "only in the interests of socialism," which will be decided by the party.

HUMAN RIGHTS (Kaminskaya, W 8) argued that Soviet citizens have only extremely limited access to historical truth in the USSR. The program cited a comment from an article in Sovetskaya Belorussiya of November 1987 stating that citizens had no right of access to either the names of those who were repressed in the 1930s or to those who falsified the charges against them, as this is not in the interests of socialism.

IN THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nadirashvili and Belotserkovsky, M 6:30) analyzed Gorbachev's January 8 address to Soviet media representatives and concluded that it was one of his most daring speeches since his extended holiday in the summer of 1987.

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Shapiro, Isr. 10) explored the limits of glasnost as demonstrated by the Soviet press on the topics of collectivization, Stalinism, etc. The program was RERUN from 25 November 1987.

7. Samizdat. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Vail, NY 7), based on an article published in The New York Times from January 12, discussed the changing status of samizdat journals from antiauthoritarian newsletters to mouthpieces of the "loyal opposition." The program described the variety of "independent" journals currently in existence in the USSR and commented that although their circulation is small their importance is growing.

8. Stalinism. HUMAN RIGHTS (Kaminskaya, W 16) reviewed recent articles in the Soviet press on the "Stalin Phenomenon," which, taking their cue from Gorbachev's 70th anniversary of the revolution speech on the subject, generally reproach Stalin from the "excesses" of the era but express gratitude to him for converting the Soviet Union into a modern industrial state in a short period of time. The program pointed out that millions of ordinary Soviet citizens were sacrificed in the name of rapid industrialization and that the Soviet press has yet to note this fact.

9. History. RUSSIA, YESTERDAY, TODAY, TOMMORROW (Geller, P 8) discussed current attitudes toward history by professional Soviet historians who are presently calling for the need for truth in dealing with historical phenomena. The program pointed out that this absurd situation has arisen because, for decades, Soviet historians have operated along Marxist lines, selecting only those moments from history which serve to further the cause of the October Revolution.

RUSSIA YESTERDAY, TODAY, TOMMORROW (Geller, P 10) broadcast the second part of a series on the history of the KGB. The current program dealt with Lenin's role in the formation of the security services and Dzerzhinsky's stewardship of the "organs" which, by the summer of 1918, were represented throughout the territory of the Soviet republic.

RUSSIA YESTERDAY, TODAY, TOMMORROW (Geller, P 8) reviewed Ingeborg Fleischhauer's book Germans in Tsarist Russia, which describes the contribution of German colonists from the earliest times to Russian political, military, and artistic life.

10. Literature. AT THE BOOKSHELF (Fishbein, 27:30) broadcast the second installment of Vladimir Vinnichenko's novella The Talisman, translated from the Ukrainian by Oleks Lukashenko. The program was RERUN from 22 March 1987.

11. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Glezer, P 6:30) commemorated the life and work of the accepted leader of the second Russian avant-garde, painter Evgeny Rukhin, who died 10 years ago under mysterious circumstances in a fire in his studio in Leningrad at the age of 33.

12. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Savitsky, M 9), a RERUN from January 10, took a critical look at the film "Black Eyes," a joint Soviet-Italian production, which won an award at last year's Cannes Film Festival and was shown in August at the Moscow Film Festival, where it was received coolly by Soviet critics.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Yurenen, M 10), a RERUN from January 10, drew attention to a contribution made by Moscow culture expert Mikhail Epshteyn to a round-table discussion published in last December's issue of Voprosy Literatury in which he urged the need for fresh new ideas in Soviet literature as well as in Soviet society in general.

13. Religion. IN THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fotiyev, M 4) rebutted a recent attack by a member of the Komsomol on religious activity among Soviet youth. The program argued that Soviet youth is turning to the church because it engages their creative and spiritual energies.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

1. Yugoslavia. DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Krimerman, M 10), a RERUN from 25 November 1987, focused on the economic and political problems in Yugoslavia and the role of the press in Yugoslav society.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The Persian Gulf. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 4) covered Frank Carlucci's press conference in Washington on the success of the US mine-sweeping operations in the Persian Gulf. The program cited a commentary from The Washington Post from January 11.

2. US-Japan Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 3) reported on Japanese Prime Minister Takeshita's trade talks in Washington with President Reagan. A Reuters report and an article from The Washington Post were used.

3. France. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 3:30) previewed the opening of the congress of Nobel laureates on January 18 and

reported on the Symposium on European Culture, both taking place in Paris.

4. FRG-Polish Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rahr, M 5) reported on FRG Foreign Minister Genscher's visit to Poland.

5. Western Democratic Systems were explained in DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Nazarov, M 7). The program was RERUN from 25 November 1987.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

None

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Thursday, 14 January 1988
D. Felton

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Afghanistan. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Shuster, M 6)
included an interview given to Italian journalist Savik Shuster
by Afghan resistance commander Abul Hag in which he talked about
the latest fighting, expressed skepticism over Soviet statements
on a troop withdrawal, and insisted that the Mujahidin were the
only force capable of forcing such a withdrawal, and it was
about time the Soviets started talks with them.

2. USSR-Sweden. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Matusevich, M 5:30)
commented on Soviet Premier Ryzhkov's visit to Sweden. As an
example of the selectivity of glasnost, the program pointed to
the fact that Soviet TV viewers were told of the long-standing
dispute between the USSR and Sweden over the continental shelf
in the Baltic, but not of Ryzhkov's statement that the USSR
approved of Swedish diplomat Wallenberg's humanitarian
activities. The program said that with the exception of an
agreement on the continental shelf, the Soviet new thinking
brought nothing: the usual propaganda rejection of Swedish
charges of Soviet submarine incursions, an attempt to sell the
old idea of a nuclear-free Northern Europe, and appeals for an
increase in bilateral trade and economic relations. The program
cited the Swedish newspaper Expressen's three questions to
Ryzhkov on the submarine incursions, Afghanistan, and the right
of Soviet citizens to travel abroad.

3. Dissidents and Human Rights. DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Kovalev,
NY 6:30) gave the contents of the first issue of the Moscow
independent journal Referendum, and the text of a statement by
the "Glasnost" Club and Referendum dated last December 26
appealing for material assistance from at home and abroad.

4. Emigres. FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M and Vail and
Genis, NY 29:30) featured comment on and excerpts from Soviet
emigre writer Sasha Sokolov's novel Palisandria, a
phantasmagoric history of the USSR whose characters are taken
from various historical periods.

5. Restructuring. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gendler, NY 4) gave the contents of an article by The New York Times' Moscow correspondent Philip Taubman saying that Gorbachev's speech before senior Soviet media workers illustrates his movement toward political compromise and a middle-of-the-road course.

6. The Economy. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Kroncher, M 4:30) discussed comment in the newspaper Sotsialisticheskaya Industriya on how Soviet tourists abroad descend on the local stores in order to buy up items which Soviet light industry cannot adequately provide them with. In the spirit of the times, the newspaper places the blame not on the Soviet tourists but on Soviet light industry, which it says should be ashamed of itself. However, said the program, the real question is not who should feel ashamed; in the West, the market economy simply prevents the amassing of unsaleable goods, and enterprises worry about the demands of the consumer, not the fulfilment of state plans.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Chianurov, M 5:30), in a review of the Soviet press, drew attention to a letter to the newspaper Sotsialisticheskaya Industriya by a Lvov factory worker expressing shame over Soviet tourists in Czechoslovakia who, as a consequence of the inadequate performance of Soviet light industry, bought up huge quantities of everyday items beneath the condescending gaze of the Czechs.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, M 4) noted that under the conditions of glasnost, Soviet foreign trade officials are explaining that Soviet "Lada" cars are being exported to the West despite the unsatisfied domestic demand because the USSR needs hard currency with which to buy more important products. The program author raised the question of whether the state's monopoly of foreign trade is in the interest of the ordinary Soviet citizen, and spoke of the poor quality of Soviet cars as illustrated by the bad experience a friend of his had with a "Lada" he bought.

7. The Armed Forces. ROUND TABLE TALK (Roitman, Predtechevsky and Fedoseyev, M 20) was devoted to compulsory service in the USSR. The program was pegged to the ruling which has just come into force in the USSR allowing for the postponement of military service for students at major high education institutions. The discussants recalled that under the 1968 law on compulsory military service deferment was granted to all day students, and asked in this connection why the USSR needs such a huge and expensive army. They suggested the Soviet armed forces' technological lag as a possible reason. The persecution of persons refusing to do military service for religious, pacifist, etc. reasons was mentioned, and a comparison was drawn with the situation in other socialist countries. As regards the comparatively long period of compulsory military service in the USSR, the program observed that time is taken up by non-Russian servicemen having to acquire an adequate knowledge of Russian,

servicemen enter the armed forces with such an aversion to military service resulting from extensive previous military education that they frequently shirk many of their duties, and the war in Afghanistan has increased pacifistic tendencies.

8. The Law. MAN AND SOCIETY (Konovalov, M 5:30) reported on a polemic in the Soviet press on the question of the abolition of the death penalty in the USSR. The program said that widespread agreement seems to exist that the death penalty should be abolished for economic crimes. An RLR Research Report was used.

9. Children. MAN AND SOCIETY (Shturman, 1sr. 6:30) drew attention to an article by Georgy Viren in Literaturnaya Gazeta of last October 7 on "notes of an educator" by Larisa Mironova published in the journal Ural concerning the callousness and moral depravity of staff and inmates alike in Soviet children's homes. The program spoke of the failure of 70 years of socialist experimentation in the field of child welfare too, which cannot simply be blamed on the "stagnation" period under Brezhnev.

10. The Nationalities. DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 4:30; Fedorov, NY 5; and Seytmuratova, NY 7:30) began with background on Ukrainian Political Prisoner's Day, a RERUN from January 12, noting that despite glasnost and restructuring, the percentage of Ukrainian political prisoners remains disproportionately high. Reference was made to Sakharov's appeal to Gorbachev to release all prisoners of conscience. Former Ukrainian political prisoner Yury Fedorov then described how his compatriot and fellow-prisoner Vasil Stus was brought to his death in a prison camp. The program then drew attention to continued repressions against the Crimean Tatars despite the creation of a government commission on the Crimean Tatar problem headed by Gromyko.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyev and Adams, M 8:30) featured a talk with RFE Latvian Service staffer Richard Adams on the case of Latvian activist Gunar Astra, reportedly to be released soon after having served a term of imprisonment for his involvement in a 23 August 1979 memorandum signed by 45 citizens of the Baltic republics calling for the annulment of the secret Soviet-German protocol resulting in the annexation of the Baltic states by the USSR. The program mentioned Astra's statements on the Russification of the Latvian and other peoples in the USSR, and said that while his release would certainly be a positive development, it comes too late, and he should be rehabilitated as well.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Adams, M 4) also featured a talk with RFE Latvian Service staffer Adams on the upcoming release of Latvian activist Gunar Astra. The program quoted Astra's argumentation rejecting the Soviet propaganda version of the annexation of Latvia, and noted that what Astra

has been saying aloud on Latvia's nationality problem is felt by many Latvians.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Chianurov, M 3), in a review of the Soviet press, drew attention to an article in Kommunist Tadzhikistana on the desolate state of health care facilities in the Kulyab Oblast in Tajikistan. The program described announced measures to rectify the situation as mere words.

11. Literature. OVER THE BARRIERS (Gladilin, P 9) cited Moscow literary critics in the New Year's issue of Literaturnaya Gazeta saying that 1987 brought a good deal of freedom to the Soviet literary scene, although there is still not nearly enough, and there is still much "slavery" within the hearts of writers, editors, and publishers. The program author, himself a Soviet emigre writer, rejected Soviet press charges that Soviet emigres are alarmed by restructuring. The program mentioned the difficulties experienced by the Soviet public in obtaining works by Pasternak, Dudintsev, Rybakov, etc., and commented that so far, restructuring in literature is benefiting only a select few. Reference was also made to dissatisfaction by conformist writers fearful of losing their status as a result of the new developments.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Kublanovsky, P 9) discussed the work of Leningrad poetess Yelena Shvarts, none of which has been published in the USSR. The program suggested that the reason for this could lie in the sheer unorthodoxy of her work.

OVER THE BARRIERS (V. Betaki, P 9) discussed the work of poet Nikolay Nekrasov on the occasion of the centenary of his death. The program took issue with Soviet literary critics' claim that he was an atheist, and pointed to the present political relevance of certain aspects of his writings.

12. Religion. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Rahr, M 4:30) listed measures being conducted this year in the West to mark the millennium of the Christianization of Kievan-Rus, and remarked that in the USSR, by way of contrast, the occasion is being presented as purely ecclesiastical in character.

13. History. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Tolz, M 10) highlighted an article by the Frankfurter Rundschau's correspondent Elfi Sigl on Soviet historian Afanasev's call for a radical rewriting of Russian and Soviet history.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 4), continuing a series of excerpts from old Soviet newspapers, gave Pravda excerpts from 14 January 1928 on how compulsory grain deliveries to the state were being hampered by religious holidays and resistance by the kulaks. The program accepted a "challenge" by the Soviet weekly Argumenty i Fakty, which in a similar series cited a newspaper reference of 5 January 1938 to the production of the 20,000th M-1 passenger car, by quoting an account in the 14

January 1938 issue of Pravda of how one such car plunged into the River Moskva and sank after its wheels had got stuck in tramlines.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

1. Romania. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 11) cited an account of the workers unrest in Brasov last November 15 given in the latest issue of the French weekly L'Evenement du Jeudi.
2. Yugoslavia. MAN AND SOCIETY (Wolfson-Komarov, Isr. 6:30) described how as a result of the Chernobyl disaster a veritable campaign has begun in Yugoslavia against atomic energy. Critics attribute the disaster to the Soviet system, and also doubt whether Yugoslavia itself is ready yet to handle such a complicated technology.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. Central America. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Tarasenkov, W 4:30) commented on the upcoming meeting of five Central American countries to discuss the implementation of the regional peace plan. The program said the conclusions of the international commission can hardly be comforting in view of the Nicaraguan attitude. US National Security Adviser Powell and State Department spokesman Redman were cited.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

1. The Social Welfare System in the FRG was outlined in MAN AND SOCIETY (Voronitsyn, M 5:30).
2. Religion. JUDAISM (Lvov, Sirotin and Haskelevich, NY 9, 9 and 9) included items on the condemnation of lying in Judaic ethics; the late Jewish cantor Alter Jechiel Karniol (pegged to the 60th anniversary of his death); and the Torah and modern civil law.

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RADIO FREE EUROPE
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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Friday, 15 January 1988
M. Frost

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanov, P 8) reviewed the newspaper Defis Afghans, published in Paris by the International Bureau for the Defense of Afghanistan, and which contained material on the French photojournalist Alain Guillo who has been sentenced to 10 years imprisonment on spying charges by the Kabul regime.

2. USSR-FRG Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Yurenin, M 6) described the current festival of plays staged by Moscow theater companies in Munich.

3. The Issyk-Kul Peace Forum was described in IN THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Henkina, M 3) as an attempt to convince public opinion in the West of the Soviet Union's pacifist tendencies.

4. Dissidents and Human Rights. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 8:30) highlighted the case of veteran prisoner of conscience Lev Ubozhko who has once again been forcibly hospitalized for, among other things, "a pathological striving for justice." The program responded to a TASS announcement of January 14.

DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Kovalev, NY 6:30) gave the contents of the first issue of the Moscow independent journal Referendum, and the text of a statement by the "Glasnost" Club and Referendum dated last December 26 appealing for material assistance from at home and abroad. The program was a RERUN from January 14.

5. The Nationalities. DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 4:30; Fedorov, NY 5; and Seytmuratova, NY 7:30) began with background on Ukrainian Political Prisoner's Day and noted that despite glasnost and restructuring, the percentage of Ukrainian political prisoners remains disproportionally high. Reference was made to Sakharov's appeal to Gorbachev to release all prisoners of conscience. Former Ukrainian political prisoner Yury Fedorov then described how his compatriot and fellow-prisoner Vasyl Stus was brought to his death in a prison

camp. The program then drew attention to the continued repression against the Crimean Tatars despite the creation of a government commission on the Crimean Tatar problem headed by Gromyko. The program was a RERUN from January 14.

6. Restructuring. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mihajlov, W 5) discussed the contradiction between Gorbachev's insistence that the party determines the limits to glasnost and democratization, and an article in Izvestia by historian Kedrov on renowned Russian historian Klyuchevsky's views, in particular that the interests of the individual constitute the highest value.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Limberger, M 6:30) reviewed two articles published recently in Trud on the subject of the effects of possible unemployment on the Soviet economy.

7. Democratization. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyev, M 6:30) rebutted an accusation published in Moskovske Novosti by the editor of Kommunist Otto Latsis, that the West "actively brought about the destruction of Russian political plurality," in the early years of the Revolution. The program asserted that, on the contrary, the West is constantly seeking to promote democratic systems of political pluralism in all countries as this is the safest guarantee of world peace.

8. Agriculture. ROUND TABLE (Roitman, Belotserkovsky, and Kroncher, M 20) discussed the recently published draft for new model regulations for collective farms. The discussants argued that the new draft is unlikely to solve the country's food production problems as it neither guarantees full self-financing for the collective farms nor the right of individual peasants to leave the collective farm and work on individual plots of leased land.

9. Agriculture. IN THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Belotserkovsky, M 4:30) summarized the ROUND TABLE discussion of the draft for new model regulations for collective farms.

10. Trade. IN THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Gregory, M 4) discussed the value of Soviet exports to the US and commented that although the volume of exports is growing, it still represents only a small fraction of total US foreign trade. An article from The Journal of Commerce was used.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dreyer, W 6:30) discussed the fluctuating price of world oil and the ramifications for Soviet hard currency earnings.

11. The Seoul Olympics. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gendler, NY 4:30) welcomed the Soviet decision to send a delegation to the Seoul Summer Olympics. An article from The New York Times from January 13 was used.

12. Literature. AT THE BOOKSHELF (Fishbein, M 27:30), a RERUN from 24 March 1987, broadcast the fourth instalment of Vladimir Vynnychenko's novella Talisman.

13. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Paramonov, Dovlatov, Vail, and Genis, NY 27:30) discussed Brodsky's Nobel lecture in which he asserted that "esthetics is the mother of ethics." The discussants evaluated Brodsky's attempt to formulate a metaphysics of language and summarized public reaction to Brodsky's linguistic theories.

14. Religion. THE MILLENNIUM OF THE CHRISTIANIZATION OF KIEVAN RUS (Rahr, M 27:30), a RERUN from December 11, discussed the relationship between the Russian Orthodox church and the state of Kievan Rus.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

None

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. East-West Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 7) commented on Ryzhkov's recent proposal to reduce NATO and Warsaw Pact activity in the North Atlantic. The program concluded that such an agreement is disadvantageous to the NATO forces as they encounter greater logistical problems in defending the North Atlantic than the Warsaw Pact forces.

2. The FRG. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 5) reported on the nuclear scandal in the FRG where a company has been shut down pending investigations into accusations that it illegally supplied nuclear material to Libya and Pakistan.

3. Taiwan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 5:30) reported on the death of Taiwanese president Chiang Ching-Kuo.

4. Israel. JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Nudelman and Markish, Isr) reported on unrest among Palestinians in the Gaza Strip, profiled the life and poetry of American Jewish poetess Emma Lazarus, and read excerpts from the Jewish monthly Voskhod which was published in Saint Petersburg from 1881 to 1906.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

None

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Saturday, 16 January 1988
D. Felton

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Afghanistan. AFGHANISTAN-88 (Fistejn and Shuster, M 47:30) was devoted largely to the massive Soviet effort to reopen the road to the besieged town of Khost. Interviews were featured with the CBS's Peshawar correspondent Kurt Lobek, RFE-RL's correspondent in Pakistan, Smith, Afghan partisan commander Abdul Haq, and Pentagon official Elie Krokowski, who all felt that the Soviet objective was to demonstrate that, if the Soviet troops were to withdraw from Afghanistan, then on a victorious note. In addition, Lobek said the USSR's long-term economic projects in Afghanistan give grounds for skepticism regarding a troop withdrawal, and Krokowski expressed the view that an additional Soviet objective in Khost was to liquidate partisan arsenals.

SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, M 10) excerpted a story by Soviet writer Ivnitckaya published in the latest issue of the Frankfurt-based Russian-language journal Posev on how a young Soviet soldier in Afghanistan was tormented by the dream of how he was forced to execute a young Afghan resistance fighter. The program also quoted a letter to Ivnitckaya by a literary consultant to the journal Yunost, Bogoslovsky, explaining that her story could not be accepted for publication because it was politically and morally worthless, and a letter to Bogoslovsky by comrades of a Soviet soldier on whose account Ivnitckaya's story was based in which they sharply condemn Bogoslovsky's argumentation.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Paramonov, NY 6) reviewed American press comment on the possibility of a Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan, citing The Christian Science Monitor (Joseph Hart) on the political gains which the USSR would achieve by such a withdrawal, and The New York Times (Shipler and Rosental), The Miami Herald, and The Wall Street Journal, on the question of the participation of communists in a Kabul government following a Soviet troop withdrawal.

2. Soviet-Czech Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Chianurov, M 5:30) cited Western observers that during the recent visit to

Moscow by the new Czech party leader, Jakes, both he and Gorbachev missed an opportunity to reevaluate the Prague Spring, this despite Gorbachev's insistence only shortly before, at a meeting with top Soviet media workers, on the need to learn from historical experience. Western observers suggest that here, the Czech leadership's fear of a repetition of the Prague Spring is the underlying factor. A RAD Background Report of January 15 was used.

3. Dissidents and Human Rights. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva and Malinkovich, M 20) drew attention to misrepresentation of the facts concerning political prisoners in the USSR, in particular in the special zone of Perm camp No. 36, on the part of Soviet state prosecution official Rakhmanin in a letter to the editor of The New York Times in which he himself complained of such misrepresentation in an article by that newspaper's correspondent Rosenthal. In particular, the program took issue with information given by Rakhmanin on the number of political prisoners in the camp, and on the conditions of imprisonment. It was also noted that while Rakhmanin's letter is published in full in Moskovske Novosti in a section entitled "Discussion Club," there was no room for other sources of information, such as, for example, former Ukrainian political prisoner Moryn.

4. Emigres. In WRITERS AT THE MICROPHONE (Voynovich, M 9:30) Soviet emigre writer Vladimir Voynovich disagreed with a contention by International PEN-Club President Francis King that, with a few exceptions, a writer's work suffers under emigration conditions.

5. Restructuring. In WRITERS AT THE MICROPHONE (Maximov, P 8) Soviet emigre writer Vladimir Maximov took issue with an ironical comment in a respectable Russian emigre weekly on how Gorbachev and his policies were making "Russian-language conservatives" laughable and useless. Maximov recalled how Soviet emigres have been deceived in the past by Brezhnev, Khrushchev, and Stalin.

6. Literature. In WRITERS AT THE MICROPHONE (Dovlatov, NY 6) Soviet emigre writer Sergey Dovlatov told of meeting with his old friend, Leningrad writer Viktor Sosnora, during the latter's recent visit to the US. Sosnora, the first officially recognized Soviet writer to give an interview to RL, expressed skepticism regarding glasnost, and in contrast to Dovlatov, said he thought that the most interesting things on the Russian literature scene were happening in the West, not in the USSR.

7. Religion. NOT BY BREAD ALONE (Rahr, M 11; Benigsen, NY 8; and Aksenov-Meyerson, NY 9) began with a passage from the Gospel according to St. Mark read out in Orthodox churches this Sunday, followed by a talk about the feast of the Epiphany (Baptism of Christ). The program then highlighted two appeals by churchmen and believers to Metropolitan Filaret of Kiev and Galicia and to the Council for Religious Affairs of the USSR

Council of Ministers for the return of the Kiev Cave Monastery to the Russian Orthodox Church and the Russian people. The program concluded with profiles of Russian saints commemorated by the Church at this time of the year.

SUNDAY SERVICE (Rahr and Kholodnaya, M and NY 50) presented a recording of a Russian Orthodox church service.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

None

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. US-Persian Gulf. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 3:30), reviewing major events in Washington in the past week, commented on Defense Secretary Carlucci's visit to Persian Gulf countries. The program noted positive reaction in these countries to the escort protection provided by the US for tankers passing through the Gulf.

2. US-Japan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 3:30), reviewing major events in Washington in the past week, highlighted Japanese Prime Minister Takeshita's visit, focusing on US-Japanese trade and financial relations as a major topic of discussion.

3. Chemical Weapons. SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, M 7), pegged to the new round of UN talks in Geneva on a total ban on chemical weapons, cited the Swedish delegate that the talks have entered a decisive stage, and pointed to the crucial issue of inspection. The program remarked on the USSR's ambivalent position in, for example, allowing international experts to visit chemical weapons bases, but on the other hand withholding such basic information as the size of the Soviet chemical arsenal. The Director of the International Institute for Strategic Studies was quoted on the danger of chemical weapons in the hands of countries besides the US and the USSR. Reference was made to cases of recent use of these weapons.

4. Pacifism. SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, M 12) commented on the controversy in the FRG over a Frankfurt court's ruling in favor of pacifists who described all servicemen as potential murderers. The program author said that, unlike previously, he has mixed feelings when looking at participants in military parades on Red Square, since he wonders what they did in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Afghanistan, etc. The program said the crucial factor is what political and constitutional basis a country has for maintaining armed forces. As an example, the program pointed to the constitutional restrictions on the role of the armed forces in Western Germany.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

None

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Sunday, 17 January 1988
M. Frost

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Afghanistan. AFGHAN SPECIAL 1988 (Fistejn and Shuster, M 49:30) presented the second part of a series on Afghanistan which included interviews with French mayor, Bertrand Taverne on the arrest of Allain Guillo, and with CBS special correspondent in Peshawar Kurt Lobeck, Senator Gordon Humphrey, State Department official Khalid Zad, Congressman D. Dreyer, Pentagon official Ellie Krokowski, and with the commander of the resistance forces around Kabul, Abdul Hak.

EMBATTLED AFGHANISTAN (Bensi, M 20) summarized former US State Department advisor Helmut Sonnenfeldt's article on Afghanistan which was recently published in Corriere della Sera, discussed the ramifications of a Soviet pull-out from Afghanistan for the Afghan people, and reported on the latest fighting in the country taking place between government forces and the Mujahidin resistance.

2. Soviet-Norwegian Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Matusevich, M 4:30) reported that Ryzhkov's visit to Norway has not resulted in any agreements over disputed territorial waters, in contrast to the recently terminated negotiations between the USSR and Sweden.

3. Dissidents and Human Rights. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyev, M 5) reported on the January 15 press conference held in Moscow to announce the establishment of an International Fund for the Survival and Development of Mankind. The program also commented on the previous day's meeting of the directors of the fund with Gorbachev, during which Andrey Sakharov handed over a list of prisoners of conscience who are still being held in Soviet prisons and psychiatric hospitals.

4. Siberia. THE FORTUNES OF SIBERIA (Kushev, Krasin, Belotserkovsky, M; and Shapiro Isr. 27:30), a RERUN from January 3, describing the lack of consumer goods and the history of Soviet food production in Siberia, discussed the acute housing shortage and recommended the construction of a fleet of

dirigables to solve the transport problem of the region. The program referred to articles in Sovetskaya Rossiya, Eko, and Literaturnaya Gazeta.

5. History. SOVIETOLOGISTS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Shragin, NY 20) reviewed Tufts University politics professor Toni Smith's book entitled Thinking Communist, which examines the historical relationship between Marxism and Leninism.

COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Shragin, NY 18), a RERUN from 10 December 1987, discussed Walter Laqueur's account of the personality cult which grew up around Lenin.

COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Mihajlov, W 5:30) discussed the "fratricidal" nature of the Civil War in Russia. The program was RERUN from 10 December 1987.

6. Literature. OVER THE BARRIERS (Malinkovich, M 28), a partial RERUN from 9 December 1987 carried Brodsky's Nobel Prize lecture delivered in Stockholm.

7. Culture. FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 29:30) reviewed the recent poetry of Bulat Okudzhava using extensive passages from Alexander Zhukovsky's article appearing in Strana i Mire and autobiographical notes published by Ardis in the US.

8. Sport. IN THE WORLD OF SPORT (Rubin, NY 20) included items on the Soviet decision to send a delegation to the Seoul Olympics, on the recent success of the Canadian hockey team in Moscow, and on the miserly remuneration of physical education graduates from Soviet institutes of physical culture. The program cited commentaries from The Globe and Mail (Toronto) and Sovetsky Sport.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

None

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. East-West Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, M 4) reported on the conclusion of the Symposium on European Culture taking place in Paris at which the delegates pledged to strengthen bonds not only between the countries of Western Europe but with Eastern Europe as well.

2. Israel. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Miloslavsky, Isr. 5) reported on the continuing disturbances in the Gaza Strip and on Israeli reprisal measures in the refugee camps.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

None

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Monday, 18 January 1988
D. Felton

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. USSR-Western Europe. ROUND TABLE TALK (Roitman, Bensi, and Matushevich, M 20) was about Soviet Premier Ryzhkov's visits to Sweden and Norway, and Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's visit to Western Germany. The discussants placed these visits in the context of an activation of Soviet policy toward Western Europe following the signing of the INF treaty with the US last December. However, the "new thinking" in Soviet foreign policy was apparent only in part during Ryzhkov's visits, e.g., in the agreement with Sweden over the boundary between the two countries along the continental shelf in the Baltic. As regards Shevardnadze's visit to the FRG, the discussants pointed to the changed West German attitude toward the USSR, illustrated by Franz Josef Strauss's visit to the USSR after which he said that the West had no need to fear aggressive Soviet initiatives. It was pointed out that the USSR needs Western economic and technological assistance in order to implement its modernization program. The question is, however, how effectively the USSR can make use of such assistance. FRG-GDR relations could now be solved in a greater spirit of goodwill. The USSR has displayed goodwill in particular in allowing increased numbers of ethnic Germans to leave the country. The discussants noted the problem of short-range nuclear missiles, which the USSR is trying to use in order to drive a wedge between the FRG and its allies.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Roitman, M 6) commented on Shevardnadze's visit to Bonn. The program spoke of the visit's psychological aim of continuing to melt the ice in Soviet-FRG relations, and prepare a possible visit by Gorbachev to Western Germany. Reference was made in this connection to Bavarian leader Strauss's recent visit to the USSR after which he said that the West had no need to fear Soviet aggression. The program also mentioned the economic aspect of the visit, in particular the USSR's interest in economic cooperation, which is limited, however, by the USSR's limited currency reserves. Reference was also made to the recent sharp increase in the emigration of ethnic German Soviet citizens.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 4) commented on Shevardnadze's visit to Bonn, placing it in the context of the USSR's activation of relations with Western Europe following the signing of the INF treaty with the US. West European countries, especially Western Germany, are concerned that the treaty could shift the balance of power in Europe in favor of the USSR, but the USSR needs to win these countries' trust because it needs their technology for economic restructuring. Franz Josef Strauss was quoted that Western Europe does not have to fear Soviet aggression. However, the USSR's shortage of hard currency is an obstacle to the development of economic relations with Western Europe.

2. Afghanistan. PRESS REVIEW (EVENTS AND PEOPLE) (Predtechevsky, M 6:30) cited The Chicago Tribune (Ray Mosley) on the Afghan resistance's negative response to Soviet national reconciliation plans; the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, on the resistance movement's being ill-prepared to take over power; and the Neue Zuercher Zeitung, on the likelihood of a speedy withdrawal of Soviet troops in view of Moscow's growing difficulties in Afghanistan.

3. Dissidents and Human Rights. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 3:30) cited a Reuter's report that Sakharov, speaking at a reception at the US Embassy in Moscow marking the birthday of Martin Luther King, confirmed that he had handed over to Gorbachev a list of Soviet political prisoners whose cases he asked to be reviewed. The program recalled Sakharov's long history of intercession for political prisoners, and cited US Ambassador Matlock's statement at the reception in which he drew a parallel between King's civil rights movement in the US and the human rights movement in the USSR.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fotiyev, M 0:30) reported briefly on the detention of six persons (Andrey Odintsev, et. al.) on Moscow's Pushkin Square who demonstrated for an end to the abuse of psychiatry for political purposes in the USSR.

RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Fotiyev, M 0:30) said reports from human rights circles of the release of Orthodox Christian and Ukrainian Helsinki Group activist Lev Lukyanenko unfortunately proved to be false.

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Malinkovich, M 4:30), a RERUN from January 11, gave background on Ukrainian Political Prisoner's Day, January 12.

4. Emigres. In AT THE BOOKSHELF (Dovlatov, NY 30) Soviet emigre writer Sergey Dovlatov read the first installment of his book The Foreign Woman (Inostranka), on the Russian emigre community in New York.

5. Agriculture. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Belotserkovsky, M 8) commented on the present discussion in the USSR of the draft of

a model statute for a kolkhoz. The program commented that there is only one draft for one model statute for the entire country despite the huge differences between agricultural regions. The program said this is symptomatic of the centralistic approach. What is needed is a large number of individual statutes. Furthermore, if kolkhozes were really voluntary, self-managing associations there would be not only several types of statute, but several types of kolkhoz as well. The program recalled that in fact, efficient agricultural cooperatives existed in the USSR prior to Stalin's forced collectivization campaign.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 6:30) cited recent Soviet and Chinese press material on inadequate food supplies in the respective countries, and said the common cause is low prices paid by the state to the farmers in order to free funds for industrial development. In the PRC, a return to private ownership of agricultural land is being proposed as a solution, while in the USSR there seems little chance of a solution outside of the kolkhoz system. On the other hand, the draft of a new model statute for a kolkhoz permits the lease of plots to kolkhoz members as well as other citizens, and the determination of the size of private plots by a general meeting of kolkhoz workers.

6. The Workers. WORKERS' MOVEMENT (Simis and Morozov, W 21 and 6:30) said the new law transferring enterprises to a self-financing system cannot be regarded as a reliable instrument for the restructuring of the Soviet economy because it does not protect them from intervention in their operations by the party and state authorities in the form of central planning directives, for example. The resultant unprofitability of enterprises could lead to lower wages, higher prices for food and goods and services in general, and the threat of unemployment. Here, workers would be faced with the need to fight for their economic interests. The existing Soviet trade unions, however, as is now admitted in the Soviet press, defend the interests of management against the workers. Before the trade unions would be able to defend the interests of the workers, their organizational structure and the mentality of their functionaries would have to undergo a change. The program concluded by drawing attention to the publication in Izvestia of last December 5 of an article speaking frankly of the unemployment problem in Hungary. The program suggested that the publication of such an article could be designed to prepare the Soviet public for possible unemployment due to restructuring.

7. Military Affairs. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 5:30) commented on Soviet Chief of General Staff Marshal Akhromeyev's admission that official Soviet defense spending figures do not include the development and production of weapons. The program cited Western estimates of actual Soviet defense spending, including that by the Stockholm international institute for the study of problems of peace, which is favorable to the USSR, and cited Prof. Karl Jacobsen of this institute that the secrecy

surrounding Soviet defense spending will remain until the Soviets put their cards on the table. Western experts, said the program, point to further items not included in the Soviet defense budget which were not mentioned by Akhromeyev.

8. The Nationalities. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Fiszbein, M 5) discussed the conference of Ukrainian cultural workers held last December in Kharkov on the subject of the October Revolution, Ukrainian culture, and restructuring. The program expressed optimism in connection with the frank way in which Ukrainian intellectuals were able to speak out on the urgent problems of Ukrainian culture.

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Limberger and Oganessian, M 9), a RERUN from January 7, discussed the demands for the removal of Armenian party leader Demirchyan.

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Avtorkhanov, M 9:30) featured the first program in a series on the relationship between the Soviet regime and the Muslim peoples of the USSR. The program recalled the incorporation of Muslim people into the Russian Empire, and quoted Lenin on the tolerance shown to Islam in Tsarist Russia.

9. Culture. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Henkina, M 6:30) discussed the plays Talki (Govori!) and The Little Cart (Vagonchik) performed during the Moscow theater week in Munich. The program author said the appearance of Soviet actors in Munich filled her with pleasure and hope, and spoke of the picture of poverty and hopelessness of life in provincial Russia depicted in the two plays.

10. Religion. RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Krimerman, M 8) said democratization in the USSR has had an effect on the general tone of atheistic articles in the Kishinev press. As an example, the program gave an appeal in Sovetskaya Moldaviya to the leaders of unregistered communities of the Council of Churches of Evangelical Christian Baptists to make their peace with the state and stop publishing bulletins full of reports on repressions against believers. The program gave recent examples of how such repressions have indeed been taking place.

RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Fotiyev, M 1) reported on the confinement in a psychiatric hospital in Kazan of Evangelical Christian Baptist activist Anna Chertkova. The program mentioned the campaign being conducted in her defense by Western Christians, especially in Britain.

RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Fotiyev, M 2) mentioned various celebrations of the millennium of the Christianization of Russia being held around the world.

11. History. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 4), continuing a series of excerpts from old Soviet newspapers,

cited Pravda of 18 January 1918 uttering threats against the population two days prior to the scheduled opening of the Constituent Assembly, and of 17 January 1938 calling on the population to denounce Trotskyite-Bukharinites.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

1. The GDR. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fotiyev, M 3) reported on the breaking up by the GDR police of a demonstration by East German human rights activists who during annual celebrations commemorating the founders of the German Communist party, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, tried to unfurl posters bearing Luxemburg's words that "freedom is always freedom for those who think differently." The program commented that the present East German leaders have different ideas about political freedom.

2. Czechoslovakia. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fotiyev, M 1) reported briefly on the Czech police's action in preventing a demonstration in Prague by Charter-77 activists on the occasion of the anniversary of the self-incineration of student Jan Palach in 1969 in protest against the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in the previous year.

RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Fotiyev, M 1) cited the head of the Czech Evangelist Church, Hromadka, on improved relations between believers and the authorities in Czechoslovakia. Hromadka attributed this to the glasnost policy in the USSR.

3. The Socialist Countries and the Seoul Olympics. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Predtechevsky, M 5) commented on Cuba's official announcement that it would not be participating in this year's Olympics. The program pointed to North Korea's boycotting the Games despite considerable concessions made by the IOC, and remarked that other socialist countries are not supporting the boycott. In the case of the USSR, the program suggested a political motivation, since a boycott would not have fitted in with Gorbachev's "new thinking" in the foreign policy sphere.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The US. THE USA TODAY (Paramonov and Rubin, NY 6:30 and 21) included items on ex-President Nixon's 75th birthday (the program noted Nixon's present popularity despite Watergate, outlined his chequered political career, and pointed to his characteristically American political flexibility); the role of women in the presidential election campaign machinery; and the growing world demand for American grain.

2. Nicaragua. RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Szydlowski, NY 9) featured an RL interview with Joan Frawley, a correspondent of the US weekly National Catholic Register, on the role of the Catholic Church in Nicaragua, in particular its opposition to

the Somoza regime starting from the early 1970s at the latest, and its initial support for and subsequent disillusionment with the Sandinist regime.

3. The Paris Conference of 75 Nobel Prize Laureates on the Problems Facing Mankind in the 21st Century was the subject of an item in EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 11). The program quoted statements by conference initiator Elie Wiesel, and Nobel Prize laureates Ilya Prigozhin (Belgium) and Vasily Leontiev (US). The absence of Sakharov and Walesa was noted, and TASS's first reference to the conference was cited, which failed to mention Walesa's presence at its symbolic beginning at a ceremony at Auschwitz.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

1. Extra-Uterine Conception. RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Aksenov-Meyerson, NY 6) highlighted statements by Prof. Jerome Lejeune of Paris University at the Seventh General Assembly of the Roman Catholic Church's Episcopal Synod held last fall sharply condemning extra-uterine conception.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Tuesday, 19 January 1988
D. Felton

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Soviet-US Relations. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY TODAY (Muslin, NY 1) reported briefly that the Director of the USSR Academy of Sciences' Space Research Institute, Roald Sagdeyev, will shortly speak at a Washington museum on Soviet plans to explore Mars. The program mentioned Sagdeyev's previous proposal that the US take part in such plans.

2. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fistejn and Fedoseyev, M 7) looked at the prospects for UN mediator Diego Cordovez's mission in connection with his arrival in Islamabad to prepare the next round of Kabul-Pakistan talks. The fact that, besides the USSR, the Afghan resistance is not taking part in the talks was described as an obstacle to their success. Reference was made to the new Soviet withdrawal proposals, and to differences among American officials regarding the Soviet demand for an end to US aid to the Afghan partisans. Here, it was pointed out that the partisans receive aid from other sources, and are not absolutely dependent on outside assistance. The program said the Afghan army parade in Kabul celebrating the breaking of the siege of Khost appears ridiculous in the light of reports, confirmed by Izvestia, that partisan forces have advanced to within a dangerous distance to the Khost garrison, and reports of the distribution to Afghan party functionaries and members of their

3. USSR-FRG. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, M 4:30) commented on Shevardnadze's visit to the FRG. The program mentioned the signing of three agreements, the lack of essential progress on FRG-GDR relations and Berlin, and Shevardnadze's attempt to drive a wedge between the FRG and the US by criticizing the COCOM list of items barred from being exported to the USSR before West German businessmen. An RLR Research Report was used.

4. The USSR and Eastern Europe. ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Genis, NY 3:30), a RERUN from January 5, highlighted articles in The New York Times of January 3 and 4 on Soviet political, economic and trade relations with East European countries.

5. USSR-Vatican. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fotiyev, M 4) highlighted Pope John Paul II's statements to journalists on the Vatican's aim of improving relations with the USSR, which he said would also further relations between the USSR and the West in general. The pope's hint at a possible invitation to visit the USSR was mentioned.

6. Foreign Policy. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Tolz, M 7) said the constituent meeting in Moscow of the International Foundation for the Survival and Development of Mankind, and Gorbachev's speech on the occasion, suggests possible changes in Soviet foreign policy. The program also pointed to an apparent change in the Soviet leadership's attitude toward intellectuals, once spurned by Lenin, and to the idea of a world government. An RLR Research Report was used.

7. Dissidents and Human Rights. HUMAN RIGHTS (Malinkovich, M 18 and Kaminskaya, W 10) reviewed developments on the human rights front in the USSR in 1987. The program commented that while many political prisoners were released, at least 380 remain imprisoned, and those released were merely pardoned, not rehabilitated despite the fact that it was they who actually initiated the fight for glasnost. More people were allowed to leave the country and return for a visit, and the glasnost policy has stimulated public discussion and civic awareness. The civil and political liberties proclaimed in the constitution are assuming real shape. The program listed some of the numerous unofficial demonstrations which took place in the USSR last year, but pointed to the restrictive nature of new regulations governing demonstrations in Moscow and other Soviet cities. A resolution of last August simplified the procedure for applying for permission to leave the country, but has not actually given citizens a right to leave. Censorship has been relaxed, but the authorities retain a monopoly control over the media and culture. The very existence of samizdat shows that there is no freedom of the press. The program spoke of the possibility of the removal from criminal codes of articles on anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda, etc., and noted that many Soviet jurists are against the registration of unofficial groups. The program made special reference to the holding in Moscow last December of an international seminar on humanitarian problems and human rights organized by the Glasnost Press Club and other human rights organizations.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 5:30) highlighted an article by Rosenthal in The New York Times of January 19 in which he points, on the basis of evidence by former political prisoners, to falsehoods and misrepresentations regarding the conditions for political prisoners in a Perm camp contained in a letter by Soviet state prosecution official Ivan Rakhmanin written in reply to a previous article by Rosenthal. An RLPRD Report was used.

8. The Economy. ROUND TABLE TALK and THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Roitman, Fedoseyev and Kroncher, M 20 and 6) observed that restructuring, if conducted as planned, will inevitably result in unemployment in the USSR, in particular through the release of the present labor reserve kept by factories in order to be able to meet such extraneous obligations as helping with the harvest, snowclearing, etc., increased labor productivity, and the release of administrative personnel. Reference was made to Soviet economists' arguments that there is no real threat of unemployment since there is a shortage of 700,000 industrial workers, the growth of the labor force is declining sharply, and 12 million workers are of pensionable age. The program relativized these arguments by pointing to such factors as the structural and regional aspects of the unemployment problem, reflected among other things in the migration of workers away from regions with a shortage of manpower, e.g., Siberia, towards areas of labor surplus. As regards the party, government and trade union resolution setting up what is in fact a national labor exchange, the program said this is basically a sound step, and is designed to allay the unemployment fears of workers, employees, and middle-ranking bureaucrats by demonstrating that something is being done for them. However, said the program, what is really needed is a redistribution of investment in favor of the infrastructure, of raising the standard of living in developing regions. The program also spoke of the existence of concealed unemployment in the USSR, and expressed doubt as to whether there will be any real cutback in the party's economic control apparatus. While structural unemployment exists in all industrial countries, said the program, in the USSR and other socialist countries the existence of unemployment has so far been denied, and the unemployed have been left to their own devices.

ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Shragin, NY 9) drew attention to an article by Moscow University Professor Nikolay Shmelev in Moskovske Novosti of January 3 expressing skepticism over the new law on state enterprises under which the latter are to be transferred to self-financing. Shmelev pointed to the state orders which factories will have to fulfill, which he described as another form of directive planning; ministerial deductions from profits; and rigid ministerial control over expenditures. The program then referred to a Moskovske Novosti poll of passengers on the Moscow-Vladivostok train showing public skepticism over restructuring. Finally, the program gave the substance of an article by John Tedstrom of the Hudson Institute's Soviet and East European studies center, published in the last July-August issue of Problems of Communism, concluding that the law on state enterprises will have only a limited effect on the structure and operation of the Soviet economy since it is not aimed at liquidating the defects of the economic system. However, it must be welcomed as a step in the right direction.

9. Agriculture. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Belotserkovsky, M 3:30), a RERUN from January 18, commented on the present discussion in the USSR of the draft of a model statute for a kolkhoz.

10. The Nationalities. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyev and Fiszbein, M 11) discussed the conference of Ukrainian cultural workers held last December in Kharkov on the subject of the October Revolution, Ukrainian culture, and restructuring. The program expressed optimism in connection with the frank way in which Ukrainian intellectuals were able to speak out on the urgent problems of Ukrainian culture. The program was an amplified RERUN from January 18.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Oganessian, M 4:30) commented on the latest criticism, in Pravda of January 18, of the Armenian CP CC and Armenian party leader Demirjian. The program said that Armenia is an example of how conservative elements are exploiting glasnost and democratization for their own purposes; Demirjian has gathered his supporters around him in the top party organs, and they voice their support for him when necessary. The program suggested that an expression of opposition to him within the party could have been deliberately staged in order to demonstrate such support. Certainly, said the program, the fact that such opposition can be voiced at all is a positive development; however, the democratic machinery which would be needed to actually oust Demirjian is lacking.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Henkina, M 4), in a review of the Soviet press, drew attention to an article in Sovetskaya Estoniya of January 6 which on the one hand spoke of growing national self-awareness in the Union republics of the USSR, but on the other complained of Estonian actors who were declaiming verse which not only extolled the Estonian people but contained humiliating outbursts against Russians and Latvians. The program remarked that only people with serious complexes are afraid of anecdotes about themselves, and the only cure for this is freedom. Soviet jokes on Jews and Armenians, for example, are really repulsive. The program then cited from Sovetskaya Estoniya expressing regret over voices being raised against the election to the board of the republic's society for the preservation of historical and cultural monuments of a world-famous scholar by the name of Yuri Lotman, and wondered what the exponents of the "new thinking" are going to do about the USSR's sundry nationality problems.

11. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Faybusovich, M 11:30) commented on the Moscow theater week in Munich, describing it as highly successful. The program first of all discussed the play Talk!, about a progressive local party functionary who battles vainly against a society demoralized by the party apparatus. The program said that while the play appears to be telling the unvarnished truth about real life, in fact it amounts to

stereotyped journalism. The program spoke in a more positive vein about the play The Little Cart, which exposes the emptiness of official Soviet slogans, and remarked that only a few years ago, such a play could not have been shown in Moscow, let alone abroad.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Vishnevskaya, M 5:30) commented on a letter by 20 leading Soviet art experts, published in Sovetskaya Kultura of January 5, protesting against an instruction issued by the USSR Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education which would downgrade the teaching of the history and theory of art in the USSR. An RLR Research Report was used.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Yurenin, M 2) drew attention to the omission, evidently for censorship reasons, of Solzhenitsyn's name from an article by Andrey Bitov in the last December issue of Znamya on the 125th anniversary of the appearance of Dostoevski's House of the Dead.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Glezer, M 8:30) paid tribute to the previously "unofficial" Moscow artist Ilya Kabakov, the founder of the Russian "conceptualist" school, who has now been accorded official acknowledgement.

12. Religion. in EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Yurov, M 4) a member of the Committee for the Defense of Hari Krishnaites in the USSR, Valentin Yurov, talked about the death of Hari Krishnait Sarkis Agadzhanian in a corrective labor camp in the Orenburg Oblast last December 26, only a few weeks before his term of imprisonment was due to expire. Agadzhanian died as a result of hunger and exhaustion. The program gave a case history of Agadzhanian, noting the authorities' pressure on him to renounce his belief, and recalled that last August, the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers' Council for Religious Affairs, Konstantin Kharchev, said during a visit to the US that by November there should be no more prisoners in the USSR imprisoned on account of their belief. In conclusion, the program asked what value Soviet officials' assurance would have that believers rights in the USSR were protected by law if all convicted Hari Krishnaites are not released soon.

13. History. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 4:30), continuing a series of excerpts from old Soviet newspapers, cited Pravda of 19 January 1928 on the expulsion of Trotsky, Saprionov, and their most active supporters from Moscow, and Pravda of 19 January 1938 on cases of the arbitrary and unfounded expulsion and persecution of party members which the newspaper also blamed on "enemies of the people." The program pointed out that at the same time as a relevant party resolution was adopted, Khrushchev became a candidate member of the Politburo.

FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 29:30), a RERUN from 15 December 1984, featured the 22nd installment of Utopia in

Power: The History of the Soviet Union from 1917 to the Present by Soviet emigre historians Mikhail Geller and Alexander Nekrich. The program was pegged to the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

1. Yugoslavia. OVER THE BARRIERS (Yurenen, M 0:30) briefly mentioned the appearance of Solzhenitsyn's The Gulag Archipelago in Yugoslavia in Serbo-Croat.

2. The PRC. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY TODAY (Muslin, NY 1) reported briefly on a Chinese scientist's conclusion that there is a connection between epidemics and certain natural disasters on the one hand, and bursts of cosmic radiation on the other.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The Middle East. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Tarasenkov, W 4) reported on the Palestinian unrest in the Israeli-occupied territories, citing Israeli Defense Minister Rabin's statements to journalists in Tel-Aviv.

2. Central America. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 3:30) discussed Nicaraguan President Ortega's latest concessions, and expressed the view that they are designed to dissuade the US Congress from approving further aid to the Contras.

3. Taiwan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Weinstein, W 6:30) reviewed American press comment on the recent death of Taiwan President Chiang Chingkuo and his replacement by Le Tenghoi, citing The New York Times, The Washington Post and The Baltimore Sun on the former's achievements and the problems facing his successor.

4. Japan. ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Dreyer, NY 8:30) examined the reasons for and possible consequences of Japan's becoming the world's largest international creditor.

5. The Paris Conference of Nobel Prize Laureates on the Problems Facing Mankind in the 21st Century was the subject of an item in EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 7). The program cited President Mitterrand's message of greetings, Elie Wiesel's speech, and Walesa's speech at the conference's symbolic opening in Auschwitz. The program noted that Walesa did not accept the invitation to come to Paris because he was afraid that the Polish authorities could prevent him from returning home. AFP was quoted on Sakharov's absence.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

1. Science and Technology. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY TODAY (Muslin, NY 25:30) reported on work being carried out in the US on the development of hypersonic aircraft and interplanetary probes, an agreement between the US, the USSR, the EEC countries and Japan to jointly build the world's first experimental thermonuclear reactor, the planned flight of a US Challenger space shuttle this summer, and an international conference in Massachusetts on how man has changed the Earth in the past 300 years.

2. The Results of a Poll of Leading West European Movie Makers and Critics on the Twelve Best European Films were given in OVER THE BARRIERS (Yurenen, M 0:30).

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Wednesday, 20 January 1988
M. Frost

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 6:30) covered UN negotiator Diego Cordovez's talks in Islamabad with Pakistani authorities in preparation for the February meetings to find a peaceful solution to the Afghan crisis. The program reiterated the resistance leaders' position that they will only engage in direct talks with the Soviets and deplore all indirect talks which exclude themselves from negotiations on the future of their own country.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Muslin, NY 5) described the Soviet propaganda exercise around the city of Khost for the benefit of Western journalists. The program utilized a Reuters report and an article from The New York Times.

2. USSR-FRG Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, M 6) commented that Shevardnadze's trip to Bonn symbolized a warming of relations between the USSR and the FRG and broadcast commentaries from the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, the Stuttgarter Zeitung, and the Koelnische Rundschau.

3. The Nationalities. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Limberger, M 7) reviewed two articles in the Soviet press on the position of women in contemporary Soviet Central Asian society. The program concluded that the spate of suicides by burning testifies to the inability of the Soviet system of morals to replace the religious practices of centuries.

4. Glasnost. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Henkina, M 5:30) commented on a letter from a mother of three children published in the January 18 number of Pravda complaining that the glasnost campaign is undermining the belief in Socialist principles which her generation was brought up on.

5. Restructuring. HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE USSR (Shapiro, Tsr 22), a RERUN from 12 December 1987, included items on the difficulties involved in establishing an individual enterprise in the USSR and discussed proposed changes to the Soviet criminal code.

6. Stalinism. IN THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 5) commented on Pravda's recent attack on the playwright Mikhail Shatrov for his "incorrect" interpretations of Stalinism. The program argued that Shatrov's plays on the Stalin era are a healthy development in Soviet cultural life.

7. Agriculture. IN THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 5:30) commented on the veracity of the Soviet statistics on recent years' grain harvests. The program asked when these annual grain harvest increases will improve the quantity and quality of food products in the Soviet Union.

8. Democracy. DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Shragin and Paramonov, NY 15) described the division of power between the executive, legal, and judicial branches of government in Western democracies as the cornerstone of Western civilization, and argued that the Supreme Soviet, by Western standards, does not qualify as a genuine parliament as the Soviet system does not recognize this division of power between the three branches of government. The program then analyzed the period of Duma constitutionalism in Russian history and concluded that it lacked many of the elements of a true democracy.

9. The Military. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 4) described the alternatives, if any, to national service in the armies of the Soviet Union and other Communist bloc countries.

10. Society. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Matusevich, M 5) described the aims and ideals of the anti-semitic Russian nationalist organization Pamyat using excerpts from a Daily Telegraph interview with the leader of the movement Dmitry Vasilyev.

11. History. IN THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 5), continuing the series of excerpts from the Soviet press of 70 and 50 years ago, included an item on the 1918 suppression of a workers demonstration and carried a eulogy to the infamous show-trial prosecution lawyer Andrey Vyshinsky.

RUSSIA YESTERDAY, TODAY (Tolz, M 27:30), on the 63rd anniversary of the death of Lenin, broadcast two recent articles on Lenin's last days appearing in Minuvshee (Paris) and the Frankfurt based emigre publication Grani.

12. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Yurenen, M 7) commented on the Seventh Artists Congress of the USSR being held in Moscow. In contrast to other art forms, the program argued, the visual arts has not enjoyed the benefits of glasnost. The absence of both Gorbachev and Yakovlev -- the chief architects of glasnost -- from the conference and the preponderance of older members in the Union, does not bode well for the comprehensive overhaul which many reformists believe the organization needs. The program cited material from Sovetskaya Kultura, Pravda and Izvestia.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Lifson, NY 12:30) presented an RFE-RL interview with prominent Russian sculptor Ernst Neizvestny. The program was RERUN from December 10.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Glezer, P 7), continuing the series on masters of the second Russian avant-garde, profiled the life and work of the Moscow born artist Dmitry Plavinsky.

13. Literature. AT THE BOOKSHELF (Perouansky, M 29:30) broadcast the second installment of Sergey Dovlatov's novel about emigre life in New York entitled The Foreign Woman.

14. Religion. HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE USSR (Tolz and Rahr, M 5), a RERUN from December 12, discussed the current repression of religious rights under statutes 142 and 227 of the present criminal code of the RSFSR.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fotiyev, M 6:30) summarized an interview by Bishop Lev in Komsomolets Uzbekistana from January 8, in which he discussed the state of the Orthodox church in Central Asia, the planned celebrations for the millenium of the Christianization of Kievan Rus and the possible effects, if any, of glasnost on the Orthodox church.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

1. East-West Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 4) commented on the construction of a Soviet submarine base not far from Norwegian territorial waters which strongly contrasts with the recently expressed Soviet desire to turn Northern Europe into a nuclear free zone. The program cited commentary from the Norwegian daily Aftenposten.

2. The GDR. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 4) described an accident in the GDR involving a Soviet tank and a train which resulted in the death of four people and focused on the unpopular presence of Soviet troops in the countries of Eastern Europe.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The US. DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Shragin, NY 12:30) reported on the US presidential election campaign.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

None

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Thursday, 21 January 1988
M. Frost

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Soviet-US Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, L 5:30) covered President Reagan's report to Congress on national security issues and focused on that part of the speech in which the President stated that the Soviet Union, despite a warming in US-Soviet Relations, still posed the greatest threat to US national security interests. A USIS report from January 20 was used.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Tarasenkov, W 4) reported on the application for political asylum to the USSR from an American couple working in the Soviet Union, Theodore and Cheryl Branch. The program concluded that American citizens, as opposed to their Soviet counterparts, are free to settle in any country of their choice without being branded a traitor by their countrymen. The program cited commentary from The Washington Post of January 20.

2. Soviet-French Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanov, P 4) reported on the current round of economic talks between representatives of France and the USSR taking place in Moscow intended to reduce the trade imbalance between the two countries. The program cited commentary from Liberation and Le Monde from January 19 and 20 respectively.

3. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Limberger and Bensi, M 9) discussed the current round of negotiations taking place in Geneva but commented that no final settlement will be possible without the participation of the representatives of the five-and-a-half million Afghan refugees who have been forced to flee their homeland. The discussants also mentioned the possibility of a neutral UN peace-keeping force in Afghanistan to oversee the transitional period after the withdrawal of Soviet troops, and the establishment of a provisional government representing all sections of Afghan society.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 5) covered Najibullah's press conference in Kabul during which he declared that he was not in the head of a Marxist regime and that the Afghan government

forces are capable of guaranteeing the security of the country in the event of a Soviet troop withdrawal. The program was based on a Reuters report from January 20.

4. Dissidents and Human Rights. DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 10; Fedorov and Kovalev, NY 8 and 9) was entirely devoted to a rebuttal of the Soviet Procurator for Overseeing Labor Camps' letter published in The New York Times on 26 December 1987, in which his descriptions of the Perm "especially strict regime" camp painted a picture more appropriate to a sanatorium than to a place of incarceration and punishment. The program also pointed out that the authorities have now closed, or more accurately, transferred the camp to another location in order to preclude the possibility of an inspection by an international commission.

DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Plakhlín, W 8:30) described the decrepit conditions to be found in most Soviet psychiatric hospitals and argued that current Soviet psychiatric practice has been so discredited that all psychiatric hospitals in the USSR should be immediately closed down.

5. The Nationalities. IN THE COUNTRY IN THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Oganesian M 4:30) commented that the recent attack on school conditions in Armenia by the authorities in Moscow is part of a concerted campaign to discredit the Armenian party leadership and remove First Secretary Demirjian from his post.

6. Restructuring. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Belotserkovsky, M 9) discussed the prospects for the success of Gorbachev's economic reforms and commented that, for a variety of reasons, half-measures such as those adopted in Hungary and Yugoslavia will not be sufficient to transform the Soviet economy into a world competitor. The program warned that the results of luke-warm economic reforms will be higher prices, inflation, unemployment and economic chaos.

MAN AND SOCIETY (Shapiro, Isr. 8) described the difficult living conditions and poor food supplies common to most cities in the USSR and commented that, as yet, the restructuring program has not yet contributed to improving the standard of living in the USSR.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Tolz, M 4:30) commented on the current campaign in the USSR to rename streets, squares, villages and towns. The reestablishment of the original names of places was welcomed by the program which deplored the crude renaming which has taken place throughout the 70 years of Soviet history for political purposes.

7. Publishing. ROUND TABLE (Roitman, Voinovich and Matusevich, M 20) discussed the absurd situation in the USSR whereby books written by talented authors are almost unobtainable, while books of little interest to the Soviet reading public are published in

enormous editions for ideological purposes. The discussants also lamented the fact that publishing cooperatives in the USSR have been banned.

IN THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Voinovich, M 5:30) summarized the ROUND TABLE discussion on the politics of Soviet publishing.

8. Society. MAN AND SOCIETY (Voronitsyn, M 5) discussed the prospect of limited employment in the USSR and described the system of unemployment benefits available to the unemployed in the FRG. An RLR Research Report was used.

9. The Environment. MAN AND SOCIETY (Komarov, Isr. 5:30) cited a TASS report describing the polluted state of several rivers in the Perm area. The program noted that despite the torrent newspaper articles on environmental issues and the brave stands of many of the country's writers and journalists, economic and industrial practice is still producing widespread pollution of the natural environment throughout the country.

10. Trade. IN THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Kroncher, M 4) commented on the January 16 Radio Moscow announcement that the USSR Ministry of Foreign Trade is being replaced by a new Ministry for Foreign Economic Relations. The program described the heavy reliance of Soviet exports on primary goods and concluded that the whole structure of Soviet foreign trade needs to be overhauled and updated.

11. History. IN THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 3:30), continuing the series of excerpts from the Soviet press of 50 and 70 years ago, broadcast articles on the suppression of street demonstrations in 1918 and reminiscences of Lenin's treatment of members of the Socialist Revolutionary party.

12. Culture. FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, Vail and Genis, NY 29:30) analyzed the polyphonic nature of Venedikt Erofeyev's latest play Valpurgis Night -- a surrealist tragedy set in a Soviet mental asylum.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

None

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. East-West Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Tarasenkov, W 4:20) covered the debate in the US senate on the relative balance of power in conventional forces between NATO and Warsaw Pact forces. The program used a Reuters report and an article from The Washington Post both from January 21.

2. The US. ACROSS THE BARRIERS (Vali and Genis, NY 8) discussed the criteria used by Time to select its "man of the year" award.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Volkov, 10:30) played fragments from John Adam's opera entitled Nixon in China.

OVER THE BARRIERS (paramonov and Volkov, NY 10) summarized cultural historian Alan Bloom's latest book The Closing of the American Mind on the predominance of Rock music in the US.

3. Nicaragua. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 4) reported on developments within Nicaragua on the eve of the Congressional vote on an aid package to the opposition forces. A Washington Post article was used.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

1. Religion. JUDAISM (Lvov, Taratuta and Haskelvich, NY 9, 9, and 9) included items on the status of the slave in Jewish tradition, on the Jewish calendar, and concluded with a sermon on legal rights and Judaism.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Friday, 22 January 1988

M. Frost

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 5) covered the resolution adopted by the European Parliament in Strasbourg calling for the release of the French photojournalist Alain Guillo who has been sentenced in Kabul to 10 years' imprisonment on charges of spying.

2. USSR-FRG Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyev and Gordin, M 5:30) discussed the reasons behind Chancellor Kohl's rejection of a recent invitation to visit the USSR. The program suggested that for a variety of reasons Chancellor Kohl would prefer Gorbachev to visit the FRG first. An article from the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung was used.

3. Dissidents and Human Rights. DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Alexeyeva, W 9:30) reported on the unofficial International Seminar on Human Rights held in Moscow from 10-15 December 1987. The conference was attended by over 400 people who listened to a variety of reports on human rights topics. The program described the police tactics of detaining would-be participants under house arrest and of preventing the organizers from using their desired locations for the seminars. Despite the police harassment the organizers proclaimed the seminar a huge success.

4. The Nationalities. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Belotserkovsky, M 7) rebutted a critical Tass announcement accusing certain Crimean Tatar leaders of "artificially" fanning the flames of Crimean Tatar discontent. The program pointed out that as long ago as 1967, 126,000 Crimean Tatars (i.e., half the adult population) signed a petition demanding the right to return to the Crimea. Bulat Okudzhava's support for the Crimean Tatar cause was cited in an interview with the Munich-based journal Forum, and the program concluded that the successful and expeditious resolution of the Crimean Tatar problem is a litmus test for glasnost in the USSR.

5. The Unofficial Press. DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 15) broadcast the introductory statement of the new independent publication produced in Leningrad, The Journal of Journals, in which the editorial board outlined the goals of the new journal and appealed to the authorities for the right to register as legal cooperative enterprises. The program then read an account of the meeting (AS-6132), which took place between the editorial staff of 17 independent journals in Leningrad on October 24 and 25, and promised to broadcast further extracts from the journal on future programs.

6. Jewish Affairs. JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Markish, Isr. 12:30) broadcast an article on the Jewish theme in Marshak's writing by Zeev Vagner published in the Israeli weekly Alef, and read another excerpt from the journal Voskhod which was published in Saint Petersburg from 1881 to 1886.

7. Trade. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 6) discussed the reasons behind the replacement of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Trade by a new Ministry for Foreign Economic Relations. The program commented that the new ministry was established because the old ministry had failed to promote Soviet exports on the world market and had not earned enough foreign currency. The program stated that the crisis in the Soviet production of high quality goods for export cannot be solved by changing the name of the ministry concerned.

8. Women's Affairs. ROUND TABLE (Roitman, Voznesenskaya, and Henkina, M 20) discussed an article appearing in Nedelya which complained that the full employment of women in the economy is producing negative sociological results--a high incidence of divorce, unwanted and uncared-for babies, and poor health among women. The discussants agreed with the article and added that the lack of provisions for mothers in the USSR, in the form of maternity benefits and health care, is exacerbating an already critical situation.

9. Sport. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Rubin, NY 4:30) described the system of payment for the top soccer and hockey players in the USSR using a variety of sources from the Soviet press.

10. History. OVER THE BARRIERS (Kublanovsky, P 9) reviewed Solzhenitsyn's latest volume of the epic The Red Wheel dealing with the events of March 3 to March 9 and entitled March 1917, Vol. III.

11. Literature. AT THE BOOKSHELF (Perouansky, M 30) broadcast the third installment of Sergey Dovlatov's latest novel, The Foreign Woman, about Russian emigre life in New York.

12. Culture. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Henkina, M 5:30) reviewed Eduard Radzinsky's play Sportivnye Tseny, currently being staged in Munich as part of the city's Moscow Theater Festival.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Betaki, P 9) profiled the life and work of one of the foremost Russian playwrights of the 20th century, Evgeny Shvarts on the 30th anniversary of his death.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Savitsky, P 9) reviewed the Paris production of Chekhov's play Platonov being staged by the Soviet director, Nikita Mikhalkov.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Voznesenskaya, M 6) reviewed an exhibition of nonconformist art from the collection of the Leningrad collector Georgy Mikhailov which is currently being staged in a Benedictine church in Munich.

13. Religion. THE MILLENNIUM OF THE CHRISTIANIZATION OF RUSSIA (Rahr, M 27:30), pegged to the Christianization of Kievan Rus, discussed the relationship between the Russian Orthodox Church and the state of Kievan Rus. The program was a RERUN from 12 December 1987.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

1. North Korea. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Tarasenkov, W 3:30), based on a report from The Washington Post from January 21, the State Department's announcement that North Korea has now been included on the US list of countries which support terrorism.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. Nicaragua. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Dubinsky, W 3:30) focused on the upcoming vote in the US Congress on President Reagan's aid package to the Contras. The program used a Washington Post report from 21 January.

2. France. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 9) reported on the concluding document of the International Conference of Nobel Laureates in Paris which listed disarmament, pollution, AIDS, and the problem of third world debt among the most pressing problems facing mankind. The program cited commentaries from Le Monde, Le Figaro, Liberation and AFP from January 21-22.

3. Israel. JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 15) focused on Iosif Begun's arrival at Ben Gurion airport and reiterated his statement that restructuring has not yet affected Russian Jews. The program also reported on the various political initiatives underway in Israel to come to grips with the Palestinian problem and covered Bulat Okudzhava's successful tour of the country.

4. The UN. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Gendler, NY 3:30) covered former US ambassador to the UN Jean Kirkpatrick's

comments on the possibility of conducting UN business in other world cities besides New York. A CND report from New York of January 22 was used.

5. NATO. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 8) described the functions and aims of the Atlantic Associations which exist in all the NATO countries to promote cooperation and a free flow of information on world affairs between all the participating countries.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

None

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Saturday, 23 January 1988
D. Felton

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Afghanistan. SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, M 24) began by citing Philip Taubman of The New York Times that the military parade in Kabul celebrating the relief of Khost was designed to prepare the Afghan army and the country as a whole for a possible Soviet troop withdrawal, while the operation itself was intended as a demonstration that the Soviet troops were not being forced out of Afghanistan. The Sunday Times (London) correspondent Krushelnitsky was quoted on the battle for Khost, the present situation there, the military and symbolic importance of the town for both sides, and the strength and high morale of the partisans. The Neue Zuercher Zeitung was quoted on the tactics and strategy of the partisans and the Soviet troops, their strengths and weaknesses, and the deteriorating situation of the Soviet troops.

SPECIAL FEATURE (Fistejn, M and Mirsky, P 47:30) was entirely devoted to reaction by French political and public figures to the case of French journalist Alain Guillo, captured by Soviet troops in Afghanistan and sentenced to ten years imprisonment. The program featured RL interviews with French Senator Jacques Gollier; one of the organizers of the Association of Friends of Afghanistan, Jean-Jose Pouyges; a friend and colleague of Guillo, Alain Chevalerias; French TV correspondent Olivier Varenne; and the Chairman of the Committee of Friends of Alain Guillo, Gerard Chaliand. Among other things, the interviewees paid tribute to Guillo, and rejected Soviet/Kabul charges that Guillo was a spy, pointing out that he was doing his journalistic duty. They spoke of the efforts they were making on his behalf, and found his sentence relatively mild compared with that formerly handed down to his colleague and compatriot Abouchard.

2. Dissidents and Human Rights. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, M 3) reported on Western criticism of the USSR at the Vienna CSCE conference for still not having moved far enough in the spheres of human rights, freedom of information, etc. US and West German delegates Zimmerman and Schaefer were quoted to this

effect, as well as French delegate Malheuret, who said it is too soon to reach a decision on whether to hold a human rights conference in Moscow.

3. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Perouansky, M 2; Mirsky, P 18; and Yurenen, P 9), pegged to the 50th anniversary of the late Soviet bard Vladimir Vysotsky, featured RERUNS from 29 and 30 July 1982 of tributes to Vysotsky by two acquaintances of his, Soviet emigre writers Sinyavsky and Yurenen. Recordings of Vysotsky's songs were included.

4. Religion. NOT BY BREAD ALONE (Rahr, M 11; Benigsen, NY 8:30; and Aksenov-Meyerson, NY 8:30) began with excerpts from the Bible read out in Orthodox churches this Sunday, and a talk about Christ's sermon on repentance in preparation for the coming of the Kingdom of Heaven. This was followed by a report on a conference held in Monterey, California, by the institute for the study of modern Russia of the Monterey institute of international relations on the subject of Christianity, the state and society in modern Russia. The program focused on papers delivered by Archbishop Makary of Ivano-Frankovsk, head of an official delegation of the Moscow Patriarchate, in which he said among other other things that the return of the Kiev Cave Monastery to the Church is only a matter of time, and by Nikolay Petro, director of the Monterey institute for the study of modern Russia, in which he spoke of the importance of studying the influence of religion in the USSR. The program concluded with the profiles of two old Russian saints, Mikhail Klopsky and Irinarkh, recluse of Rostov.

SUNDAY SERVICE (Kholodnaya, NY 49:30) presented a Russian Orthodox Church service.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

1. The GDR. SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, M 2) pointed to an apparent relaxation or even abolition of the order given to GDR border guards to fire at persons fleeing the country. If this is true, said the program, the GDR's prestige would be enhanced in world public opinion. Its prestige would be still further enhanced if the Berlin Wall were to be pulled down. Reference was made to demands to this effect by Presidents Reagan and Mitterrand and other democratic leaders. The program noted the sharp increase in the number of persons fleeing from the GDR to the FRG.

2. Czechoslovakia. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, M 0:30) referred briefly to statements by British delegate O'Keefe on repressions against Czech writer Vaclav Havel and Charter-77 activist Devaty.

3. North Korea. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Tarasenkov, W 3:30), a RERUN from January 22 based on a report from The Washington Post from January 21, highlighted the State Department's announcement

that North Korea has now been included in the US list of countries which support terrorism.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. East-West Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 3) highlighted US Senator Levin's report, submitted in connection with the Congressional debate on the ratification of the INF treaty, concluding that a rough parity exists between NATO and the Warsaw Pact in conventional forces.
2. France-FRG. SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, M 2) cited French President Mitterrand's statements to Die Welt on military cooperation between France and the FRG.
3. The Middle East. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Miloslavsky, Jerusalem 10) pointed to negative Israeli reaction to UN Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar's report on the situation in the Israeli-occupied territories, citing Israeli UN representative Nathaniahu's reference to a "global Soviet plan." In this connection, the program analyzed recent Soviet Middle East policy, and suggested that in fact Moscow is not too keen on an international Middle East conference since a successful conclusion to such a conference, which would only be conceivable as a result of compromise decisions, would be more advantageous to the US than the USSR.
4. US-Nicaragua. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 2:30) highlighted President Reagan's speech arguing for Congressional approval for further aid to the Contras.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 3), a RERUN from January 22, focused on the upcoming vote in the US Congress on President Reagan's aid package to the Contras. The program used a Washington Post report from January 21.

5. The US. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dreyer, W 6:30) discussed the improvement in the US foreign trade balance, and explained why any economic recession in the US has worldwide repercussions.
6. The UN. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gendler, NY 4), a RERUN from January 22, covered former US Ambassador to the UN Jean Kirkpatrick's comments on the possibility of conducting UN business in other world cities besides New York. A CND report from New York of January 22 was used.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

None

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RADIO FREE EUROPE
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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Sunday, 24 January 1988

D. Felton

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Afghanistan. EMBATTLED AFGHANISTAN (Bensi, M 15 and Muslin, NY 5) pointed to the Afghan resistance's insistence on participating as an equal partner in talks on the Afghan problem, and its rejection of UN mediator Diego Cordovez' mission. Special mention was made of Najibullah's press conference in Kabul, during which, among other things, he evaded questions on the size of the Soviet troop contingent in Afghanistan, and even that of the Afghan army, and on whether the ruling party would renounce power if defeated in elections. At the same time, he did speak of the possibility of the party's renouncing its leading role. The program noted disbelief among the Afghan opposition and international observers of Najibullah's claims that the Afghan government was not Marxist-Leninist and that the Afghan army was fully capable of keeping the peace following a Soviet troop withdrawal. The program concluded with a RERUN from January 21 of a report citing The New York Times correspondent Taubman on a visit by foreign journalists to the relieved city of Khost which was arranged by Kabul to demonstrate the success of the operation.

2. Dissidents and Human Rights. HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE USSR (Tolz, M 8; Fedoseyeva, M 5:30; and Nekipelov, P 14) began a RERUN from January 19 on the polemic between Rosenthal in The New York Times and Soviet State Prosecution official Rakhamin on Soviet political prisoners. This was followed by news from the unofficial Moscow weekly Express-Khronika (reprinted in Russkaya Mysl, No. 2) on political prisoners in Perm camps and the conditions of their imprisonment. In conclusion, former Soviet political prisoner Viktor Nekipelov, who left the USSR last year, recalled how he and his fellow prisoners celebrated his birthday, including with poems.

In THE FORTUNES OF SIBERIA (Krasin, W 9) a former political prisoner in a Kolyma camp recalled the extremely harsh conditions there and cited prisoners' poems in which they tried to make light of their fate.

3. Restructuring. COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Krasin, W 9) expressed the view that restructuring is aimed at achieving the same Soviet goals as before, namely, the building of communism in the USSR and the victory of communism throughout the world, by new methods. These methods, however, require a humanization of Soviet life, resulting in a dilemma for Gorbachev in that a society living by humane laws might not agree to pursue doctrinaire goals. So far Gorbachev's restructuring campaign has not only failed to win broad social support, it has a powerful enemy in the form of a Stalinist nomenklatura. If Gorbachev gives the people political and civil rights, glasnost, private ownership, etc., what, the program asked, will remain of the goal of communist construction? The answer, the program concluded, is the power of the party, the retention of which is the ultimate objective of the new revolution.

THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Predtechevsky and Krasin, M and W 20) cited comment on the prospects for Gorbachev's restructuring program in Handelsblatt, which pointed to the silent opposition of the nomenklatura; The Washington Times, which excerpted testimony, largely pessimistic, by American scholars and government officials and institutions presented to the Congress's joint economic committee; The Times (London), which contrasted the movement imparted to Soviet foreign policy by Gorbachev's "new thinking" with his retreat before the conservatives on the domestic front; and The International Herald Tribune, which featured an interview with Yugoslav political figure Milovan Djilas who expressed the view that Gorbachev should display more energy and determination, that West Europeans should make compromises with the USSR in exchange for Soviet compromises in such areas as human rights and Afghanistan, and that the East Europeans should show more active, yet at the same time peaceful resistance to the USSR.

4. Society. COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Matusevich, M 5), a RERUN from January 20, gave the slightly abridged text of an article by The Daily Telegraph's Moscow correspondent Xan Smiley on the leader of the "patriotic" society Pamyat, Dmitry Vasilev, and his cult of hatred.

5. Siberia. THE FORTUNES OF SIBERIA (Shapiro, Isr. 10) examined the paradox that Siberia is rich in natural resources, but short of everyday products. There is also a shortage of labor, but there is also not enough housing and other facilities. The ultimate reason, said the program, is the indiscriminate centralized planning system, which is only interested in pumping out Siberia's natural resources.

6. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Gladilin, P 6) took issue with an article by Albert Plutnik in Moskovskiy Novosti of January 10 in which he expresses sympathy for conformist Stalinist writer Semen Babayevsky and his novel The Cavalier of the Gold Star.

7. History. SOVIETOLOGISTS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Shragin, NY 20) gave the contents of the chapter of a book by Prof. Robert Tucker of Princeton University on the political culture of Soviet Russia in which he expresses the view that the Brezhnev era was the logical conclusion of the Stalin era, when, in contrast to Lenin's policy, the state was strengthened at the expense of the people's well-being.

FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 29:30) presented the first in a series of programs devoted to Soviet emigre scholar Mark Popovsky's book The Vavilov Affair about the Soviet academician who fell victim to Stalin's repressions and died in 1943. The program gave the text of a brief biography of Popovsky and a foreword by Sakharov and followed with an RL interview with Popovsky in which he recalled how he came to gather material for the book while in the USSR, how he publicized facts on the persecution of Vavilov, and how his material on Vavilov was recently plagiarized in the Soviet press.

THE FORTUNES OF SIBERIA (Kushev, M 8:30) recalled dissension between local and central Bolsheviks over the degree of autonomy to be given to Siberia.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Kublanovsky, P 10:30) featured the second program in a series on the seventh volume of Solzhenitsyn's epic work The Red Wheel, entitled "March 1917." The program noted Solzhenitsyn's use of a newspaper collage reflecting the brutality and base pathos of the Revolution. The work also expresses contempt for the conformism which the Revolution produced.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

1. Poland. COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Gorbanevskaya, P 10:30), citing Polish underground publications, reported on demonstrations and "happenings" in Poland parodying the regime and the system.

2. North Korea. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Tarasenkova, W 3:30), a RERUN from January 23 based on a report from The Washington Post from January 21, highlighted the State Department's announcement that North Korea has now been included in the US list of countries which support terrorism.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. East-West Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 3), a RERUN from January 23, highlighted US Senator Carl Levin's report, submitted in connection with the Congressional debate on ratification of the INF treaty, concluding that rough parity exists between NATO and the Warsaw Pact in conventional forces.

2. US-Nicaragua. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 2:30), a RERUN from January 23, highlighted President Reagan's speech arguing the case for further aid to the Contras for which he will ask Congressional approval.

3. The US. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dreyer, W 6:30), a RERUN from January 23, discussed the improvement in the US foreign trade balance, and explained why any economic recession in the US has worldwide repercussions.

4. The UN. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gendler, NY 4), a RERUN from January 23, covered former US Ambassador to the UN Jeane Kirkpatrick's comments on the possibility of conducting UN business in other world cities besides New York. A CND report from New York of January 22 was used.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

1. Sport. WORLD OF SPORT (Rubin, NY 12) previewed the world chess championship qualifying round in the Canadian town of St. John.

2. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (V. Betaki, P 8) discussed the work of the English poet Byron on the occasion of the 200th anniversary of his birth, pointing especially to his individualism and universality. The program author read out excerpts from his own translations of Byron's poetry.

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RADIO FREE EUROPE
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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Monday, 25 January 1988
D. Felton

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Soviet-US Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Tarasenkov, W 4:30) reported on the US Senate debate on the ratification of the INF treaty. The program noted that ratification is virtually assured, although some Senators are concerned over the possibility of increased Western vulnerability due to Warsaw Pact superiority in conventional weapons.

2. Afghanistan. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fistejn and Bensi, M 4:30) commented on reports by the AFP and other agencies that during US-Soviet discussions on the Afghan question support was expressed for an Austrian-type status for Afghanistan. The program expressed doubt, however, as to whether Moscow and Kabul would agree to free elections; Najibullah, for example, recently insisted that the achievements of the revolution be preserved, while TASS, in contrast to Pakistani President ul-Haq's position, said a peace agreement would have to be signed with the Najibullah government.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 8:30) reported on the European Parliament's demand for the release of French journalist Alain Guillo, captured by Soviet troops in Afghanistan, and followed with an RL interview with French journalist Abouchar in which he described his own experiences in captivity in Afghanistan. The program also took issue with Komsomolskaya Pravda's presentation of the Guillo affair.

3. USSR-Angola. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 8), pegged to the Angolan government's protest against the upcoming visit by UNITA leader Savimbi to Britain, took issue with the claim by Luanda and Moscow that Savimbi has no right to speak in the name of the Angolan people. The program pointed to UNITA's popular support, its control over a large area of the country, and its military successes against the Cuban/Soviet-backed Angolan government forces. The program wondered whether the Soviet leadership will continue to seek a solution of the Angolan conflict by force of arms, or whether it will promote direct talks between the opposing sides.

4. Dissidents and Human Rights. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 12) and THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fistejn and Fedoseyeva, M 5) reported on a conference dealing with the question of the abuse of psychiatry in the USSR for political purposes which was held on January 23 in Bonn by the West German "Kontinent" Society, the German Association Against the Abuse of Psychiatry, and the European Society for the Defense of Human Rights and the Right to Self-Determination. The program cited from the opening speech delivered by Count Stauffenberg, and from papers delivered by Helmut Biber, Leonid Plyushch, Friedrich Weinberger, Cornelia Gerstenmaier, and Otto Luchterhand. After this, the program excerpted an RL interview with another participant in the conference, Robert van Voren. The general consensus was that while positive developments have taken place, there is still no legal protection against the abuse of psychiatry in the USSR, despite the recent introduction of a new law, and the situation will not change under the existing Soviet system.

5. Emigres. In AT THE BOOKSHELF (Dovlatov, NY 30) Soviet emigre writer Sergey Dovlatov read the fourth installment of his book The Foreign Woman (Inostranka), on the Russian emigre community in New York.

6. The Economy. ROUND TABLE TALK (Roitman, Belotserkovsky, and Kroncher, M 20) commented on the latest official figures showing the Soviet economy's poor economic performance in 1987. In particular, the target for the growth of the national income was not met. This jeopardizes plans for the development of the economy in general and the standard of living in particular. Attention was drawn to devices employed to enhance the picture. Citing prominent Soviet economists, the program said economic restructuring is being nullified by planning and administrative pressure on enterprises. Although a reduction of the administrative apparatus has begun, particularly in central ministries, it is continuing to work in its previous fashion, and the campaign against the individual-cooperative sector is being stepped up. As regards the discrepancy between the growing number of unprofitable factories and farms and an apparent increase in labor productivity, the program explained that in recent months, factories have been working at their limit simply to produce for the sake of statistics, and products have been artificially increased in price. The party leadership is under self-imposed psychological pressure. The program pointed to discrepancies between the leadership's directive tone and the economic freedom demanded by restructuring. In conclusion, the discussants suggested as remedies, removing the pressure of the plan from enterprises, genuine self-management, a nationwide market, and a convertible ruble.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fistejn and Kroncher, M 4:30), discussing the USSR State Statistical Committee's report on the

Soviet economy's disappointing performance in 1987, found that the USSR Council of Ministers' latest recommendations constitute increased administrative pressure on enterprises to speed up production, etc., at a time when they need a breathing space in order to adapt to new conditions of operation. In addition, the recommendations contradict each other.

WORKERS' MOVEMENT (Simis and Krasin, W 18 and 9) quoted USSR State Bank official Morsin in an issue of Sotsialisticheskaya Industriya of last year to the effect that under restructuring, a badly run factory might end up with not enough means to pay its workers after having met its obligations to the state, etc. Such social injustice, said the program, would be inconceivable in a capitalist country. The program cited a worker in a round-table talk held last December by Izvestia as asking why the workers should have to suffer for the miscalculations of others. The program spoke of confusion regarding the actual conditions under which enterprises will be operating. Their independence appears illusory in view of heavy plan commitments, and the virtually unchanged price and material distribution systems. The program concluded by drawing attention to an article by Rytov in Izvestia which cited angry readers' letters describing USSR State Statistical Committee figures on the Soviet family budget as rubbish. The program presented calculations backing up this conclusion.

7. Culture. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Henkina, M 7:30) gave a positive review of Lyudmila Petrushevskaya's play Cinzano, performed during the Moscow theater week in Munich. The program pointed to the social frankness of the play, and noted the enthusiastic reaction of the audience and the local press.

8. The Nationalities. THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Fedoseyev and Adams, M 8:30), a RERUN from January 14, featured a talk with RFE Latvian Service staffer Richard Adams on the case of Latvian activist Gunar Astra, reportedly to be released soon after having served a term of imprisonment for his involvement in a 23 August 1979 memorandum signed by 45 citizens of the Baltic republics calling for the annulment of the secret Soviet-German protocol resulting in the annexation of the Baltic states by the USSR.

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Limberger and Levina, M 7:30), citing USSR Culture Minister Zakharov's statements at the recent USSR Writers' Congress, noted that glasnost and restructuring have so far failed to affect the sphere of art, particularly in the nationality republics. In this connection, the program focused on an art exhibition in Minsk and a discussion of the exhibition in the columns of Sovetskaya Belorussiya which revealed general agreement on the incredibly low level of art in Belorussia. The program said it will take time for the situation to improve.

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Avtorkhanov, M 11:30), in the second in a series of programs on Bolshevism and Islam, dealt with the flexibility and caution initially displayed by the Bolsheviks in pursuing their strategic goal of Sovietizing the Muslim peoples of the USSR.

9. Space. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Muslin, NY 1:30) looked at the Soviet space program, noting that it includes work on an antimissile system.

10. Religion. RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Aksenov-Meyerson, NY 7) reviewed the ninth issue of the APN bulletin Religiya v SSSR. The program said the contents reflect the Russian Orthodox Church's servility and its silence on the Soviet regime's past repression of the Church despite the fact that this is now being admitted by Soviet officials. The Church talks of peace, but is silent on Afghanistan. The program mentioned a pertinent letter to the Church leadership by a group of believers (Yakunin, et. al.). A more favorable impression, said the program, is created by a report in the journal on a dialogue between regime and Catholic Church representatives in Lithuania.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fotiyev, M 6) took issue with attacks by journalist Yury Kruzhilin in Pravda Vostoka of January 12 against a statement by priest Alexander Lokhanov in an interview with Sovetskaya Bukhara in which he said that in the USSR the church was "bound hand and foot by draconian laws on cults."

RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Nazarov, M 8:30) outlined the history of the Optina Pustyn Monastery in connection with a Moskovske Novosti article of last December 20 on its being returned to the Russian Orthodox Church. The article regrets the destruction of the monastery by the Bolsheviks.

RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Fotiyev, M 5), in a review of religious events around the world, briefly referred to the conference in Monterey, California, held on the occasion of the millennium of the Christianization of Russia. Mention was made of the statement made by Russian Orthodox Church representative Archbishop Makary on the favorable influence of restructuring on the Church. The program also mentioned the release of imprisoned believers Valentina Paylodze and Anatoly Pinyayev.

RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Kublanovsky, P 5) gave a profile of the Russian-language Paris-based religious journal Vestnik Rossiyskogo Khristianskogo Dvizheniya on the occasion of its 40th anniversary.

11. History. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 4), continuing a series of excerpts from old Soviet newspapers, cited a statement by Lenin in Pravda of 25 January 1918 on the

alliance with leftist Socialist-Revolutionaries, which collapsed just over five months afterwards, and a Pravda editorial of 25 January 1938 condemning indiscriminate expulsion of party members.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

1. The GDR. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gordin, M 6) commented on the recent expulsions and arrests of dissidents, pacifists, etc. in the GDR. The program noted support for those concerned in both Eastern and Western Germany, and GDR reaction to FRG criticism. The program recalled Honecker's intimation that the GDR did not need restructuring.

2. Czechoslovakia. RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Fotiyev, M 1), in a review of religious events around the world, briefly mentioned the arrival of a Vatican delegation in Prague for talks with the Czech government on the filling of vacant sees in Czechoslovakia.

3. Romania. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 6:30) commented on Ceausescu's 70th birthday. The program described Ceausescu as the last of the Stalinist "Mohicans," and contrasted the extreme personality cult surrounding him with Romania's desolate economic situation, the consequence of rigid centralization and Ceausescu's drive to repay the country's foreign debts in record time. The program also referred to outbreaks of popular unrest, and Ceausescu's megalomaniac reconstruction program for Bucharest.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The US. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya and Weinstein, W 8:30) gave the contents of President Reagan's State of the Union message.

2. US-Nicaragua. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fistejn, M 4) cited, with voice cuts, statements by President Reagan, in his weekend radio address to the American people, and US Assistant Secretary of State Elliot Abrams, in a TV interview, appealing to Congress to approve further aid for the Nicaraguan Contras. Audio Section material was used.

3. East-West Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyev, M 5) took issue with Soviet chief delegate Kashlev's claim that the success of the Vienna CSCE conference was jeopardized by the "maximalist and unrealistic demands" made by "certain Western countries."

4. France-FRG. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 5) reported on the formation of a Franco-German defense council. The program cited positive reaction by other NATO countries,

and negative reaction in the USSR and Poland. Comment in the Spanish ABC and the Salzburger Nachrichten was also quoted.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

1. The US. THE USA TODAY (Rubin, Kozlovsky, and Shalamov, NY 9, 8 and 8) featured items on Martin Luther King Day, the controversy over the Hollings amendment which would require Australian media tycoon Rupert Murdoch to close down his newspapers in Boston and New York, and a typical American auto spare parts store.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Muslin, NY 4) outlined the US space program, referring particularly to the emphasis on private enterprise.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Wednesday, 27 January 1988
D. Felton

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Soviet-US Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Tarasenkov, W 4) and THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fistejn, M 4:30) cited statements by American chief negotiators Kampelman and Glitman, former Defense Secretary Schlesinger, and Senator Humphrey arguing the case for the INF treaty at the Senate hearings. Kampelman was also quoted on the verification problem connected with a treaty on the reduction of strategic missiles. Audio Section material was used.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 11:30) took issue with an article by APN political observer Alexander Ignatov claiming that the US was responsible for the "cold war" and the "iron curtain." The program remarked that Gorbachev himself has expressed a similar view. Using a variety of Soviet and Western sources, the program showed that it was in fact Stalin who started the cold war.

2. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Paramonov, NY 3:30) said the situation in Afghanistan is not developing in Kabul's favor. The resistance has been showing increased activity, and the regime is showing signs of increasing nervousness. AP was quoted on a rush by Kabul officials for foreign passports. The program noted that the regime is now attempting some conciliatory gestures, such as issuing an amnesty for six partisan leaders sentenced to death in absentia. Brief reference was made to UN mediator Diego Cordovez's reference to considerable differences remaining between the two sides, and to Pakistani President Ul-Haq's refusal to sign an agreement with the Kabul regime.

PRESS REVIEW (EVENTS AND PEOPLE) (Predtechevsky, M 7) reviewed Western press comment on possible developments in Afghanistan following a Soviet troop withdrawal. The comment spoke particularly of the danger of a civil war breaking out. The program cited the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, the Sueddeutsche Zeitung, The Los Angeles Times (Alex Pravda of a British international relations institute), The Sunday Telegraph

(Patrick Bishop), and The Independent (Julian Geering, director of a British government-financed information bureau on Afghanistan). A RAD Background Report of January 26 was used.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Paramonov, NY 4) reviewed American press comment on developments in and around Afghanistan. The program cited articles in The Los Angeles Times by British expert Alex Pravda, on Moscow's desire to withdraw from Afghanistan being pragmatic in nature, and by American expert Robert Hunter, on the advantages for the USSR of a withdrawal, and in The New York Times, by former Kabul University Professor Ashraf Gani, who spoke of problems in postwar reconstruction in Afghanistan due to divisions within the resistance movement.

3. Dissidents and Human Rights. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva and Roitman, M 9:30) cited Western sources by way of amplifying a Komsomolskaya Pravda report on the case of 73-year-old pensioner Naum Nemchenko, found murdered in his Leningrad apartment last September 27. The program wondered why the newspaper attacked two Soviet Jewish refuseniks, Semen Frumkin and Nikita Demin, who drew the attention of investigating officials to the possibility of Nemchenko's having been murdered out of revenge by young members of unofficial associations in whose anti-Semitic activities Nemchenko had been taking an interest.

4. Emigres. In AT THE BOOKSHELF (Dovlatov, NY 28) Soviet emigre writer Sergey Dovlatov read the fifth installment of his book The Foreign Woman (Inostranka), on the Russian emigre community in New York.

5. Restructuring. EVENTS AND PEOPLE and THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fistejn and Kroncher, M 6:30) thoroughly agreed with Soviet economist Galina Rakitskaya, a participant in an all-Union symposium held in Suzdal on January 26, who in an interview by Soviet TV insisted that political reforms must come before economic reforms. In this connection, the program pointed in particular to the plan as an instrument of political control exercised by the party over the production process.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Belotserkovsky, M 10:30) commented on and excerpted Mikhail Shatrov's new play Further, Further, Further!, describing it as a veritable manifesto for democratization, which badly needs popular support.

6. Society. DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Bensi, M 8:30 and Shapiro, Isr. 12) discussed the unofficial "Pamyat" association. The program said that at the beginning, the new society was welcomed in that it addressed itself to important problems concerning Russia's cultural legacy, but subsequently it became chauvinist, speaking of a "Jewish-Freemason plot," etc. The Soviet press has been suggesting that the emergence of such "neo-Fascist parties" is one of the consequences of "opposition" and "pluralism." The program expressed the view

that Soviet society's political immaturity could be at fault, for which the Soviet regime is responsible. Although "Pamyat" enjoys considerable political support, the Soviet press is trying to dismiss it as insignificant. At the same time, "Pamyat" appears to be a source of embarrassment in that as a public organization operating outside official limits it employs the same kind of terminology as Soviet propaganda. The program concluded that it is the present carefully dosed, selective democratization, the atmosphere of secretiveness and suspicion, which constitutes a breeding ground for such groups as "Pamyat."

7. Justice. HUMAN RIGHTS (Fedoseyev, M 4:30 and Kaminskaya, W 23:30) talked about the existence of a "mafia" in the Soviet judicial apparatus. Those who are found out go unpunished. The problem, said the program, lies in the fact that the legal organs are dependent on the authorities. The program noted the low prestige of defense counsel, which is something of an alien body in a state where power is above the law, and criticized Soviet legal expert Skvortsov's implication that defense counsel is superfluous.

8. The Nationalities. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fistejn and Fiszbein, M 4:30) spoke of the desolate state of the Ukrainian theater, which receives little official support, and is prevented from experimentation. In addition, many actors cannot even speak Ukrainian. The program pointed out that the Moscow theater is performing in Munich, but not the Ukrainian theater, despite the fact that Munich and Kiev are sister cities. The newspaper Radyanska Ukraina was cited.

9. Lenin. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanov, P 4) commented on a TASS report, based on information in UNESCO's yearbook for 1987, that Lenin remains the world's most translated author. The program showed that the UNESCO listing can by no means be used as an indicator of a writer's real popularity, and in a list of the number of countries in which a writer's works were published, Lenin is way down in 109th place.

10. Religion. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fotiyev, M 3:30) discussed an article by TASS correspondent Anna Grigoreva just published by APN on a visit by Patriarch Pimen to a church utensils factory at Sofrino, near Moscow. The program commented that such articles are aimed primarily at the West, being calculated to show that church life in the USSR is free of any state restrictions. The upcoming celebrations of the millennium of the Christianization of Russia also play a particular role in this respect. The program said that while it is a good thing that the production of church utensils has been renewed after almost sixty years, one factory is clearly not sufficient to satisfy demand.

11. History. RUSSIA YESTERDAY, TODAY, TOMORROW (Tolz, M 16:30), continuing a series on Lenin's last days, described how

the Politburo, and particularly Stalin, prevented the sick Lenin from obtaining access to newspapers, and how Stalin insulted Lenin's wife, Krupskaya. The program gave an excerpt from Shatrov's play Further, Further, Further, and used notes signed "N. Petrenko" published in the Paris-based historical almanac Minuvsheye (The Past), the author of which lives in the USSR, and an article entitled "Lenin's Sickness and Death" by Vladimir Flerov, who now lives in Western Germany, which appeared in the Frankfurt-based Grani, No. 146.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 3:30), continuing to leaf through the pages of old Soviet newspapers, gave excerpts from Pravda of 27 January 1928 and 1938 on the detection and punishment of so-called "enemies of the people."

RUSSIA YESTERDAY, TODAY, TOMORROW (Geller, P 8:30) outlined the history of the Soviet state security organs on the occasion of their 70th anniversary. The program noted how changes in the name of the security organs reflected changes in Soviet policy.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

1. The GDR. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gordin, M 6:30) reported on appeals by former GDR dissidents now in the FRG against the recent repressions against their comrades by the GDR authorities.
2. Vietnam. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Predtechevsky, M 5:30) marked the 15th anniversary of the four-power agreement signed in Paris on a peaceful settlement of the Vietnam conflict. The program recalled how the agreement was initially hailed as a tremendous success, how the North Vietnamese later put an end to South Vietnam's sovereignty, and how the supporters of the South Vietnamese regime were sent to reeducation camps. The program also recalled Le Duc Tho's refusing to accept the Nobel Peace Prize as long as there was still fighting in Southeast Asia, and observed that this is still the case.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. East-West Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 4:30) commented on the COCOM session which has just opened in Paris. The program noted growing displeasure over COCOM on the part of the socialist countries (Shevardnadze was quoted on COCOM's "cursed" lists), and gave background on the organization. It was pointed out that the lists are not secret, and that they are accepted voluntarily by member countries. The program spoke of a possible compromise at COCOM's latest session, with a relaxation of restrictions on the one hand and tighter controls on the other, and observed that the organization would not be necessary if the socialist

countries abandoned their offensive political and military strategy. A CND report from Washington of January 21 was used.

2. Terrorism. DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Gorbanevskaya, P 7) reviewed a book by Michel Vevourcas and Dominique Walton which examines the way in which terrorists exploit the media.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

1. The US. OVER THE BARRIERS (Vayl, Gendler, and Genis, NY 27:30) featured items on multiplexes, i.e. new-style movie theater complexes in the US, and the American tradition of pioneers and settlers and its reflection in American culture.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Thursday, 28 January 1988
M. Frost

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Afghanistan. ROUND TABLE (Roitman, Voslensky, and Fishtein, M 20) discussed the geopolitical implications of a Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan for the Soviet Union. The discussants agreed that the Soviet leadership has finally reached the conclusion that it has nothing to gain by continuing to wage a war against partisans which it cannot win. The neutral status of a future independent Pakistan was debated along with difficulties connected with the different military and political factions within the Afghan resistance movement.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Roitman and Voslensky, M 6) summarized the ROUND TABLE discussion on Afghanistan.

2. Dissidents and Human Rights. DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 15) continued to broadcast excerpts from the new independent Leningrad journal, The Journal of Journals (AS-6132). Various editors of the 17 journals which constitute the publication outlined the aims of the movement and proposed the establishment of an information bank to assist the editors in their work. The participants of the October 24 and 25 meeting in Leningrad reiterated the need for independent journals in an otherwise nonpluralist society.

DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 14:30) featured an interview with emigre psychiatrist Anatoly Koryagin on his address to a one day symposium in Bonn on psychiatric abuse in the USSR. Koryagin discussed the upcoming changes to the regulations

concerning the administration of psychiatric aid in the USSR and called on the authorities to release all prisoners of conscience held in psychiatric hospitals.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Muslin, NY 6:30) broadcast a telephone interview from New York with Ukrainian writer and human rights activist Mikola Rudenko on his impressions of the US and his literary activity in the Ukraine which has been largely suppressed in the Soviet Union.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyev, M 5:30) reported on the January 27 meeting between the representatives of the International Helsinki Group Federation with the Soviet Human Rights Committee, during which former political prisoner Lev Timofeev addressed the meeting and handed over a list of over 200 political prisoners still being held in Soviet prison camps to the head of the Soviet Committee, Fedor Burlatsky.

3. Restructuring. MAN AND SOCIETY (Belotserkovsky, M 9) analyzed the current state of the drive for restructuring in the USSR and commented that without a comprehensive modernization program for industrial plants, the burden for any increases in production must necessarily be borne by ordinary workers. The program also urged a speedy withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and a reorientation of the Soviet military-industrial complex to consumer production needs.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 5) discussed the January 28 announcement by the USSR Council of Ministers that the system of foreign currency cheques for purchasing goods from special shops is to be terminated as from July 1. The program doubted, however, that the bulk of the special "Beriozka" shops will disappear as they are a natural consequence of severe consumer shortages in the USSR.

4. Society. MAN AND SOCIETY (Shapiro, Isr. 6), quoting readers letters from Sovetskaya Kultura and Trud, examined the production chasm between the consumer demand for high-quality, fashionable clothing and the inability of the textile industry to fulfill this demand.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Chianurov, M 4:30) broadcast excerpts from Sovetskaya Belorussiya and Komsomolskaya Zhizn on sugar shortages in Soviet shops and the legacy of Stalinism.

5. Education. MAN AND SOCIETY (Voronitsyn, M 9) discussed the current crisis in the Soviet educational system; reviewed previous attempts to instigate wholesale educational reforms, especially during the Khrushchev regime; and explained the options available to the present Soviet leadership to improve the quality of education throughout the Soviet Union.

6. History. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Belotserkovsky, M 9:30) reviewed Mikhail Shatrov's recently published, controversial play about the fate of the October Revolution, Further, Further, Further. The program interpreted the political theses in Shatrov's play as a blueprint for the democratic left in the USSR. It is for this reason, the program commented, that the play has drawn fire from conservative forces in the Soviet Union.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Tolz, M 7:30) focused on the reappraisal of history taking place in the Soviet media. The program commented that a normal society cannot function with a castrated historical memory but expressed concern over the negative reaction to Shatrov's latest play Further, Further, Further published in Pravda which accused the author of, among other things, "historical nihilism."

OVER THE BARRIERS (Schlippe, M 28) broadcast the second installment of Soviet emigre scholar Mark Popovsky's book The Vavilov Affair about a Soviet academician who fell victim to Stalin's repressions and died in 1943.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 4) read extracts from the Soviet press from 50 and 30 years ago on the party's success in combatting the enemies of the people and on President Truman's statement to Bulganin on the Middle East situation.

7. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Vishnevskaya, M 9) profiled the new chairman of the USSR Artists' Union, Andrey Vasnetsov, whose work drew criticism from Khrushchev in the early 1960s, but, who nevertheless, succeeded in reaching high office inside the Union of Artists. The program used an RLR Research Report.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Predtechevsky, M 7) broadcast translated excerpts of Andrey Voznesenky's interview with Der Tagesspiegel on the establishment of a European cultural organization, "Gulliver," of which he is a coordinating founder.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Henkina, M 7:30) gave a positive review of Lyudmila Petrushevskaya's play Cinzano, performed during the Moscow theater week in Munich. The program pointed to the social frankness of the play, and noted the enthusiastic reaction of the audience and the local press. The program was RERUN from January 25.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Faibusovich, M 5:30) reviewed Polish writer's Mrozek's play The Emigrants staged in Munich in connection with the Moscow theater festival.

8. Religion. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Rahr, M 5:30) broadcast a telephone interview with Alexander Ogorodnikov in which the religious rights activist read a petition calling on the authorities to return the Kiev-Cave Monastery to the Orthodox Church.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

1. The GDR. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 4:30) reported on the crackdown on dissidents attending the anniversary demonstrations marking the deaths of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. The program cited a commentary from Neues Deutschland and dpa reports.

2. Indochina. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 9) backgrounded the annual exchange of border hostilities between the PRC and Vietnam and speculated on a possible date for the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. East-West Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 5) covered US Deputy Secretary of State Whitehead's tour of Eastern Europe.

2. Central America. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 4), based on an article from The Washington Post from January 27, reported on President Reagan's submission to Congress of a 36 million dollar aid request for the Nicaraguan Contras.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

1. Science. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Muslin, NY 6) reported on the international conference on AIDS which opened on January 26 in London.

2. Religion. JUDAISM (Lvov, NY 9) discussed Maimonides and the non-Judaic world.

JUDAISM (Haskelevich, NY 9) broadcast a sermon on the sacred nature of the language of the Bible.

3. Culture. JUDAISM (Taratuta, NY 9) profiled the life of Karl Gutzkow and reviewed his play Uriel Acosta on the 110th anniversary of his death.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Friday, 29 January 1988
D. Felton

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Dissidents and Human Rights. DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 29:30) began with the third installment of an account of a meeting of editors of independent publications held last October in Leningrad. The account was published in the first issue of Zhurnal Zhurnalov. The program concluded with a RERUN from January 25 of a report on a conference in Bonn which dealt with the subject of the abuse of psychiatry for political purposes in the USSR, and an RL interview with one of the participants, Robert van Boren.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyev, M 3:30) reported on a demonstration by a large group of Soviet Jewish refuseniks in Moscow on January 28. The militia's non-intervention, said the program, is thought by foreign journalists to be due to the presence of an International Helsinki Federation delegation which is examining the possibility of holding an international Helsinki conference on human rights in the Soviet capital. Mixed reaction to the demonstration by the Moscow public was noted, and statements by delegation leader Erwin Cotler were quoted.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fistejn, M 1:30) reported on a demonstration in Jerusalem for increased Soviet Jewish emigration. The program cited statements made to journalist by one of the demonstrators, long-time former refusenik Alexander Kholmyansky, who said that there was still no radical change in Soviet emigration policy, and that public demonstrations were the best way to exert pressure on Moscow in this matter.

JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 1), in a review of events in and around Israel in the past week, reported on the arrival in Israel of Soviet Jewish refuseniks Lerner, Ioffe, and Kholmyansky, and the granting of emigration permission to Soviet Jewish activist Paritsky.

JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Fedoseyeva and Roitman, M 9:30), a RERUN from January 27, cited Western sources by way of

amplifying a Komsomolskaya Pravda report on the case of 73-year-old pensioner Naum Nemchenko, found murdered in his Leningrad apartment last September 27. The program wondered why the newspaper attacked two Soviet Jewish refuseniks, Semen Frumkin and Nikita Demin, who drew the attention of investigating officials to the possibility of Nemchenko's having been murdered out of revenge by young members of unofficial associations in whose anti-Semitic activities Nemchenko had been taking an interest.

2. Emigres. In AT THE BOOKSHELF (Dovlatov, NY 30) Soviet emigre writer Sergey Dovlatov read the sixth and final installment of his book The Foreign Woman (Inostranka), on the Russian emigre community in New York.

3. Restructuring. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Belotserkovsky, M 13:30) continued to discuss Mikhail Shatrov's play Further, Further, Further, published in Znamya, No. 1, 1988. The program saw the play as a kind of political manifesto by the leftist Soviet intelligentsia advocating radical democratic changes in all spheres of Soviet society. The program focused on passages in which Bukharin defends his position on socialist construction against Stalin (this contradicts a relevant passage in Gorbachev's speech on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution, which he apparently had to revise under conservative pressure), and in which Lenin insists on the need to democratize the party by bringing in ordinary workers to counterbalance the functionaries and preclude such phenomena as Stalinism; Lenin is presented as having cursed himself for not having acted in time.

4. Glasnost. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 8:30) highlighted a statement made by Novy Mir chief editor Sergey Zalygin made after a lecture at London University on the subject of Gorbachev's glasnost policy that he saw no political obstacles to the publication of Solzhenitsyn's works in the USSR. The program recalled previous contradictory statements by Soviet representatives on this matter, and cited Die Welt and The Wall Street Journal.

5. The Economy. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fistejn and Kroncher, M 4:30) commented on a January 27 discussion on Radio Mayak on the subject of quality of production, which was said to have become an extremely acute problem in economic restructuring. The program explained that quality has now become so important in particular because the USSR needs to compete on the world market, which at present is not in the USSR's favor. The question also arises of whether or not the Soviet system is capable of satisfying the demands of the population. The plan, said the program, is the big obstacle to improved quality.

6. Nuclear Energy. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Muslin, NY 3:30) cited comment by Western diplomats in Moscow on the Soviet

authorities' decision to stop construction work on an atomic power station at Krasnodar following protests by local inhabitants. Komsomolskaya Pravda was cited on widespread fear of atomic energy among the Soviet population following Chernobyl. Diplomats were quoted that the decision does not mean that the USSR has changed its policy of atomic energy development, but it is indicative of the glasnost campaign.

7. Industrial Espionage. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 6:30) reported on the COCOM session in Versailles, and the discovery shortly before in Marseilles of a network of businessmen who were illegally exporting high technology to the USSR. The program cited Le Monde and Le Quotidien de Paris, which remarked that such illegal acquisitions are not good for the USSR's own technological development.

8. The Military. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Predtechevsky, M 5) highlighted Soviet chief military prosecutor Lieutenant-General Popov's interview to Krasnaya Zvezda in which he encouraged Soviet soldiers to defend themselves against the gross mishandling to which they are only too frequently subjected by superiors. The program said one could unconditionally welcome Popov's advice but for the fact that under Soviet conditions, where individualism, human rights, etc. are despised, this could simply lead to more violence.

9. The Nationalities. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva and Adams, M 5) gave background on the case of Latvian political prisoner Juris Bumeisters in connection with an announcement that he has been pardoned. The program spoke of Bumeisters' activities for the Latvian Social Democratic Workers Party, pointed to the fabricated nature of the charges leveled against him, and gave a samizdat characteristic of his personality. The program said people such as Bumeisters should never have been sentenced in the first place.

10. Culture. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Natusевич, M 5) described the play Alone With Everyone put on by the Moscow Academic Art Theater during the Moscow theater festival in Munich as an utterly lifeless relic of the Brezhnev era. The program mentioned the frequent appeals in the Soviet press for the closure of theaters that have had their day, and pointed by way of contrast to the vital contributions by tiny, semi-underground theater studios.

11. Religion. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rahr, M 4:30) commented on an Izvestia article by the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers' Council for Religious Affairs, Kharchev, in which he spoke of introducing changes to the existing legislation on religion which would be based on "Leninist norms." The program remarked that greater harm was done to religion in the USSR by the legislation and constitutions adopted under Stalin and Brezhnev, and said the adoption of certain "Leninist norms"

would indeed be a step forward, while others need to be abolished.

THE MILLENNIUM OF THE CHRISTIANIZATION OF RUSSIA (Rahr, M 29:30) reported on public references in the USSR, particularly in Ogonek and a subsequent discussion, to the dilapidated state of the Kiev Cave Monastery and the desirability of its being returned to the Russian Orthodox Church. The program featured a telephone interview with religious activist Alexander Ogorodnikov in Moscow in which he read out an appeal by Orthodox believers (Milevsky, Lokhvitskaya, et. al.), and RERUNS from January 9 and 16 of three further appeals.

12. History. JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Sirotn, NY 10) marked the 40th anniversary of the slaying in Minsk of prominent Soviet Jewish actor Solomon Mikhoels, which signified the beginning of Stalin's anti-Jewish campaign. The program quoted Mikhoels' daughter Natalia Mikhoels-Vovsi, Stalin's daughter Svetlana Alliluyeva, the late Soviet Jewish actor Veniamin Zuskun, and a poem by poet Perets Markish, and concluded with a voice cut from one of Solomon Mikhoels' performances. Audio Section material was used.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Chianurov, M 6), in a review of the Soviet press, drew attention to an interview given to Sovetskaya Belorussiya by a former Chairman of the Belorussian Council of People's Commissars, Kovalev, in which he recalled being mishandled by the secret police during Stalin's campaign against "enemies of the people" in a vain attempt to make him confess to a trumped up charge of counterrevolutionary activity. Kovalev said the blame for this poisoning of the political atmosphere lay not only with Stalin but with hundreds of local mini-Stalins, and with the fact that the NKVD organs were above the law.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 3:30), continuing to leaf through old Soviet newspapers, gave excerpts from a Pravda article of 29 January 1928 by People's Commissar for Internal Affairs Tolmachev on the campaign to make peasants "voluntarily" sign up to make contributions to a kolkhoz development loan, and from Pravda of 29 January 1938 on the replacement of Stanislaw Kosior as Party CC first Secretary and Politburo member by Khrushchev. The program said that, at a time of glasnost and restructuring, it would be interesting to learn why another Politburo member, Vlas Chubar, died on the very same day as Kosior, 26 February 1939.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

1. Bulgaria. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 5:30) reported on the Bulgarian CP's national conference on restructuring which has just ended in Sofia. The program highlighted party leader Todor Zhivkov's speech in which he among other things

complained that there were many who were not fully supporting the reforms, and outlined plans to limit officials' tenure of office as well as the party's leading role in certain areas. Foreign observers were quoted that the wide scope of Bulgaria's restructuring program has given rise to a certain amount of concern in Moscow.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The Middle East. JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 6), in a review of events in and around Israel in the past week, reported on the quieter situation in the occupied territories, differences between right- and left-wingers regarding the search for a peaceful settlement, the budget debate in the Knesset, and the latest developments in the trial of accused Nazi war criminal Demjanjuk.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fistejn, M 2:30) reported on statements by President Reagan and visiting Egyptian President Mubarak on the urgent need to find a peaceful solution of the Middle East conflict in the light of the latest unrest in the occupied territories. Audio Section material was used.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gordin, M 4:30) gave the contents of Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek's interview to Die Welt in which he spoke of his efforts to achieve peaceful coexistence between Jews and Arabs.

2. Klaus Fuchs. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 9) gave an obituary of nuclear physicist Klaus Fuchs, who gave atomic secrets to the USSR, and who has died in the GDR aged 76. The program noted that ADN was silent on Fuchs's espionage activities, while in the Soviet press there was only a brief reference by Sakharov, made in connection with the film Risk, published by Moskovskiye Novosti last November 8.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

1. The US. OVER THE BARRIERS (Vail and Genis, NY 8; Volkov, NY 10; and Paramonov and Volkov, NY 10), a RERUN from January 21, included an item on the criteria used by Time to select its "man of the year"; fragments from John Adam's opera Nixon in China; and a synopsis of cultural historian Alan Bloom's latest book The Closing of the American Mind on the predominance of rock music in the US.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Saturday, 30 January 1988

K. Laur

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Afghanistan. SIGNAL (Predtechevsky and Kartashev, M 7) was pegged to a statement by the special correspondent of Literaturnaya Gazeta in Afghanistan, Kim Selikhov, in which the latter called on people to greet the soldiers returning from Afghanistan very ceremoniously. They have deserved it, Salikhov noted, by good fighting. The program mentioned that now the Soviet news media have at least started to confess that the Soviet Army is fighting in Afghanistan, whereas during the first years of the war they were depicted as the helpers of children and old people. The Service focused upon the fighting for the city of Khost.

2. Restructuring. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fisztejn and Fishbein, M 8) took issue with an open letter in Literaturnaya Ukraina of January 21 attacking Vitaly Korotych, the present chief editor of Ogonek and the former chairman of the Ukrainian Writers' Union, after an interview given by him to Molod Ukrainy of January 7. Korotych noted that the present situation of the Ukrainian literature is quite sad, and the authors of the letter accused him in having helped to create this situation while being the chairman of the Writers' Union. The program stressed that Korotych is an honest man, despite his past.

3. Society. WRITERS AT THE MICROPHONE (Voinovitsch, M.16:30) carried a satirical story about a relatively well-known Soviet writer, Ivan Paderin, and Marshal Chuikov, using an article in the Soviet newspaper Trud of 16 September 1987 and another in Literaturnaya Gazeta of 16 December 1987. Paderin wore for more than 40 years a decoration, the order of Red Banner, without having actually had the right to do so. In return, it seems, he

wrote books for Marshal Chuikov, who, as the story goes, gave him this order. Now, when Paderin, almost blind at the age of 70, asked for a part of money the marshall earned for his books, the latter publicly claimed that the writer has never had a right to wear his decoration.

4. The Army. SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, M 7) reviewed a book by Alexiev and Wimbush, published in the US by the RAND Corporation, entitled Ethnic Minorities in the Soviet Army.

5. Theatre. OVER THE BARRIERS (Matusevich and Pekarev, M 49:30) carried an interview with the director of the Lenin Komsomol Theater of Moscow, Mark Zakharov, and two leading actors of this theatre, Oleg Yankovsky and Alexander Abdulov. The interview was given during the Days of the Soviet Theatre in Munich in which the Lenin Komsomol Theatre was one of the participants. The program focused upon the changes in the Soviet theater and in the whole society by Gorbachev's reforms, glasnost, and perestroika. All three Soviet theatre people gave credit to perestroika, mentioning that a lot has changed already deep inside the people, but it will need some time until it becomes visible. The program carried excerpts of the play The Dictatorship of Conscience by Mikhail Shatrov, an extremely socially and historically critical play, which the Lenin Komsomol Theatre presented in Munich.

6. Literature. WRITERS AT THE MICROPHONE (Dovlatov, NY 8:30) carried some proposals by writer Dovlatov for the newly opened column in Literaturnaya Gazeta "If I were the Editor..." The program suggested that publishing should be turned over to private enterprise in the Soviet Union and explained why he considers this not dangerous, even for the Soviet system.

7. Religion. NOT BY BREAD ALONE (Benigsen, NY 9:30; Rahr, M 7; and Aksenov-Meyerson, NY 8:30) commented on the parable of the pharisee and publican; dealt with the decree on separating the Church from the state and the school from the Church, adopted 70 years ago and commented upon recently in Izvestia by the Chairman of the Committee of Religious affairs Kharchev; and concluded the program with profiles of Russian saints commemorated by the Church at this time of the year.

SUNDAY SERVICE (Rahr and Kholodnaya, M 50) presented a Russian Orthodox Church service.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

B. Nicaragua. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 7:30) assessed Daniel Ortega's recent visit to Europe. The program highlighted the serious economic difficulties Nicaragua has and the way the leadership plays the East against the West to try to get some help.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

C. The US. SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, M 8) reviewed the military aspects of Reagan's State of the Union Message. The program mentioned that a great part of the message was dedicated to military and military-political questions. The president called on the Senate to ratify the INF treaty despite the recent discussions around it. Reagan also called on the Congress to support the anti-Sandinist guerrilla movement in Nicaragua and looked at the present situation in Afghanistan.

2. The US. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 10) reviewed the major political events in Washington during the previous week. The program gave a thorough analysis of the president's State of the Union Address; mentioned that Reagan asked the Congress to appropriate 36-million dollars to support the anti-Sandinist guerrillas; highlighted the meeting of Reagan and Hosni Mubarak, the Egyptian President, in the White House; and noted that the debate about ratifying INF has started in the Senate.

3. US-Egyptian Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Tarasenkov, W 3:30), based upon two articles in The Washington Post of January 28 and 29, dealt with the talks between President Reagan and Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak which took place in the White House on January 28. The talks focused upon the Palestinian question and the present situation in Israel.

4. Israel. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Miloslavsky, Jerusalem 8:30) looked at last week's events in Jerusalem and the Gaza strip. The program mentioned that since the beginning of the disturbances, last week was the most quiet one. Even the almost traditional demonstration on Temple Hill on Friday evening after the service in the mosque remained peaceful and did not have many participants, but the situation in the country continues to be tense, the Service stressed.

5. Angola. SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, M 6) dealt with recent developments in Angola mentioning that the UNITA guerrilla movement is gaining strength and influence as a result of recent military operations.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

None.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Sunday, 31 January 1988
J. Benson

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi and Shapiro, M and I 2:30 and 8:30) commented that the Kabul government's recent amnesty of several leaders of the resistance movement was a purely psychological move toward national reconciliation without any practical consequences since none of the recipients are in captivity. The program then examined the signs of the war's unpopularity in the Soviet Union, mentioning the recurrent exposes in the Soviet press of indifference to casualties and returning heroes alike, the makeup of the Soviet troops being mainly workers and farmers, and the absence of in depth coverage of the war with the major writers seeming to avoid the topic entirely. It was said the official propaganda tactics in the face of such widespread opposition are ineffective and clumsy.

PRESS REVIEW (Predtechevsky, M 7) was a RERUN from January 27 which reviewed Western press comments on the possible developments in Afghanistan following a Soviet troop withdrawal.

2. Dissidents and Human Rights. HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE USSR (Tolz, M 8; Fedoseyeva, M 5:30; and Nekipelov, P 14), a RERUN from January 24, began with an item on the polemic between Rosental in The New York Times and Soviet State Prosecution official Rakhmanin on Soviet political prisoners. This was followed by news from the unofficial Moscow weekly Express-Khronika (reprinted in Russkaya Mysl, 1988, No. 2) on political prisoners in Perm camps and the conditions of their imprisonment. In conclusion, former Soviet political prisoner Viktor Nekipelov, who left the USSR last year, recalled how he and his fellow prisoners celebrated his birthday, including with poems.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Vail, NY 5:30) gave the gist of three articles appearing in major American newspapers, all of January 28, which were positive about the influence of glasnost on human rights in the Soviet Union. The Wall Street Journal acknowledged in particular the constructive role of Fedor Burlatsky, the head of the recently-created official Commission

on Human Rights, and the promise of the independent organizations as the nucleus of a future democratic society. The New York Times considered the participation of former dissidents in a discussion in Moscow between Burlatsky's commission and the Helsinki Federation a positive development, while The Christian Science Monitor considered the release of political prisoners and the renewed and open discussion of social problems to be the main accomplishment of glasnost.

In THE FORTUNES OF SIBERIA (Krasin, W 9), a RERUN from January 24, a former political prisoner in a Kolyma camp recalled the extremely harsh conditions there, and cited prisoners' poems in which they tried to make light of their fate.

3. Restructuring. COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Krasin, W 9), a RERUN from January 24, expressed the view that restructuring is aimed at achieving the same Soviet goals as before, namely the building of communism in the USSR and the victory of communism throughout the world, by new methods. The ultimate objective of the new "revolution," said the program, is the retention of the power of the party.

4. Society. COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Matusevich, M 5), a RERUN from January 24, gave the slightly abridged text of an article by The Daily Telegraph's Moscow correspondent Xan Smiley on the leader of the "patriotic" society Pamyat, Dmitry Vasilev, and his cult of hatred.

5. The Military. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 7:30), a RERUN from January 29, highlighted Soviet chief military prosecutor Lieutenant-General Popov's interview by Krasnaya Zvezda in which he encouraged Soviet soldiers to defend themselves against gross mishandling by their superiors.

6. Siberia. THE FORTUNES OF SIBERIA (Shapiro, Isr. 10), a RERUN from January 24, examined the paradox that Siberia is rich in natural resources, but short of everyday products, there is a shortage of labor, but there is also not enough housing and other facilities. The ultimate reason, said the program, is the indiscriminate centralized planning system, which is only interested in pumping out Siberia's natural resources.

7. Culture. Pegged to the Moscow Theater Days in Munich, OVER THE BARRIERS (Matusevich, M 49:30), a RERUN from January 30, gave the first part of an interview with Mark Zakharov, the main director of Moscow's Lenin Komsomol Theater and Secretary of the Union of Soviet Theater Workers, and the well-known Soviet actors Oleg Yankovsky, Alexander Abdulov, and Evgeny Leonov, both before and after the performance of their very well-received political play The Dictatorship of Conscience. Among other things they mentioned plans for an international theater festival in the Soviet Union, expressed their surprise at the warm reception given them and Western interest in Soviet theater, noted that experiments were taking place in smaller

theaters like Vasiliev's Studio Theater, described the uniqueness and popularity of their "theater of synthesis" compared with the other established theaters, and admitted that the removal of censorship has been more important than the economic and organizational reforms of the theater in the Soviet Union. Topical passages from the play were cited.

8. Sports. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rubin, NY 4:30) noted the inconsistencies in the Soviet press report on the doping scandal at the Winter Olympics involving the Soviet speed skater Nikolay Gulayev and stressed the absurdity of the explanation that a Norwegian athlete had requested medication allegedly inaccessible in the West from his Soviet colleague. A Reuter report from January 28 and Sovetsky Sport and TASS items were mentioned.

9. History. SOVIETOLOGISTS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Shragin, NY 20) continued a discussion of the book Political Culture in the Soviet Union written by Princeton professor Robert Tucker. In addition to giving a theoretical-historical survey of the development of the Soviet state and society from Lenin to Gorbachev, the book traces how Russian culture, in particular its messianism, was transformed in Soviet culture. The program remarked that Tucker had identified the "crisis in faith" under Brezhnev as early as 1981, suggesting that Western sovietologists are not only ahead of Soviet science but also the political leadership.

FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 29:30) read the third installment of The Vavilov Affair by the emigre scholar Mark Popovsky, a biography of the famous biologist and geneticist Nikolay Vavilov who disappeared in Stalin's camps in the 1940s.

THE FORTUNES OF SIBERIA (Kushev, M 8:30), a RERUN from January 24, recalled dissension between local and central Bolsheviks over the degree of autonomy to be given to Siberia.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

1. Poland. COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Gorbanevskaya, P 10:30), a RERUN from January 24 citing Polish underground publications, reported on demonstrations and "happenings" in Poland parodying the regime and the system.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

None

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

1. Sport. THE WORLD OF SPORT (Rubin, NY 20) approved the new trend in international sport competitions to reduce restrictions on participants, in particular to allow professionals, as a step in the direction of progress and away from artificial barriers. Then the program told the stories of two internationally-known athletes who exemplify the trend and otherwise would not have been able to participate in this year's olympics: the weightlifter Naim Suleymanoglu, who recently became a Turkish citizen, and the Swedish alpine skier and millionaire Ingemar Stenmark.

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RADIO FREE EUROPE
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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Monday, 1 February 1988
J. Benson

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 6) surmised that Soviet journalist Vladimir Shcherban had ignored the limits on approved information in his report in the September issue of Izvestia and was now being attacked in Zhurnalist for allegedly fabricating reports about the difficult situation in Afghanistan. The program stressed that Shcherban's evaluation of the situation, whether fabricated or not, still holds for the current obstacles to reconciliation of the opposition groups.

2. Dissidents and Human Rights. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyev, M 5) reported on how the authorities' disturbed meetings between representatives of the International Helsinki Federation and human rights advocates in Moscow on January 31, suggesting this would reduce chances of any international conference on human rights being conducted in the Soviet Union. According to one of the Helsinki representatives, there still remain the unresolved problems of authorities' violations of human rights, the misuse of psychiatry for political ends, the non-rehabilitation of former political prisoners and continuing arrests of this nature, and the fact that freedom of movement is still not guaranteed by law.

3. The Emigration. On AT THE BOOKSHELF (Yurenen, M 27:30), a RERUN from 20 May 1987, Soviet emigre writer Sergey Yurenen read the first installment of his largely autobiographical book A Party of Angels, published in Strelets, 1987, No. 1, on the trials and tribulations of a young writer during the Brezhnev era.

4. Restructuring. Reviewing the Soviet press, THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 1) noted that Western journalists and diplomats in Moscow suspected that the party decree published in Pravda from January 31 was criticizing the Kiev Party Organization for not carrying out restructuring and was most likely an attack against the First Secretary of the Ukrainian CP, Shcherbitsky.

5. Glasnost. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gendler, NY 4) gave the gist of an article in The New York Times from January 31, according to which the policy of glasnost is beginning to change the image and social role of Soviet journalism, at least in the area of domestic affairs, where investigative journalism is beginning to make inroads. However, international news was said to still be restricted by ideology and party directives.

6. The Economy. In connection with the price increases planned in Gorbachev's restructuring policy, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanov, P 2) remarked that the working population always has to pay for the failure of economic policies in which they have no say. The program then drew attention to an article in the January issue of Novy Mir which argued that such failures have led to a loss of credibility, suggesting the call in Sotsialisticheskaya Industriya from January 26 for the populace to reconcile themselves to inevitable price rises will not be heard.

7. Society. In a review of the Soviet press, THE COUNTRY AND WORLD (Nikolayev, M 1) noted that although an article in Sovetskaya Estoniya from January 15 was critical of nomenklatura officials who break lines for faster service, it ignored the more basic problem of why there have to be long lines in the first place.

8. Labor. After acknowledging signs of the start of a genuine worker's movement, WORKERS' MOVEMENT (Simis, W 11:30) backgrounded the strikes in the Moscow Yaroslav Motor Factory which occurred in December 1987, noting this was the first time the workers actively supported a leader from their own ranks.

On USSR TOPICS (Morozov, M 9) a former Soviet journalist analyzed a few articles in issue 10 of Sovetskiye Profsoyuzy about the effects of the restructuring campaign on the trade unions, stating that the object of this superficial and vague criticism is to awaken feelings of satisfaction with the reader's own situation, to distract attention from the real causes of problems and to provide window dressing suggesting change is proceeding while continuing to carry out state interests for increased production.

USSR TOPICS (Orshansky, M 7) read a passage from an article by American Professor Treybus in the last 1987 issue of the Munich-based journal Strana i Mir, in which he explained the advantages of a non-hierarchical organization of industrial labor as practiced in Japan. The extremely low productivity of the Soviet Union was said to be due to the fact that 19th century Taylorism in its worst form is still used which suppresses all private initiative.

9. The Nationalities. THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Avtorkhanov, M 12) gave the third in a miniseries on

the Muslim population in the USSR, focusing this time on the history of the Basmachi movement in the Central Asian republics. The program said the 70-year rule of communism has had little success among the Muslim population because they equated their faith with their nationality and thus were immune to atheism.

USSR TOPICS (Krimerman, M 5:30) attributed the unique problems of Moldavian youth to the fact that they grow up in a multinational environment, learn of their culture and history only through translations from the Russian, have hardly any instruction in their native tongue and have to compete for key positions, more than half of which are reserved for Russians. Pravda from January 11, Komsomolskaya Pravda from January 10, Sovetskaya Molaviya from 13 December 1987 and Moldova Socialiste from 31 December 1987 were cited.

Reviewing the Soviet press, THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 2) exposed the intention of the article appearing in Pravda Vostoka from January 21 to slander activists seeking justice for the Crimean Tatars.

10. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Matusevich, M 30) broadcast the second part of an interview conducted with the main director Mark Zakharov and the actors Oleg Yankovsky and Alexander Abdulov from the Lenin Komsomol Theater during the recent Moscow Theater Days in Munich. The discussion focussed on the results of Gorbachev's policies in the Soviet cultural scene. Zakharov said that the return to Lenin advocated in Shatrov's play Further, Further, Further is essential for the country's future. While film was said to be in the midst of change (coproductions with the West, Tarkovsky's heritage, and the release of previously banned films were mentioned) and the theater in the process of trying to define its role between publicistic work and traditional theater, the literary realm was felt to be the least affected. The program stated that Brezhnev appointees continue to reign there.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Vishnevskaya, M 18) explained the attacks of the official media (Pravda from January 29, Literaturnaya Gazeta from January 20, and Literaturnaya Rossiya from January 22) against an article in the January 9-16th issue of Ogonek written by Natalys Ilin, who exposed the inefficient economic policies, nepotism, and corruption reigning in Soviet publishing houses. The program agreed with Ilin's interpretation that the publishing circles are afraid of losing their privileges during Gorbachev's restructuring campaign. An RLR Research Report was used.

11. Religion. RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Szydlowski, NY 7:30) reviewed the posthumous book The Religion of the Revolution and the Destruction of Culture, in which the emigre religious thinker Vladimir Ilin argued that the materialism of Marxist-Leninism on which the Soviet revolution was based is anathema to culture. USSR TOPICS (Nazarov, NY 9) then reflected

on the initial steps made toward democratization in the Soviet Union, stressing that the basic tenets of democracy were founded on Christian beliefs and continue to depend on them for its subsistence.

12. History. On the occasion of the recent announcement of Georgy Malenkov's death at the age of 86, THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Levin, M 6:30) reviewed the prominent role of Stalin's right-hand man in the terror of the 1930s and 1940s and traced the his subsequent political career up to his loss of party membership and early retirement under Khrushchev.

USSR TOPIC (Nikolayev, M 5) continued leafing through old Russian newspapers, this time quoting from Pravda from 1 February 1928 in which Nadezhda Krupskaya criticized Korney Chukovsky's tale for children The Crocodile as being utter nonsense and not to be recommended for children. The program was reminded of similar sentiments attacked in an article in Literaturnaya Gazeta from January 20 which defended the imaginative and playful element in children's literature.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

1. Eastern Europe. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Perouansky, M 6) surveyed the different impact Gorbachev's policies are having in Eastern Europe. While democratic alternatives to the communist party are being sought in Hungary and Bulgaria is concentrating on solely economic and administrative reforms, Romania has seen a wave of protests and strikes protesting the people's dire material situation. The program stressed that the solidarity with the Romanian people expressed by human rights advocates in Hungary and Czechoslovakia can prove a very powerful force and suggested a new slogan, "human rights advocates of all countries unite."

2. Poland. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Belotserkovsky, M 14:30) backgrounded the latest price increases in Poland, and drew attention to the highly selective reporting in the Soviet press. This was followed by RL telephone interviews with Solidarity's foreign representatives Jerzy Milewski and Johanna Pilarska in Brussels in which they spoke of Solidarity's readiness to direct any manifestation of public protest, and fight for adequate compensation for the price increases. They referred to demonstrations and strikes in Warsaw and other cities, and described the inadequate compensation offered by the government as a mere ersatz for reforms.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanov, P 5:30) summed up the French press' criticism that these price increases are counterproductive, the sole exception being the communist party newspaper l'Humanite, which approved of them. The program noted the parallels drawn to Soviet restructuring and remarked that the working population always has to pay for the failure of

economic policies in which they have no say. Le Figaro, Liberation, Le Quotidien de Paris, and Le Monde, all of February 1, were cited.

3. The GDR. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gordin, M 5) described the spread of protest in the country due to the arrests of various dissidents involved in the January 17 demonstration, quoting passages from a protest letter signed by East German cultural figures and referring to the solidarity of the Evangelical Church and West Germany's condemnation of the government's actions. The Sueddeutsche Zeitung, Die Welt, the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, and a report from the dpa, all of February 1, were used.

4. Czechoslovakia. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fotiyev, M 5:30) backgrounded the recent letter signed by Czech Catholics demanding more autonomy for their Church, noting the stalemate between the Czechoslovakian government and the pope, and the growing number of Church members.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The Middle East. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 4) summed up the French press reports on peace initiatives to regulate the Arab-Israeli conflict, in particular in connection with the visits to France of Egyptian President Mubarak and Jordan's King Hussein. Le Monde, Le Figaro, and The International Herald Tribune, all from February 1, were cited.

2. Cambodia. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Tarasenkov, W 4:30) commented that Prince Sihanouk's recent resignation from the coalition of Cambodian resistance forces may jeopardize the future of negotiations on national reconciliation. The Washington Post from January 31 and Western news agencies were cited.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

1. The US. THE US TODAY (Rubin and Dovlatov, NY 27:30) reported on three recent examples of public influence on the news media which demonstrate the traditional American support of the underdog (in particular, minorities) and then commented on the wide variety of restaurants in the US and their important role in the American way of life.

2. Religion. RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Akesenov-Meyerson, NY 7:30) cited facts and figures on the strength and activities of the Christian mission throughout the world in 1987.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Tuesday, 2 February 1988
J. Benson

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Soviet-US Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 5) explained the different positions of the US and the USSR on the eve of the UN Geneva conference on banning chemical weapons. The Soviets' readiness to compromise was attributed to their desire to stop American production of binary chemical weapons.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, M 5:30) backgrounded two recent cases of Americans who emigrated to the Soviet Union. The program suggested that the extensive Soviet coverage of these cases recalled the proverbial last straw clutched by a drowning person. A TASS report of January 29 was cited.

2. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 7) and THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Levin and Bensi, M 5:30), pegged to UN mediator Cordovez's visit to Kabul, looked at the diplomatic situation regarding Afghanistan, and said that a certain optimism is possible. Although the Geneva talks have two weak points, namely the fact that they are based on the tacit assumption that Afghanistan is a victim of aggression originating on Pakistani territory, and the fact that the main sides involved, namely the USSR and the Mujahidin, are not participating, Cordovez hinted at the possibility of the Mujahidin playing a role in a peaceful settlement. The program cited a Soviet official in Kabul by the name of Ozhegov as apparently having told foreign diplomats that if there was a bloodbath in Afghanistan following a Soviet troop withdrawal, then it would be an Afghan, not a Soviet problem.

3. USSR - China. In a review of the Soviet press, THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 1) mentioned the various reports on the end of the first meeting to solve the Chinese-Russian border disagreement, noting that the long deadlock was broken by Gorbachev's Vladivostok speech in 1986.

4. Dissidents and Human Rights. HUMAN RIGHTS (Shragin, NY 12:30) charged that the KGB, which the program said is the main agent guilty of violating human rights in the Soviet Union, is still exempt from glasnost and restructuring and gave examples

of the obstacles, threats and chicanery it used to prevent domestic and foreign participation in the international seminar on humanitarian problems organized by the Press Club Glasnost in Moscow on December 10, 1987. The program said that until this machine is demolished, human rights will continue to be violated. Articles in Sovetskaya Rossiya and Moskovske Novosti were cited.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Matusevich, M 3:30) suspected that the Soviets did not reap the political advantages they expected by broadcasting live on the first program on February 1 a discussion between Fedor Burlatsky, the Chairman of the Soviet Commission for International Cooperation on Humanitarian Questions and Human Rights, and Ralph Sten, President of the Norwegian Parliament and a delegate of the International Helsinki Federation currently in Moscow. The program said Burlatsky cut a poor figure in comparison with Sten, who gave pointed, unsolicited criticism about the progress and tempo of change in human rights in the Soviet Union.

Reviewing the Soviet press, THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 2) approved publication in issue 4, Literaturnaya Rossiya of readers' letters advocating that victims of the misuse of psychiatry be rehabilitated, however recalled that a harsher stance was taken during Brezhnev's times.

5. Emigration Policy. HUMAN RIGHTS (Kaminskaya, W 8) criticized the illegality of the state's requirement that close relatives of a potential emigre give a notarized disclaimer of any obligations as a prerequisite for granting emigration. The program emphasized that only a court can legally decide the absence or presence of legitimate claims, not the relatives who, as shown in an individual case, can have ulterior motives. Moreover, since the laws formulate familial obligations, they must also protect the citizen's rights to pay off such obligations in advance.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gladilin, P 7:30) then backgrounded the exceptional emigration status of the film director Andron Konchalovsky, who worked many years abroad, kept his Soviet passport, and was recently welcomed back. The program wondered when the works of former Soviet citizens working abroad will return to the Soviet Union or their names be mentioned. Passages from Konchalovsky's interview in Literaturnaya Gazeta from January 20 were cited.

6. Restructuring. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 12:30) broadcast an abridged translation of the article by Adam Michnik, one of the leaders of Solidarity, in which he said Gorbachev's main dilemma is having to preserve the party's monopoly while disrupting it. As regards prospects for success, Michnik stressed that the many unsolved issues indicate a general crisis in world communism. The Washington Post from January 31 was cited.

7. The Leadership. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 11:30) broadcast the shorthand notes of the original speech given by the former Moscow Committee chairman Yeltsin on 21 October 1987 before the plenary session of the Central Committee. The program emphasized it could not vouch for the complete authenticity of the speech which cost Yeltsin his post. The French translation of the speech published in Le Monde on February 2 was cited.

8. The Economy. ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Krasin, W 14) cited passages from the two volume study by the joint US congressional committee on economics which analyzed the 1988 prospects of Gorbachev's plans to restructure the Soviet economy. Among other things it was mentioned that the Soviet living standard is three times lower than the American standard, the Soviet Union is seven to 12 years behind the US in technology and despite signs of increased realism in the current five-year plan, realization of the plan will take at least 10 to 15 years.

9. Society. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Tolz, M 5) discussed the controversial article in Pravda from February 1 which treated Pamyat, the Press Club Glasnost, and the "Democracy and Humanism" seminar as examples of political extremism, drawing attention to the different Soviet reactions in TASS and Moscow radio. The program suggested that the article's veiled threat to use legal force if necessary against the latter two groups is due to their independence and the party's lack of control over them.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gordin, M 8) condemned the inhumanity expressed in an article in the Latvian party newspaper, Sovetskaya Molodezh, and readers' reactions agreeing that women alcoholics should be prevented from bearing children. The program contrasted this view with Western attitudes on individual human rights and said that the concept of mercy has been extirpated from the Soviet soul and language. Sovetskaya Molodezh articles from 13 October 1987 and January 21 were cited.

10. Industrial Espionage. ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Mirsky, P 6:30), a RERUN from January 29, reported on the COCOM session in Versailles, and the discovery of a network of businessmen in Versailles who were illegally exporting high technology to the USSR.

11. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Matusevich, M 30), a RERUN from February 1, broadcast the second part of the interview conducted with director Mark Sakharov and actors Oleg Jankovsky and Alexander Abdulov from the Lenin Komsomol Theater during the recent Moscow Theater Days in Munich.

12. Place Names. Reviewing the Soviet press, THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 1) cited two readers' letters appearing

in Literaturnaya Rossiya and Nedelya on the move to rename towns and kolkhozes, disagreeing with one irate reader that the names "Path of Communism" and "Lenin's Path" were inappropriate for dilapidated, forsaken kolkhozes. These names, said the program, are appropriate, for they reflect the quagmire in which such paths end.

13. Religion. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Rahr, M 9) commented on the noncommittal vagaries expressed by the Head of the Council for Religious Affairs, Konstantin Kharchev, in a speech commemorating the 70th anniversary of Lenin's decree on the separation of church and state. The program approved of Kharchev's call for a "return to Lenin," if he means Lenin's constitution of 1918, which allowed freedom of religious and antireligious propaganda to all citizens. Izvestia of February 2, Nauki i Religiya from December 1987, and Pravda from January 22 were cited.

14. History. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 2) continued leafing through old newspapers, this time citing an article in Pravda from 2 January 1918 which presented the Bolshevik view of the events connected with the confiscation of church property from the Kiev Pecherska Lavra Monastery.

FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 29:30) broadcast the 24th installment of Utopia in Power: The History of the Soviet Union from 1917 until the Present by Soviet emigre historians Mikhail Geller and Alexander Nekrich.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 6:30), a RERUN from February 1, reviewing Georgy Malenkov's role in Soviet history on the occasion of the announcement of his recent death.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

1. Eastern Europe. HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 7) gave details on the unprecedented joint protest on February 1 of human rights advocates in Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and the Soviet Union against the repression in Romania, and pointed to the growing ties between human rights advocates in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union over the past year and a half.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanov, P 6) reported on the international day of solidarity with the Romanian people in Budapest, Moscow, Prague, and Warsaw on February 1, citing an RFE interview with Polish activists and articles from the French press of February 2.

2. Poland. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Chinaurov, M 6) attributed the recent extreme price increases in Poland to the long history of arbitrary methods and disregard of economic laws, which began with Soviet control. An RFE telephone interview with Lech

Walesa was cited in which he said the main reason for Poland's economic failure is the absence of pluralism. Noting that the Soviet Union was closely observing the situation in Poland in order to make course corrections on their own reforms, the program hoped that despite a similar absence of pluralism in the USSR its future would not be the same as Poland's. The Washington Post was cited.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Levin and Belotserkovsky, M 7) discussed the latest drastic price increases in Poland. An RFE telephone interview with Walesa was included in which he expressed satisfaction over the public's restrained reaction. The program said that the Polish authorities deceived the public insofar as the latter rejected a referendum proposal for economic reforms involving such price increases. The program suggested that the restrained reaction by Walesa and his supporters to the latest price increases could be due to a realization that the public is now too tired to protest, or to a desire not to hamper Gorbachev's restructuring campaign.

3. The GDR. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 4:30) quoted passages from an interview with Guenther Grass published in the Sueddeutsche Zeitung from February 1, in which the author criticized the East German arrests of protesters in the Liebknecht/Luxemburg march and opined that literature has little impact on political reality.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. US-Nicaragua. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 5) summed up the main points of President Reagan's recent TV speech in which he appealed to Congress to approve funds to aid the anti-Sandinist forces in Nicaragua.

2. Western Industrial Countries. ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Dreyer, W 7:30) reviewed the general economic developments in the Western industrial countries during 1987 and quoted prognoses that 1988 will be a "boring" year economically, i.e., a year of smooth progress and gradual growth of the population's material wellbeing.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

1. Science and Technology. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY TODAY (Muslin, NY 27:30) highlighted new developments which included the breeding of miniature cows, the threat posed by accumulating cosmic debris, the inventions of a Japanese oven that automatically bakes bread and the world's smallest microphone,

the search for the ideal model of a new artificial heart, and two American explorers' expeditions to the North and South poles as well as Thor Heyerdahl's plans to excavate temples in northern Peru to gather more information on early civilization's sea routes.

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RADIO FREE EUROPE
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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Wednesday, 3 February 1988
J. Benson

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Soviet-US Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 4) summed up the discussions taking place in the Pentagon, the Department of Defense, and the Senate about 160 additional intermediate- and short-range missiles (SS-20s) which Western specialists calculate the USSR possesses but did not claim when providing figures for the INF Treaty. The program doubted that this discrepancy will change the general consensus of opinion in the US in favor of the treaty's ratification, since most specialists reasoned that the USSR could neither test nor use the missiles without jeopardizing its credibility.

USSR TOPICS (Predtechevsky, M 8:30) noted that the crass difference between the debates in the American Senate on the INF Treaty and the Soviet amateurish performance of democracy. The program expressed the opinion that one of the first steps in democratizing Soviet society must be the development of real legislative power to the Supreme Soviet, whose members must be elected by the people. Otherwise, the program continued, the Supreme Soviet will remain a decorative assembly whose only power is deciding whether to raise the left or right hand to vote the way the party dictates. Similar opinions were said to have appeared in articles in Sovetskaya Kultura from January 26.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 4) commented on the upcoming meeting in Bern, Switzerland between US Defense Secretary Carlucci and Soviet Defense Minister Yazov, noting the broad range of topics up for discussion and common technological positions. The program expressed the hope that the two superpowers would also draw closer psychologically so as to guarantee peace.

2. Afghanistan. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 10:30) contrasted two images of the war in Afghanistan, the official romanticized image expressed in a commentary in Pravda from February 3 and the officially unaccepted, naturalistic image reflected in essays based on a soldier's short stories which were submitted for publication to Yunost but rejected on the

grounds they were "politically and morally unsubstantial." The letter from fellow-soldiers protesting the rejection was published in the December issue of the Frankfurt-based emigre journal Posev.

3. USSR-Africa. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Paramonov, NY 7) sketched the main points of an article in The Economist from January 30, in which the failure of the Soviet's African policy in Ethiopia, Angola, and Mozambique was elucidated.

4. Joint Enterprises. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Chianurov, M 6) discussed the political, economic, and military reasons for the limited number of Western firms involved in joint enterprises in the Soviet Union. The program predicted more firms will participate if the Soviets remove the stipulation that 51 percent of the capital and thus control remains in Soviet hands.

5. Dissidents and Human Rights. HUMAN RIGHTS (Fedoseyev, M 12:30) commented on the article on individual rights which appeared in Sovetskaya Kultura from January 26, noting in particular that samizdat articles and writers from the 1960s and 1970s had influenced the author's ideas on the two main obstacles to Soviet democracy: the numerous nonformal laws and the widespread fear and inertia. The program agreed with the author that an understanding of freedom as "everything not forbidden by law" would drastically change Soviet society.

RUSSIA YESTERDAY, TODAY, AND TOMMORROW (Tolz, M 18) broadcast the article written by formal political prisoner Aleksandr Feldman. While he condoned the openness expressed on this taboo topic by Olga Chaykovskaya in an article in Literaturnaya Gazeta, Feldman corrected the journalist's false impression that Soviet prisons and camps were constructed only in the past, listing those built during the last three Secretary-Generals' reigns and noting their increasing number.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 4:30) reported on the expressions of solidarity in the French press for the Estonian linguist and activist Heiki Ahonen, who was rearrested after an interview with French television in which he made statements critical of the Warsaw Pact and Soviet involvement in Afghanistan. Liberation from February 3, an AFP report from February 2, and Le Monde of February 3 were cited.

6. The Emigration. On AT THE BOOKSHELF (Yurenen, M 27:30), a RERUN from 22 May 1987, Soviet emigre writer Sergey Yurenen read the second installment of his largely autobiographical book A Party of Angels.

7. Society. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Belotserkovsky, M 9:30) sharply attacked the pre-restructuring publicistic style and tenor of Vladimir Petrov's article in Pravda from February 1, which the program said undermined the otherwise justified criticism of the chauvinistic, anti-Semitic organization Pamyat. The program

suggested that the author's inability to differentiate between the illegal acts of Pamyat and the perfectly legal activity of the two independent human-rights oriented groups, Glasnost and the Democracy and Humanism seminar, was an attempt to slander the latter two by association. Other articles in Komsomolskaya Pravda from 24 June 1987 and Sovetskaya Kultura from 10 December 1987 were cited which contradicted the article's image of Pamyat as the aberration of a few extremists. The program wondered how Pamyat always received the best public meeting rooms, while the other two groups consistently had problems in getting meeting rooms.

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Bensi, M 8:30 and Shapiro, Isr. 12), a RERUN from January 27, discussed the unofficial Pamyat association. The program said that at the beginning, the new society was welcomed in that it addressed itself to important problems concerning Russia's cultural legacy, but subsequently it became chauvinist, speaking of a "Jewish-Freemason plot," etc.

HUMAN RIGHTS (Fedoseyev, M 8) read a samizdat document (AS-6128) from July 1987 which said the source of the current stagnation and backwardness of Soviet society is its cult of secrecy. The author traced the historical roots of this cult, showing its permeation into state and bureaucracy, and suggested that only in the distant future will the true extent of its destructive influence be measurable.

8. The Judiciary. HUMAN RIGHTS (Kaminskaya, W 7) agreed with the author of the article published in Sozialisticheskaya Zakonnost, No. 9, that the public prosecutors should focus on individual firms, organizations, and the bureaucracy in order to promote restructuring, but disagreed that their inefficacy is due to poor training and insufficient knowledge of modern economics and labor laws. The program stressed that the main problem is their dependence on local authorities and party organs.

9. Yeltsin's Speech. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanov, P 5:30) backgrounded the publication in Le Monde of a stenographed text of the speech allegedly given by the former Moscow party boss, Yeltsin, before the CPSU CC last October, which Soviet Press Spokesman Gerasimov recently claimed is a falsification. The program defended the French newspaper from charges of calumny, emphasizing that the Soviets' own secrecy about Yeltsin's speech and his dismissal is the real cause of rumors and distrust. News dispatches from the AP and Reuter as well as an article in Le Monde from February 1 were cited.

10. The Nationalities. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin and Soldatov, M 6:30) discussed how Gorbachev's restructuring policy is exacerbating national aspirations in Estonia, in particular noting the repressive reactions of local authorities to the recently founded National Independent Party and a planned

demonstration to mark the 48th anniversary of the Soviet-Estonian treaty of 1940 guaranteeing Estonian sovereignty.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Oganessian, M 5) backgrounded the long chairmanship of the Armenian Writers' Union by Vardkes Petrosian, whose recent replacement was attributed to his tardy criticism of Karen Demirjian, Secretary-General of the Armenian CP, when attacked by Gorbachev for impeding restructuring in the republic. A brief sketch of the new chairman, the poet Grachya Oganessian, was given. Tass from February 2 and Izvestia were cited.

11. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Yurenen, M 30) featured recordings of papers delivered by Soviet playwright Mikhail Shatrov and Soviet theater critic Anatoly Smelyansky at a symposium on the subject of the theater and restructuring in the USSR held in Munich on January 23 during the Moscow Theater Days in the Bavarian capital.

12. Religion. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fotiyev, M 4:30) approved of the plan of an independent group of Orthodox believers to celebrate the upcoming millennium of the Christianization of Russia with an unofficial seminar on this topic, a special church service, and the collection of signatures on a petition calling for the release of prisoners of conscience. The program said this will counter the official misuse of the anniversary to create the false impression that there is religious freedom in the Soviet Union. An AP report of February 2 and an article in Izvestia of January 27 were cited.

13. History. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, M 4:30) acknowledged the USSR's progress in filling in many blank spots in its history, mentioning in particular the appearance of Trotsky in Shatrov's play The Peace of Brest-Litovsk and the plan to include several historical figures expunged from the books for 30 to 50 years in the upcoming issue of the Military Encyclopedia, in particular Beria. However, the program wondered when Lenin's role in founding the Soviet system will be objectively examined. An article from Sovetskaya Rossia from January 28 was cited.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Paramonov, NY 5:30) reviewed the necrologue for Georgy Malenkov which was published in The New York Times on February 2 and stressed Malenkov's role as instigator of political change and source of the policy of peaceful coexistence after Stalin's death. The program cited the AP telephone interview with Roy Medvedev who shed light on the competition between Khrushchev and Malenkov.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 4) continued leafing through old newspapers, this time reading two newstories in Pravda from 3 February 1918 and 3 February 1968, both of which exemplified the disparity between the portrayal of events

and historical truth. The program then read two letters from Soviet readers published, respectively, in Ogonek, No. 4, and Moskovske Novosti, No. 5, which expressed confusion and dissatisfaction at the current ongoing reevaluation of past heroes and traitors. After citing evidence for the reevaluation of Lysenko and Vavilov, the program commiserated with the readers on the difficulty of keeping one's balance considering the many changes in the party line.

In RUSSIA YESTERDAY, TODAY AND TOMORROW (Geller, P 8:30) emigre historian Mikhail Geller continued his review of the history of the Soviet security organs.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

1. The GDR. Citing various West German newspapers from February 3, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gordin, M 7) summed up the latest events connected with the protest march on January 17 in East Germany, stressing the expulsion of the folksinger Stefan Krawczyk and his wife to the FRG, and quoted a statement of the President of the East German PEN club, Heinz Kaminzer, expressing the hardening anti-dissident position of the government. The program noted the similarity of letters published in the East German newspaper Neues Deutschland from February 2 supporting the government position and letters found in Soviet newspapers.

2. Romania and Hungary. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Krimerman, M 5) highlighted the statements of Budapest intellectuals and the human rights group "Free Romania" who protested the Hungarian government's recent decision to start deporting Romanian fugitives illegally in Hungary to Romania. The program doubted the efficacy of one proposal that all Romanians turn off their electricity for three minutes to protest against government policies, since they generally live in darkness anyway.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. East-West Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 4:30) quoted statements made by the Secretary-General of NATO Lord Carrington and FRG Defense Minister Lothar Ruehl that although relations with the Soviet Union have improved, the West must be prepared for any exigencies, especially in view of the aggressive Soviet military strategy throughout the years. Until the contradiction between Gorbachev's new thinking and this characteristic strategy is resolved, the program said, tensions will remain in Europe. A CND report and a Die Welt article of February 3 were cited.

2. The Middle East. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Muslin, NY 4) summed up the new American proposal to mediate indirect negotiations on some form of autonomy for the Palestinians as a step toward

peace negotiations. New York Times articles of February 2 and 3 were cited.

3. Terrorism. DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Gorbanevskaya, P 7), a RERUN from January 27, reviewed a book by Michel Vevourcas and Dominique Walton which examines the way in which terrorists exploit the media.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

None

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RADIO FREE EUROPE
RADIO LIBERTY

RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Thursday, 4 February 1988
K. Laur

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. US-Soviet Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Tarasenko, W 4:30) reviewed the continuing US Congressional hearings connected with ratifying the INF treaty. The program drew on an article in The Los Angeles Times of February 3 and another in The Washington Post of February 4 and analyzed the testimony of a number of prominent politicians, among them five former US Defence Ministers - Weinberger, MacNamara, Richardson, Schlesinger, and Brown. Generally, they supported ratification of the treaty.

2. Restructuring. DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 26:30) read excerpts of an article by Boris Kagarlitsky, member of the council of the Club of Social Initiatives and coordinator of the Federation of Socialist Social Clubs, titled "Glasnost, Literature, Press...". The program depicted how the restructuring has changed the situation in the Soviet news media and the literary scene. Even once-conservative newspapers and magazines have started regularly publishing very courageous material, books have been published which had been banned, and samizdat is flourishing more than ever.

3. Society. DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE and THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyeva, M 4) looked at the meetings of informal social groups at the end of January in Moscow with special emphasis on the regional meeting of the Federation of the Socialist Social Clubs. The program used an article in Komsomolskaya Pravda of January 31, another in Pravda of February 1 and two articles in US newspapers, The Los Angeles Times and The Chicago Tribune of February 4 and illustrated how Soviet officials are still unable to tolerate independent social activities and tried to discredit the social club movement in slanderous articles. Worst of all, the coordinator of the Federation of Socialist Social Clubs, Boris Kagarlitsky, was attacked. The program used samizdat material (AS-6136).

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Belotserkovsky, M 10) highlighted the activities of the pro-fascist movement in the Soviet Union focusing on its champion, the notorious Pamyat organization.

The Service stressed that the whole movement is evidently copying the working methods of the German Nazis, trying to achieve the same goal as their historical model - to keep society in terror. The program speculated that the whole movement must have been initiated by the military-industrial complex which is afraid of losing its power through the liberalization of the society and consolidation of the working class and intelligentsia. The same phenomenon occurred in Poland, the program mentioned, where, at the beginning of 1980s, the Gruenwald group called for a purge in Solidarity of non-Polish elements.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD and EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Vishnevskaya, M 5:30) noted that the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR declared that proposals and complaints of citizens based on anonymous letters will not be considered in the future. On February 2 a corresponding clause was added to the Law on the Procedure for Consideration of Citizens' Proposals, Complaints, and Statements. The Service stressed the immense ethical damage the practice of writing anonymous complaints had wreaked in Soviet society.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 4) highlighted some articles in the Soviet press. Sovetskaya Belorussia of January 28 looked at the difficulties connected with preparing documents for a visit to Western countries. Neditsinskaya Gazeta of January 29 denounced doctors who took bribes for curing alcoholics. Pravda of February 4 reported on the plenum of the CC of the Kazak CP citing the speech by the new secretary general of the Kazak CP, Gennady Kolbin.

MAN AND SOCIETY (Voronitsyn, M 5) mentioned that it seems that in the era of glasnost statistical data can be published without censorship. The Service looked at the serious damage the Soviet habit of keeping all sorts of statistics secret has caused for Soviet science.

4. The Economy. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD and EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin and Kroncher, M 4) reported that Ivan Ivanov, the head of the Soviet delegation at the Davos World Economic Forum made a statement that the Soviet Union wants to make its rouble convertible by the middle of the 1990s. The program came to the conclusion that it is an absolutely unavoidable measure for a country like the Soviet Union but stressed that as a precondition information about the state of the Soviet economy should be made accessible for anyone interested.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Levin and Kroncher, M 6:30) assessed the proposal made by Nikolay Shmelyov in Moskovske Novosti to sell stock in enterprises to the workers of those enterprises. The program mentioned that in the present Soviet situation it would mean extra pressure on the workers.

MAN AND SOCIETY (Belotserkovsky, M 8:30), a RERUN from 18 December 1987, discussed the results of the development and the general state of individual service cooperatives and small-scale commodity production enterprises.

MAN AND SOCIETY (Shapiro, M 6:30) reported on an article in Izvestia of October 1987 by the State Committee for Statistics highlighting the family budget of an average Soviet family. As a result of this article, the newspaper's office received so many indignant readers' letters, that the 19 December 1987 edition published another, rather critical article by the editorial board on this topic, actually apologizing for publishing the first article. But even the second article did not give any serious reasons for the extremely low earnings of the Soviet people, the Service stated.

5. Agriculture. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Chianurov, M 4:30) highlighted the Soviet-American symposium dealing with the problems of Soviet agriculture which took place in Cambridge at the end of January. The Service using a Reuter dispatch of February 3 cited Marshall Goldman, the deputy Director of the Center for Soviet Studies at Harvard University, who assessed the reform of Soviet agriculture as the key to the success of all Gorbachev's other reforms.

6. History. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD and EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Tolz, M 4) reviewed a documentary dedicated to Sergey Kirov. The Service noted that the director did not make any effort to explain the murder of Kirov despite the current campaign of filling in the blank spots of history. The movie also depicted the whole epoch very tendentiously - the shots chosen by the director did not even hint at the difficulties of the period.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Gregory, M 4) reported on the death of Georgy Malenkov on January 14 and his funeral at Kuntsevo cemetery. The Service used an AP dispatch of February 3 stressing the fact that the leadership did not notify the Soviet people of the death of Malenkov and did not let him be buried with the other party leaders of his generation. One of the reasons might have been that his party membership was never restored after he was expelled from the party in 1961. It seems, the program mentioned, that the Soviet news media has still not get rid of all its taboos.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 3:30), continuing to leaf through old Soviet newspapers, cited the text, published in Pravda of 4 February 1918, after the Soviet of the Peoples' Commissars had issued the Decree on Freedom of Conscience on 2 February 1918 regulating religious life in the Soviet Union. The program also cited Pravda of 4 February 1938 reviewing the military patriotic movie The Deep Raid.

FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 29:30) broadcast the third installment of Soviet emigre scholar Mark Popovsky's book The

Vavilov Affair about the Soviet academician who fell victim to Stalin's repressions and died in 1943.

7. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Yurenen and Faibusovich, M 28) continued to deal with the Moscow Theatre days in Munich. The program carried excerpts from speeches at the Soviet-German theatre symposium on January 23 by Chief Producer of the Yermolova Theatre, Valery Fokin, Chief Producer of the Lenin Komsomol Theatre, Mark Zakharov, actor and director Oleg Tabakov, and theatre specialist, Alexander Svobodin. The program highlighted the situation and role of studio theatres - a Soviet equivalent of Western "little" theatre - in present Soviet theatre life.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Gregory, M 2) mentioned that hopes for organizing private and cooperative publishing in the Soviet Union turned out to be elusive. The program was based on an AP dispatch of February 3 saying that this decision might be connected with the present campaign in the Soviet press against informal groups.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

1. Poland. ROUNDTABLE TALK (Bensi and Kroncher, M 6) assessed the importance of the price rises of February 1 for the Polish economy. The program came to the conclusion that the real problem is the general crisis of socialist economies which became especially serious at the beginning of the 1980s and that the solution can only be a political one.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanova, P 4:30) looked at the French press coverage of Polish events. Drawing on articles in Le Quotidien de Paris and Le Figaro of February 4 and in Le Monde of February 3 the Service reported on protests in Poland against the dramatic price rises. The program also noted that on February 3 Wajda, the best-known Polish film director called the ideas of Solidarity "immortal" at a press conference in Paris.

2. The GDR. ROUNDTABLE TALK (Bensi and Gordin, M 7) looked at the present political situation in the GDR with special emphasis on the demonstration of January 17, after which more than one 100 detained activists were expelled to West Germany. The program noted that a TASS dispatch of February 3 called this demonstration a provocation by "by certain West German political circles" who do not like the policy of detente. The program also stressed that the East German leadership evidently do not intend to introduce any kind of reforms, to say nothing of political openness or restructuring.

3. Romania. ROUNDTABLE TALK (Bensi, Gordin, and Kroncher, M 3) discussed the report that the Eastern European dissident

movements under the leadership of the Czechoslovak Charter 77 proclaimed February 1 a day of solidarity with the Romanian people.

4. Bulgaria. ROUNDTABLE TALK (Bensi and Kroncher, M 4) mentioned that at the conference of the Bulgarian CP, Todor Zhivkov, the long-time leader of the BCP, made a proposal to limit the future terms of office of the party leadership to two or three five-year periods.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The US. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 3:30) noted that on February 3 the US House of Representatives rejected President Reagan's request for new aid to the Nicaraguan Contras. The program looked at the reasons why the Democratic Party was against this request. The program was based on an article in The Washington Post of February 4.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Muslin, NY 4) dealt with the fate of the Hartford nuclear reactor. The program summarized an article in The New York Times of February 2 mentioning that the reactor which was shut down in December 1986 will evidently not be used any more.

2. France. MAN AND SOCIETY (Salkazanov, P 7:30), a RERUN from January 26, rebutted an article in the January 24 edition of Moskovske Novosti claiming that many Frenchmen were dying of hunger.

3. Angola. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD and EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Tarasenkov, W 4:30) mentioned that Angola and Cuba have come to an agreement to withdraw Cuban troops from Angola. The program was based on an article in The Washington Post of February 2 and gave a short history of the conflict in this region and noted that now there is a real chance for a peaceful settlement of the Angolan problem.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

None

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RADIO FREE EUROPE
RADIO LIBERTY

RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Friday, 5 February 1988
J. Benson

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Soviet-Indian Relations. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Levin and Predtechevsky, M 9:30) discussed the implications for stability in the Indian sub-continent of the USSR's furnishing of atomic-powered submarines to India. RL's military specialist also analyzed the balance of power in Europe between NATO and Warsaw Pact forces and rebutted recent Soviet claims that NATO has achieved superiority in many areas of conventional weapons in the European theater.

2. Human Rights. IN DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Alekseyeva, M 8) one of the founders of the Moscow Helsinki Group said her hopes for cooperation between the newly established Commission for International Cooperation on Humanitarian Problems and Human Rights under Prof. Burlatsky and human rights activists in the spirit of glasnost had been dashed by the commission's claim to be the first social group in the USSR to involve itself with human rights. The government's attempt to prevent the seminar on human rights held in Moscow in December and its refusal to participate was also seen as a bad omen. Articles in Izvestia from 30 November 1987 and TASS and Sovetskaya Rossiya of 3 December 1987 were cited.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyev, M 4:30) considered the main value of the International Human Rights Symposium, which took place in Venice on February 3, to be the open and frank discussions on human rights between a broad international spectrum of participants, especially emigre human rights advocates and Soviet representatives. In particular, the program drew attention to statements made by members of the Soviet delegation which suggest that the USSR now considers civil and political rights just as significant as socioeconomic rights and no longer projects an image of an atheist country.

IN DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Feorov, M 7:30) a former fellow prisoner of the poet Yury Litvin, one of the leaders of the Helsinki Movement in the USSR, gave details on Litvin's last day in camp and the reasons why he believed Litvin was murdered.

3. The Nationalities. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Belotserkovsky, M 5) criticized the TASS communication from January 4 on the meeting of a state commission on the problems of the Crimean Tatars as not only being too vague but at the same time aluding to anti-Tatar propaganda regarding their alleged wish to return to the Crimea. The program concluded that no fundamental changes have as yet taken place in the authorities' reactions to the Crimean Tatars and their demands.

JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Fedoseyeva and Roitman, M 9:30), a RERUN from January 29, cited Western sources by way of amplifying a Komsomolskaya Pravda report on the case of 73-year-old pensioner Naum Nemchenko, found murdered in his Leningrad apartment last September 27. The program wondered why the newspaper attacked two Soviet Jewish refuseniks, Semen Frumkin and Nikita Demin, who drew the attention of investigating officials to the possibility of Nemchenko's having been murdered out of revenge by young members of unofficial associations in whose anti-Semitic activities Nemchenko had been taking an interest.

JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Sirotnin, NY 10) marked the 40th anniversary of the slaying in Minsk of prominent Soviet Jewish actor Solomon Mikhoels, which signified the beginning of Stalin's anti-Jewish campaign. The program quoted Mikhoels' daughter Natalia Mikhoels-Vovsi, Stalin's daughter Svetlana Alliluyeva, the late Soviet Jewish actor Veniamin Zuskin, and a poem by poet Perets Markish, and concluded with a voice cut from one of Solomon Mikhoels' performances. Audio Section material was used. The program was a RERUN from January 29.

4. The Nationalities. DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Seitmuratova, NY 7:30) first backgrounded the demands of the Crimean Tatars to return to the Crimea and elucidated the recent unpromising announcement by TASS on this question. Then the program gave details on recent Tatar protests in major cities of Uzbekistan in support of Tatar activists who were still suffering from injuries or imprisoned because they participated in the seminar on human rights held in Moscow in December. A Pravda Vostoka article of January 12 and a TASS report were cited.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyev and Strunskis, M 8) discussed an article in Sovetskaya Latvia attacking the Latvian human rights group Helinki 86. The discussants found the charges of anti-Semitism and fascism levelled at the group by the author of the article preposterous, and asked when the group will have access to Soviet newspapers in order to respond to such scurrilous attacks.

5. The Economy. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Paramonov, NY 4:30) quoted several Western economists on the contradiction between official Soviet statements of glasnost and the continuing falsification and citation of irrelevant Soviet statistics allegedly

reflecting the positive results of Gorbachev's restructuring. The first signs of true economic change were predicted to be an initial slowing of the economy, bankruptcy, and unemployment rather than the economic growth now being pointed to. The Wall Street Journal of February 4 was cited.

6. Rehabilitation. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Levin and Tolz, M 5:30) discussed the decision of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to grant posthumous rehabilitation to Bukharin and Rykov who were sentenced to death in the 1930s for "crimes against the people." The program commented that Bukharin's rehabilitation may, in some part, be due to his espousal of economic theories which are currently enjoying a revival in the USSR under Gorbachev.

7. Informal Organizations. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 2) commented on an article in Pravda from February 5 in which a Komsomol official of Krasnoyarsk criticized the vanity of people involved in informal organizations. The program noted that such organizations have arisen in particular among youth who seek something that reflects their own interests, not those of the party.

8. Yeltsin's Speech. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Perouansky, M 5) summed up a report in The Washington Post according to which the different versions of Yeltsin's speech 30 October before the Central Committee of the CP now circulating in Moscow are thought to originate with friends and enemies who, on Yeltsin's behalf, want to influence the plenary session of the Central Committee scheduled to meet in February.

9. The Emigration. OVER THE BARRIERS (Dovlatov, NY 7) discussed the first Soviet article, recently published in Moskovskie Novosti, about the emigre artist, Mikhail Shemyakin. While the article was generally positive about Shemyakin, the program considered its negative picture of an emigre's life in the West to be exaggerated.

10. Literature. ON AT THE BOOKSHELF (Yurenin, M 29:30), a RERUN from 25 May 1987, Soviet emigre writer Sergey Yurenin read the last installment of his documentary-autobiographical book A Party of Angels, published in Strelets, 1987, No. 1, about the difficulties of young writers during the Brezhnev era.

11. Religion. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 2:30) questioned the necessity of atheist propaganda which a letter in Komsomolskoe Znamya from January 29 suggested should be intensified in Kiev. A letter was then read about the need to redress wrongs done to priests, after which the program remarked that more non-party members have been wrongly repressed than the so-called honest communists who are now being posthumously exonerated.

THE MILLENNIUM OF THE CHRISTIANIZATION OF RUSSIA (Rahr, M 29:30), a RERUN from January 29, reported on public references in the USSR, particularly in Ogonek and a subsequent discussion, to the dilapidated state of the Kiev Cave Monastery and the desirability of its being returned to the Russian Orthodox Church. The program featured a telephone interview with religious activist Alexander Ogorodnikov in Moscow in which he read out an appeal by Orthodox believers (Milevsky, Lokhvitskaya, et. al.), and RERUNS from January 9 and 16 of three further appeals.

12. History. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 4:30) continued leafing through old newspapers, this time reading an excerpt from Pravda from 5 February 1918 in which only three days after signing the Decree of Freedom of Conscience the Bolsheviks vilified those protesting their campaign against the Aleksander Nevsky Monastery. Passages from a second article in Pravda from 6 February 1918 were then read about a plan for restructuring the Trotsky-dominated Institute for the History of Science and Technology which has been signed by a brother of the geneticist Vavilov.

13. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Volkov, NY 8) was dedicated to the memory of the illustrious leader of the Leningrad Symphony Orchestra, Evgeny Mravinsky.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

1. Eastern Europe. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 5) said that the talks of State Department Official John Whitehead with both official and opposition groups in Poland, Bulgaria, and Romania opened the possibility of more US economic cooperation depending on improved human rights observance. A CND report of February 4 was used.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Levin and Kroncher, 5:30) examined the enduring crisis in the centralized economies of the CMEA countries. The program commented that the technological gap between the countries of Eastern and Western Europe is increasing and that political reform, not cosmetic economic reforms, lay at the heart of the matter.

2. The GDR. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, M 5:30) read the joint letter from five East European countries, including the USSR, sent to the GDR government to protest repression of the human rights movement in that country and demand the release of arrested demonstrators.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The Middle East. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Tarasenkov, W 4) summed up official and unofficial reports about State Department official Richard Murphy's trip to the Middle East to prepare the American initiative for a peaceful solution to the regional conflict. Washington Post articles from February 4 and 5 were cited.

2. Israel. JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 8) reviewed the major events of the past week in Israel, mentioning the continuing unrest said to be organized by local Arab committees under the leadership of extremists, the American proposal for regulation of the conflict, the continuing trial of the suspected war criminal Demjanjuk, and the third international conference on the history of Polish Jewry held in Jerusalem.

3. The FRG. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Benski, M 5) summed up the main points of the discussion in the West German Bundestag on human rights violations in Eastern Europe and in particular noted the protests in Poland against price increases.

4. Afghanistan-France. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirksy, P 6) reported on the opening of an exhibition in Paris which was organized by friends of the French journalist Alain Guillo condemned in January to ten years imprisonment by the Kabul government for allegedly spying. A government official was quoted as saying that the failure of Afghanistan to release the reporter might lead to a break in diplomatic relations.

5. France-Zaire. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanova, P 5) backgrounded the visit of the President of Zaire to Paris to request increased French military aid in view of Zaire's worsening relations with the communist government of Angola. Le Figaro from February 5, Pravda from 24 December 1987, and a TASS report of February 1 were used.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

1. The US. IN OVER THE BARRIERS (Genis and Vail, NY 16) sketched the delights of the state of Florida besides its climate, mentioning Disneyworld, the Epcott Center of Technical Innovations, Sea World, and Kennedy Space Center, all of which were said to express American optimism and a belief in technological progress.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Saturday, 6 February 1988
J. Benson

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Afghanistan. AFGHANISTAN-88 (Fistejn, H 47:30) interviewed the Polish emigre and fervent adherent of the Muhajidin, Adam "Khan" Kinkler, who told of his personal experience with the Muhajidin in the Panshir Valley and his admiration of their strength and solidarity, and gave a sketch of the legendary leader Massoud as a man, military leader, and strategist. Kinkler was of the opinion that the Muhajidin are opposed to reconciliation initiatives which they perceive as supporting a communist regime in Afghanistan, and he dismissed stories of foreign military advisors as preposterous, stating that foreigners in Afghanistan were mainly journalists, physicians, or those involved in humanitarian projects. As regards the Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan, Kinkler considered them poor and demoralized fighters due to their lack of understanding of the war and the unenviable necessity of defending government troops who prefer to desert rather than to fight. The battle of Khost he considered an artificial and totally useless endeavor.

SIGNAL (Predtechesky, H 2:30) quoted figures of the Rand Corporation and the US Defense Department published in The Wall Street Journal which estimated the war in Afghanistan is costing the Soviet Union trillions of dollars in material costs alone.

2. USSR-India. SIGNAL (Predtechesky, H 3:30) reported that India is leasing and purchasing 50-70 percent of its arms from the Soviet Union to modernize its armed forces and in particular mentioned the delivery of nuclear submarines and the training of Indian soldiers.

3. USSR-Canada-Norway. SIGNAL (Predtechesky, H 5:1) quoted the Defense Ministers of Canada and Norway who expressed concern about Soviet deployment of nuclear missile-laden submarines in the proximity of their countries and cited safety measures being taken.

4. Dissidents and Human Rights. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rahr, H 12:30) described the unusual dialogue between Soviet delegates

among them. The program doubted that the tensions between populace and soldiers could be alleviated by having party activists invite officers to their homes as the GDR Defense Ministry proposed.

WRITERS AT THE MICROPHONE (Gendler, NY 6:30) the emigre writer Sergey Dovlatov expressed his indignation at an article in Pravda from October 24 which bemoaned the dull living conditions of young and middle-rank officers and their families stationed in the provinces. Dovlatov noted that the situation of the whole population of the Soviet Union, not to mention the lower-rank soldiers, is much worse and demanded resolution.

9. Religion. In a celebration of a Church holiday dedicated to the memory of Orthodox saints and martyrs, NOT BY BREAD ALONE (Rahr, H 6:30) recounted the story of how Metropolitan Vladimir of the Kiev Cave Monastery was killed by the Bolsheviks shortly after church property was confiscated. The program (Aksenov-Meyerson, NY 8:30) then sketched the life and work of the Russian Saints Moisey and Nikita, Archbishops of Novgorod, and Yefrem Pecherky, Yfrem Novotorzhsky, and Feodosy Totemsky in honor of their upcoming namesdays.

SUNDAY SERVICE (Kholodnaya, NI 49:30) broadcast a Russian Orthodox Church service.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

None

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The US. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 7) focused on the two main topics of the week in Washington, the defeat of President Reagan's request for aid to the anti-Sandinists and the ongoing hearings in the Senate on the ratification of the INF treaty.

2. US-Third World. SIGNAL (Predtechnevsky, H 7) discussed the success of the portable American missile Stinger in third-world countries, in particular attributing the successful resistance of the Mujahidin in Afghanistan to its use, and reviewed the history of the weapon's development. Passages from an article in The New York Times was cited.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

1. Religion. NOT BY BREAD ALONE (Rahr, H 5) first read the parable of the prodigal son from the Bible and then (Benigsen, NY 9) interpreted it as an expression of fundamental



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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Sunday, 7 February 1988
J. Benson

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Afghanistan. EMBATTLED AFGHANISTAN (Bensi, M 6:30) reviewed the current situation in the Afghanistan peace efforts, highlighting in particular the 11th round of the Geneva talks. The program criticized two weak points of the talks, i.e. the tacit acceptance of the Soviet view that aggression originated outside Afghanistan and the exclusion of the Muhajidin from negotiations.

While noting their reasons to end the war and the concessions the Soviets are willing to make to this end, SOVIET TOPICS (Shapiro, M 10) found unacceptable their stipulation that supplies to the opposition forces must be halted in advance of the pull-out. This, it said, contradicts all experience that communists of whatever country pay attention only to force. An article in Izvestia of 25 December 1987 was cited. Excerpts from an article by the Moscow correspondent for the West German newspaper Sueddeutsche Zeitung (Bernard Kueppers) were then read in which he described a visit with other journalists to Khost after the Soviet's alleged victory and gave a picture of continuing hostility and shooting in contradiction to the Soviet propaganda.

2. Soviet-American Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, M 4:30) summed up US Secretary of State Shultz's speech at the University of Seattle on February 5, in which he touched on the prospects for improved relations with the Soviets as a result of the new thinking in Moscow. While expressing restrained optimism, Shultz stressed the fundamental differences between the two countries and the importance of America maintaining its defense budget, continuing SDI research, and in general remaining alert and flexible.

3. Soviet-Cuban Relations. THE FORTUNES OF SIBERIA (Kushev, M 4) pointed to the 10-year agreement between Cuba and the Soviet Union to develop the lumbering industry in the Siberian taiga as a typical example of the detrimental influence of politics and ideology on economic problems. The program suggested that an

agreement to sell lumber to Japan or South Korea in exchange for hard currency or high technology would have been more advantageous than to sell it to Cuba in exchange for sugar and tobacco.

4. Disarmament. INTERNATIONAL PRESS ABOUT THE SOVIET UNION (Predtechevsky, M 8) broadcast passages from the article by The Guardian's Moscow correspondent Martin Walker who reasoned that agreements on military reductions in Europe are meaningless if not tied to corresponding reductions in Asia.

5. Restructuring. INTERNATIONAL PRESS ABOUT THE SOVIET UNION (Predtechevsky, M 10) read parts of an article published in The Washington Post by the Polish historian and activist Adam Michnik in which he analyzed Gorbachev's dilemma of needing to preserve the power monopoly of the party while at the same time breaking it to realize reforms.

USSR TOPIC (Predtechevsky, M 2) quoted Johan Georg Reismueller's article in the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung newspaper about signs of Gorbachev's slowing down the tempo of restructuring due to increased opposition in the Politburo.

6. Glasnost. DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Shragin, NY 12:30) cited several recent examples of cases where glasnost has led to the formulation of public opinion that differs from party policy, but which is nevertheless ignored, overtly or covertly, in final decisions, for example the construction of the atomic energy plant in Krasnodar. The program charged that while the public has shown itself ripe for democracy, the government continues to recognize only those initiatives with which it agrees. Articles in Literaturnaya Rossiya from 13 November 1987 and 25 December 1987, Gorkovskaya Pravda from 4 October 1987, Trud from 18 December 1987, and Pravda from 27 December 1987 were cited.

7. Human Rights. HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE SOVIET UNION (Shapiro, M 10:30) observed that while the Soviet press is increasingly reporting on cases of innocent citizens punished by officials misusing their positions in the legal, judicial, and party organs, the causes of this "legalized lawlessness" remain unanalyzed. The program blamed the system of rigid dependences within the different organs, especially on party officials at all levels, and the citizen's ingrained submissive relationship to the state for this situation. An article from an October 1987 issue of Izvestia was cited.

USSR TOPIC (Shapiro, M 10) said the average Soviet citizen's indifference to talks about human rights is due to their lacking rights on an everyday level. Not only as consumers but also as voters and workers, the program continued, the average citizen has no rights nor is he informed about those he should have. Articles in Izvestia of 27 November 1987 and December 1987 were cited.

8. The Nomenclatura. THE FORTUNES OF SIBERIA (Krasin, W 6) gave two grandiose examples of misappropriation of public funds and privileges granted to the Siberian nomenclatura, which were said to correspond to the expansiveness of the Siberian character. An expose in Izvestia was quoted.
 9. Siberia. THE FORTUNES OF SIBERIA (Shapiro, M 11) deplored the role that transience (of workers, planning policy, housing, etc.) when combined with general Soviet problems caused by central planning of the economy, plays in the development of Siberia. The resulting exploitation of environment and people was said to be ruining the innate character of the region.
 10. Soviety. OVER THE BARRIERS (Salkazanov, P 4:30) sketched the successful career of Nikolay Chetverikov, who after expulsion from France in 1983 as the head of a suspected spy ring operating from the Soviet Embassy in Paris, now heads the Council on Authors' Rights and propagates Gorbachev's new policies. The monthly Est-Ouest from January 2 was cited as well as TASS from January 18.
 11. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Betaki, P 10) gave a scathing review of issue 12 of Nash Sovremennik, which in contradiction to its name contained contributions from the same old guard, the poet Stanislav Kunyayev, the critic Nikolay Starshinov, and the prose writer Valentin Pikul. The program commented that many of their sentiments recall the 1940s.
- USSR TOPIC (Etkind, P 13:30) sharply criticized the ossified language and thought expressed by the newly appointed director of the Institute for World Literature, Feliks Kuznetsov, in Literaturnaya Gazeta from October 21. Such dead phrases, the program remarked, suggest that nothing has changed, for the new requires new people and a new, living language.
12. History. FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Shlippe, M 29:30) broadcast the fifth in a series of programs on the fate of the geneticist Nikolay Vavilov, this time discussing the moral dilemma of the scientist caught between his desire to work for the future and his need to accommodate the authorities that make such work possible. Passages from Pamyat, No. 2, were cited in which the emigre historian Mark Popovsky talked about his biography The Vavilov Affair and his belief in Vavilov's moral integrity.
- EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Chianurov, M 6:30) backgrounded the roles, the trials, and the posthumous judicial rehabilitation of Nikolay Bukharin, Aleksey Rykov, and 18 other party and government officials. The program considered Bukharin's rehabilitation a victory for the pro-restructuring forces. An AP report was used.
- SOVIETOLOGISTS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Shragin, NY 20) reviewed a chapter of the book of Prof. John Dziak on the history of the KGB, in which he traced its beginnings back to Lenin, showing

that the Stalinist terror was not an aberration but rather an integral part of the methods of the state security forces condoned by Lenin in order to preserve Bolshevik power. The program emphasized that glasnost and democratization of the USSR cannot take place until the KGB relinquishes its powers.

THE FORTUNES OF SIBERIA (Kushev, M 5:30), a RERUN from 15 November, summed up what is known about the origins of the Siberian coat-of-arms and flag. While the former depicts what was originally considered Siberia's only natural resource, sables, and the implements for trapping them, the white and green colors of the flag were said to reflect both spiritual values (fidelity and purity, hope and life) and the dominant colors of the landscape in winter and spring.

13. Sport. THE WORLD OF SPORTS (Rubin, NY 15:30) first updated developments in the doping scandal involving the Soviet ice skater Nikolay Gulayev, citing an article in Sovetsky Sport from January 22 and two Reuter reports from January 28, one of which referred to a Belgian sportsman arrested for trying to export the same drug from Norway. The program ironically concluded that nowadays less cumbersome products such as drugs have replaced the caviar and vodka of former days. The program then gave a necrologue honoring the unjustly forgotten Soviet hockey trainer, Boris Pavlovich Kulagin, who recently died, and called upon the Soviets to give him his just due posthumously.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

None

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The Middle East. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Miloslavsky, J 6) reviewed the continuing disorders and the stalemate in the discussion of the American peace proposal for the occupied territories and quoted an article in the Israeli newspaper Haaretz (Land) criticizing the Israelis for losing touch with reality.

2. The US. DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Shragin, NY 6) discussed the private initiative involved in providing the poor with housing in Greenburg, New York, and the resolution by majority vote when disagreement arose on new measures as an example of how democracy functions in the US.

3. Haiti. DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Kozlovsky, NY 9) traced the history of democracy in Haiti and chronicled its continuing setbacks. Articles from The Washington Post and The New Republic were used.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

1. Sport. THE WORLD OF SPORTS (Rubin, NY 4:30) briefly mentioned the request of Camaranch, head of the International Olympics Committee, to Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze to use his influence to convince North Korea to participate in the 1988 Seoul Summer Olympics, and noted time was running out for a decision.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Wednesday, 17 February 1988
D. Felton

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Soviet-US Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Muslin, NY 3:30) gave background on the second round of US-Soviet talks on the monitoring of nuclear tests. American chief delegate Paul Robertson was cited.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Muslin, NY 4:30) reported on the presence of a delegation of Soviet scientists at the annual conference in Boston of an American association for the promotion of scientific progress. The Soviet scientists were quoted on the decentralization, greater openness, and less ideological pressure on the present Soviet science scene. Reference was made to the Soviet rejection of a US charge of the illegal acquisition of Western technology for making low-noise submarine propellers and to a Soviet proposal for scientific cooperation with the US.

2. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Perouansky, M 6:30) pointed to obstacles to a solution of the Afghan problem, despite Gorbachev's assurance that Soviet troops could be withdrawn irrespective of whether an agreement was reached on the formation of a provisional government in Afghanistan. However, said the program, if an acceptable provisional government cannot be formed, a civil war will, in all probability, break out. In this connection an article in The Financial Times by Robin Pauly and John Elliott was quoted. Pakistan, said the program, insists that the question of a provisional government be settled first in order that the over three and a half million Afghan refugees on its territory can be repatriated.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Paramonov, NY 4) reviewed American press comments on Gorbachev's recent announcement of a Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan and on the nature of a future Afghan government being of no concern of the USSR. Time and Newsweek were quoted on Soviet efforts to persuade Pakistan to give up its demand for a coalition government in Afghanistan and The Baltimore Sun on the price the USSR will have to pay for a withdrawal.

3. The USSR and the Persian Gulf. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 9) discussed the USSR's precarious balancing act in the Iran-Iraq conflict, noting pressure on Moscow from the moderate Arab front to support a UN resolution on an arms embargo against Iran.

4. USSR-Britain. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Matusevich, M 4) and THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Rahr, M 1:30), commenting on British Foreign Minister Howe's visit to the USSR, pointed to the paradoxical nature of Anglo-Soviet relations reflected in sharp exchanges, on the one hand, and, on the other, in an agreement by both sides that relations had never been so fruitful since the end of World War II and that Howe's visit had helped to no small degree. The program recalled Gorbachev's visit to Britain at the end of 1984 and Thatcher's impressive performance during a talk with Soviet journalists on Soviet TV last spring and cited Howe on Anglo-Soviet relations being characterized by realism, vigilance, and frankness. The program concluded with a report on Howe's press conference following his talks with Soviet leaders in which he spoke of his discussions on the human rights issue, especially family reunification. Audio Section material was used.

5. Foreign Trade. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Chianurov, M 6) gave the contents of an article in The Journal of Commerce by the director of Duke University's center for the study of East-West trade, Jerry Hough, in which he spoke of the Gorbachev leadership's attempts to move away from the protectionism and isolationism of Soviet foreign trade.

6. Dissidents and Human Rights. HUMAN RIGHTS (Shragin, NY 15 and Fedoseyev, M 2) commented on an interview given to Sovetskaya Rossiya by the chairman of a Soviet Commission for International Cooperation in Humanitarian Questions and Human Rights, Fedor Burlatsky. The program remarked that the commission is clearly designed to impress foreign countries rather than concern itself with concrete cases of human rights violations in the USSR. In addition, said the program, Burlatsky tries to relativize basic human rights and he talks as if he had never heard of the activities of the unofficial Soviet Helsinki groups. The program noted in conclusion, however, that

in an interview given by Burlatsky, published in Izvestia of February 12, he speaks of the possible creation of a Soviet Committee for Humanitarian Cooperation and Human Rights and a Foundation for the Defense of Human Rights which will deal with Soviet citizens' individual human rights problems.

7. Emigres. In AT THE BOOKSHELF (Perouansky, M 27:30) Boris Falkov read his essay "Aeroflot" from his ten-story cycle entitled New Times, published in the Russian emigre journal Strelets, followed by some of his poems.

8. Restructuring. HUMAN RIGHTS (Kaminskaya, W 7) pointed to the Soviet population's inertia as a serious obstacle to the democratization process. The program said the apathy, indifference and cynicism prevalent in Soviet society is a consequence of the nature of the regime and quoted in this connection an analysis by Prof. Kon in Kommunist, No. 1, entitled "The Psychology of Social Inertia" which discusses, in particular, the suppression of individuality in the USSR.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mihajlov, W 5) discussed an interview given to RL by top Italian CP official Napolitano, in which he spoke of the possibility of Gorbachev's allowing free elections in the USSR, and suggested that in a country not accustomed to a single-party system, a reformed CP would win. The program, however, expressed the view that the very fact of the party's monopoly of power indicates a lack of popular support, and recalled that in the last free elections in Russia the Bolsheviks got only 23 percent of the vote as against 40 percent for the Socialist Revolutionaries.

9. The Economy. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 4:30) discussed the proposal by USSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Member Petrakov, made in an interview being published in Argumenty i Fakty, to carry out a monetary reform in the USSR and devalue the ruble. The program said this would not be an economic but an administrative measure justifiable only in an emergency. The basic problem, namely the excessive amount of money in the hands of the population, can only be fairly solved by providing an adequate supply of high-quality goods for which people can spend their money.

10. The Armed Forces. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 9) commented on a round-table discussion organized by Kommunist and Kommunist Vooruzhennykh Sil on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy at which the question of democratization in the Soviet armed forces was broached. As regards the skepticism expressed by Soviet officers as to whether this would be feasible, the program pointed to the practice in the French and West German armed forces where a soldier has the right to refuse to carry out a command for

reasons of conscience. In connection with the complaint by General Skrylnik in the round-table discussion that the army's prestige has been shaken, the program said this is a result of interventions such as in Afghanistan. The program suggested that the situation could be remedied by such measures as instituting a parliamentary commissioner for the armed forces, giving lower ranks more responsibility, improving service conditions, etc.

11. Education. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Henkina, M 5:30) discussed Ligachev's speech at a CPSU CC plenum on the unsatisfactory implementation of school reforms. The program remarked that while Ligachev spoke of the need for raising the level of teaching, democratization, a more differentiated approach to pupils, etc., he was silent on the poor performance of the general compulsory secondary schools. As regards Ligachev's call for a departure from standardized teaching methods, standardized thinking and behavior, etc., the program suggested it might be better to begin by training suitable teachers. The program concluded, however, that it is a good thing that a party CC plenum was held to discuss these problems.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, M 4) gave the contents of an article by Felicity Barringer in The New York Times of February 17 on a new wind in Soviet education, with emphasis on teaching pupils to think independently.

12. Subbotniks. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 1:30), in a review of the Soviet press, cited a reader's letter in Ogonek, No. 6, asking why proceeds from a subbotnik (unpaid workday) conducted 10 years ago had still not been used to build a hospital for war invalids as intended, while in the meantime sumptuous administrative buildings have gone up.

13. The Nationalities. EVENTS AND PEOPLE and HUMAN RIGHTS (Fedoseyev, M 2:30) reported on the situation in Vilnius on the 70th anniversary of Lithuanian independence. The program spoke of official warnings against potential demonstrators and tough security measures. An article in The Washington Post (Harry Lee) was quoted, as well as one by Felicity Barringer in The New York Times on a visit to Lithuania organized by the Soviet Foreign Ministry for Western journalists. They were taken to a part of Vilnius where an official demonstration was held in protest against American politicians who were speaking out in support of the Lithuanian people's aspirations for national independence.

14. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Yurenen, M 29:30) gave the text of an interview given to Sally Laird of the British journal Index of Censorship by Moscow culture expert Mikhail Epshteyn. In this interview, published in the January issue of the

journal, Epshteyn talked about a "trans-culture" which has emerged in the USSR and, in particular, about the new generation of Moscow poets. The program included readings of verse by three of these poets, Dmitri Prigov, Ivan Zhdanov, and Alexander Yeremenko, published in Soviet journals.

15. Religion. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fotiyev, M 5:30) discussed an article by Dyakov in Sovetskaya Rossiya of February 10 on a Soviet state TV film entitled The Church on the millennium of the Christianization of Russia. The program recalled previous such films aimed at demonstrating to the West the free and healthy state of religion in the USSR and noted that Dyakov described the film as free of propaganda and that he expressed concern over the possibility of its not being shown in the USSR. The program said the film would appear to reflect how atheistic propaganda and the destruction of churches has had a brutalizing effect on Soviet society.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 1:30), in a review of the Soviet press, also drew attention to this article.

16. Sport. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Geichman, M 4) commented on the charge by Canadian skiing trainer Marty Hall in the Calgary Sun that Soviet skiers at the Winter Olympics have been practicing doping. The program said that while TASS is right in saying that Hall has no proof, Soviet sportsmen, like sportsmen from other countries in both East and West, have, in the past, been found guilty of doping, and in Calgary previously unknown Soviet skiers have unexpectedly taken top places.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rubin, Calgary 4) reported on the possibility of Soviet ice hockey stars Fetisov and Kasatonov playing in the NHL next season.

17. History. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Nikolayev, M 4:30), continuing to leaf through old Soviet newspapers, cited Pravda of 17 February 1928 on how the kulaks were allegedly sabotaging the program of grain deliveries to the state. A speech by Stalin of February 13 of that year was cited in which he called for repressive measures against the kulaks. The program then recalled the repressive measures taken against the Church at that time and quoted a Pravda article of 17 February 1918 castigating the priesthood for protesting against the decree on the separation of Church and state.

RUSSIA YESTERDAY, TODAY, TOMORROW (Tolz, M 28), continuing a series on Lenin's last days, cited a compilation of sources entitled Lenin in Gorky: His Sickness and Death, published in the second issue of the Paris-based historical almanac Minuvsheye (The Past) and signed "N. Petrenko" and physician Vladimir Flerov's Lenin's Sickness and Death published in the latest issue (No. 146) of the FRG-based Grani.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

None

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The US. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Weinstein, W 5:30) commented on the results of the New Hampshire presidential primaries.

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Shragin, NY 16) discussed the results of the presidential primaries in New Hampshire and Iowa. Background was given on these primaries as well as on the American system of presidential primaries in general.

2. US-Nicaragua. DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Shragin, NY 8) backgrounded the House vote against President Reagan's request for additional aid to the Contras.

3. Austria. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Weinstein, W 7) gave the contents of Austrian President Waldheim's interview with ABC in which he justified his decision to stay in office despite the controversy over his World War II activities as an officer in the German Army.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

None

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Thursday, 18 February 1988
M. Frost

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 9) profiled Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Yuly Vorontsov and analyzed an article by Vorontsov appearing in the January 18 issue of Pravda in which the deputy minister expressed his frustration at the slow progress of the Geneva peace talks on Afghanistan.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Perouansky, M 10:30) gave Western press coverage of the prospects for peace in Afghanistan, both during and after the expected withdrawal of Soviet troops, from the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, The Christian Science Monitor, The Baltimore Sun, The Wall Street Journal, Le Figaro, and The Financial Times.

2. Soviet-US Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gendler, NY 4:20) previewed Secretary of State George Shultz's upcoming visit to Moscow where the main items on the agenda will be nuclear arms reduction and Afghanistan. The program was based on a Reuters report from January 18 and an article from The New York Times of the same day.

3. Dissidents and Human Rights. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Vishnevskaya, M 4) discussed a February 12 interview in Izvestia by the Chairman of the Soviet Human Rights Commission Fedor Burlatsky in which he outlined the immediate objectives of the commission. The program commented that Burlatsky's proposals, which include far-reaching legal reforms, are

curiously reminiscent of the agenda proposed by the Moscow Committee on Human Rights formed by Sakharov et al in November 1970.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fotiyev, M 5) focused on the efforts of the British human rights organization Vigil to obtain the release of Vasily Shipilov, an Orthodox priest, from a Smolensk psychiatric hospital. Anglican priest Richard Rogers is staging a 40 day fast over Lent in protest against the refusal of the Soviet authorities to release Shipilov.

DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 7:30) reported on a APN press conference in Moscow conducted by leading Soviet psychiatrists at which they denied charges of psychiatric malpractice in Soviet psychiatric clinics. The Soviet psychiatrists attributed these charges to a Western plot to undermine international confidence in the USSR. The program used APN, TASS, Reuter, and AP reports.

DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 14:30) featured interviews with emigre psychiatrist Anatoly Koryagin and Cologne University law professor Otto Luchterhandt, both of whom attended the one day symposium in Bonn on psychiatric abuse in the USSR. Koryagin and Luchterhandt discussed the upcoming changes to the regulations concerning the administration of psychiatric aid in the USSR and called on the authorities to release all prisoners of conscience held in psychiatric hospitals. The program was RERUN from February 2.

DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 10), a RERUN from January 29, broadcast an interview with one of the participants at the Bonn conference on psychiatric abuse in the USSR, Robert Van Boren.

4. Nationalities. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Rahr, M 4) summarized the troubled history of Armenia and broadcast a telephone interview from Moscow with human rights activist Alexander Ogorodnikov on the upcoming demonstrations against chemical and nuclear pollution in the Transcaucasian republic.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 4:30) drew attention to official Soviet policy on nationality issues published in Pravda Vostoka on February 7 and contrasted this statement with readers letters appearing in Sovetskaya Kultura complaining of the wholesale repression of national minority cultures.

5. The Baltic States. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Tsaryunova, W 6) gave American press coverage of recent unrest in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia in the context of the Kremlin's long term Nationality policies.

6. Restructuring. MAN AND SOCIETY (Belotserkovsky, M 7) commented that Gorbachev's ambitious plans for the self-management of industrial enterprises seems to have been permanently shelved in the face of stiff opposition from the party and government bureaucracies. The program questioned whether genuine reforms can be realized in the USSR without this essential component of the economic reform package.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Chianurov, M 5) highlighted the problem of future unemployment in the USSR which some Western experts predict will total 13 percent of the work force by the year 2000. The program made reference to an article on unemployment in Moskovskiy Novosti and summarized Marshall Goldman's views on the social cost of unemployment published in The Los Angeles Times on February 17.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 6), pegged to an article in Komsomolskaya Pravda complaining of a shortage of construction materials for the Soviet railways, observed that the Soviet economy has always been in a state of crisis owing to crippling deficits of essential materials. The program concluded that only when these basic deficits have been eliminated will it be possible to instigate meaningful economic reforms.

7. The Emigration. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 5:30) reported on the publication in the Paris newspaper Le Globe of selected articles from the Moscow unofficial journal Glasnost, with an introduction by Alexander Ginzburg.

8. The Press. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyev, M 7:30) summarized the findings of a UN commissioned report on restrictions on freedom of the press throughout the world. The report mentioned the growth of independent journals in the USSR and urged that the "spirit of glasnost" be extended to other Eastern European countries.

9. Nuclear Energy. MAN AND SOCIETY (Wolfson-Romarov, Isr. 4:30) reviewed the state of the nuclear energy industry in various countries in the post-Chernobyl era, pointed out several shortcomings in the management of Soviet power stations, and argued that common sense dictates the slowing down of the construction of new nuclear power stations until existing safety problems are resolved.

10. Society. MAN AND SOCIETY (Gordin, M 7), a RERUN from February 12, discussed the conflict between traditional Central Asian customs and beliefs and socialist morality, or lack of it, so vividly brought to light by last year's self-incineration by two Tajiks. The program referred to an article in Komsomolskaya Pravda from February 8.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Paramonov, NY 10) examined the psychological base of the Pamyat society in the Soviet Union and concluded that the society's propensity to blame all evils on a Jewish-Masonic conspiracy testifies rather to a subconscious feeling of worthlessness on the part of the society's members.

MAN AND SOCIETY (Shapiro, Isr. 8:30) described the division of the judicial, executive, and legal functions of Western governments and argued that it is precisely the nonadherence to this principle in the USSR which leads to human rights abuses. The program cited a December article in Pravda calling for an end to the practice of local authorities interfering in court cases.

11. Education. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Voronitsyn, M 4) discussed Ligachev's proposals for educational reforms delivered to the CC CPSU plenum currently taking place in Moscow. The program commented that, although Ligachev has called for a greater orientation of the educational system to the needs of Soviet industry, his proposals are lacking in specific details. An RLR Research Report was used.

12. History. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Tolz, M 4:30) commented on an article in Izvestia describing an experiment whereby only one of 12 Soviet sailors successfully identified a portrait of one of the most famous victims of Stalin's terror, the Leningrad party leader, Sergey Kirov. The program concluded that half-hearted rehabilitation attempts on the part of the authorities are not sufficient to fill in the blank spots of Russian history in the collective consciousness of the people.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 4) read excerpts from the Soviet press from 70 and 10 years ago on the disruption of a religious procession in Tula and an appeal for glasnost in the local Soviets.

13. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Vail and Genis, NY 10) reviewed the New York performance of Soviet satirist Mikhail Zhvanetsky. The program noted that although the performance was well received by the audience, Zhvanetsky's humor is only really effective in the context of everyday Soviet living conditions.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Volkov, NY 7:30) reviewed the US debut of the Soviet rock group, Autograph.

14. Religion. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Rahr, M 4:30) broadcast excerpts from an article in Sovetskaya Kultura describing the outrage of a regional party committee when a group of Soviet students invited a representative of the Orthodox Church to discuss the preparations for the celebration

of the millennium of Christianization. The program concluded that religious believers should no longer be treated as second class citizens in the USSR.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

None

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. FRG-US Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Weinstein, W 4:30) reported on Chancellor Kohl's visit to the US on the eve of the Shultz-Shevardnadze talks in Moscow. A Reuters report from February 18 was used.

2. Austria. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gordin, M 9:30) chronicled the "Waldheim affair" and pointed to several inaccuracies in a recent Izvestia article on the history of Waldheim's wartime activities.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

1. The Calgary Winter Olympics EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rubin, Calgary 4:30) covered the early rounds of the Olympic hockey tournament in Calgary.

2. Religion. JUDAISM (Lvov, Taratua, and Haskelevich, NY 27:30) included items on the significance of light and fire in Judaism, the role of heavenly signs in Jewish history, and a sermon on the Nimrod rebellion and the Tower of Babylon.

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RADIO FREE EUROPE
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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Friday, 19 February 1988
D. Felton

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Soviet-US Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Tsaryunov, W 6) cited Shultz's press conference statements on his upcoming visit to Moscow and summarized American press comment.

2. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 6:30) drew attention to an article by Alexander Prokhanov in Literaturnaya Gazeta indicating a radical turnover in Soviet propaganda on Afghanistan in that it admits that the ruling communist party has failed to win the confidence of the people, that the regime has resorted to repressive measures, that it is doubtful whether a socialist system can be established in such a country as Afghanistan, and that the Soviet invasion was a mistake. At the same time, the article claims that at least the invasion has made impossible the emergence in Afghanistan of a fundamentalist, Iranian-type regime which could direct propaganda at the Soviet Central Asian republics. The program recalled how the Soviet regime imposed socialism on these republics, which belong to the same cultural and ethnic region as Afghanistan, and cited an article by Igor Belyayev in Literaturnaya Gazeta last spring which spoke of a kind of "Islamic infrastructure" in Soviet Central Asia.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, M 6) reported on visiting British Foreign Minister Howe's talk on Soviet TV with two Soviet journalists. The program described the interview as informative and valuable for Soviet viewers, and highlighted Howe's statements justifying British aid to the Afghan partisans and hailing as courageous the Soviet admission that the invasion of

Afghanistan had been a mistake. The program said the interview is certainly an indication of the extension of glasnost to the realm of Soviet foreign policy and wondered when Soviet journalists will be able to interview their own ministers on such matters.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Rahr, M 3) cited statements made in Washington by visiting Pakistani Deputy Foreign Minister Noorani and US State Department spokesman Redman on the desirability of forming a transitional government in Afghanistan. Audio Section material was used.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 7:30) cited testimony given in Liberation of February 18 by French doctor Julietta Fourneaux on her experiences in Afghanistan giving medical assistance to the population, which has suffered badly from Soviet reprisal actions.

3. The USSR and the Middle East. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 7:30) discussed the recent spate of messages sent by Gorbachev to several Middle East leaders and said that while the Soviet media have been silent on their content, the Soviet Ambassador to Iraq, Grinevsky, announced that the USSR was working with other UN Security Council members on a resolution imposing military sanctions on Iran. Evidently, said the program, Gorbachev has opted for preserving favorable relations with the Arab countries instead of playing diplomatic and political games with the Iranian regime.

4. Dissidents and Human Rights. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Vishnevskaya, M 4:30), a RERUN from February 18, discussed a February 12 interview in Izvestia by the Chairman of the Soviet Human Rights Commission, Fedor Burlatsky, in which he outlined the immediate objectives of the commission. The program commented that Burlatsky's proposals, which include far-reaching legal reforms, are curiously reminiscent of the agenda proposed by the Moscow Committee on Human Rights formed by Sakharov et al in November 1970.

DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 3 and Fedorov, NY 7:30) commented on Soviet emigre human rights activist Kronid Lyubarsky's new list of Soviet political prisoners, which is shorter as a result of the new winds in the USSR, but is not complete. Lyubarsky detailed the criteria for inclusion in the list. After this, former Soviet political prisoner Yury Fedorov recalled some of his fellow inmates in a Perm strict-regime camp.

5. Jewish Affairs. JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Simis, W 7) said the Soviet media are reacting to intensified efforts in the West on behalf of Soviet Jews with a stepped-up campaign

against Zionism. The program demonstrated that the campaign against Zionism is, in fact, directed against Jews, and drew attention to the use of the term "spiritual Zionism" by Sovetskaya Kultura last December.

JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Markish, Geneva 11) continued to review the contents of the Russian Jewish journal Voskhod, published in St. Petersburg from 1881 to 1906. The present program was devoted to the first two issues for 1889.

6. Emigres. FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Perouansky, M 29:30) featured a reading by Boris Falkov of a further story, entitled "Retrogression" (Rakokhod), from his cycle New Times. The story deals with the fantastic wanderings of a letter by Chekhov backwards through Soviet/Russian history. The cycle was published in the Russian emigre journal Strelets at the end of last year. A talk by Falkov about this story was included. In conclusion, Falkov read out some of his poetry.

7. The CPSU CC Plenum. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (A. Rahr, M 4) examined the top-level personnel changes carried out at the plenum. The program said Yeltsin's ouster with no reasons given indicates that as far as Gorbachev is concerned, the Yeltsin affair is a thing of the past. Razumovsky's election as a Politburo Candidate Member is important since he is a close associate of Gorbachev. The new Politburo Candidate Member Maslyukov and the new CC Secretary Baklanov are representatives of the military-industrial complex. Significantly, with the exception of Gorbachev and Ligachev, all the CC Secretaries made their careers largely outside the party apparatus.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Paramonov, NY 5:30) reviewed American press comment on Gorbachev's speech, citing The New York Times, The Los Angeles Times (Eaton), and The Washington Post (Remnik and Lee). In particular, the press highlighted Gorbachev's expression of determination to continue along the road of restructuring, the contrasting position taken by Ligachev, and Gorbachev's statements on Afghanistan.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gladilin, P 4) reviewed French press comment on the plenum, citing Le Monde, Le Figaro, and Liberation. The comment focused particularly on the differences between Gorbachev and Ligachev on the domestic front.

8. Restructuring. ROUND TABLE TALK (Roitman, Tolz, and Henkina, M 20) discussed the ideological aspects of Gorbachev's speech at the recent CPSU CC plenum on education. The program described the speech as a political declaration on restructuring which signified no departure from the previous course but, at the same time, refrained from exulting over nonexistent successes. Gorbachev, said the program, clearly feels the need

to create a better ideological basis for restructuring at the outset of an economically worrying period. History will continue to serve as an instrument of propaganda and agitation even under the new conditions of restructuring. Gorbachev's realization of the acuteness of the nationality problem was seen as a sign of both strength and weakness. As regards Gorbachev's insistence that cultural developments would not proceed uncontrolled, the program said it would be unfortunate to have the KGB regulating glasnost and restructuring. The program mentioned Gorbachev's reference to resistance to restructuring within the party apparatus and cited his conclusion that "we have evidently not fully realized how far-reaching the consequences of democratization are and will be."

DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Alexeyeva, W 8:30) talked about the activities of the new unofficial "Restructuring" discussion club, giving examples of criticism of the existing Soviet system made there.

9. Society. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Henkina, M 4), in a review of the latest Soviet TV programs, highlighted a moving film on a home in Zagorsk for blind and deaf children which operates in defiance of the callous atmosphere of Soviet society. The program said the showing of the film demonstrates that a start has been made on a journey through a long, long tunnel.

10. Education. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Chianurov and Belotserkovsky, M 8:30) examined Ligachev's speech at the CPSU CC plenum on education. The program found the sole positive feature of the speech to be a proposal to relieve secondary schools of the task of teaching labor skills. Otherwise, there was no sign of action on the badly needed radical reforms in Soviet education. The program said that above all it is necessary to enhance the status of the teacher by giving him better pay, etc., freeing him of the constraints imposed from above, and introducing self-management by teachers' collectives.

11. The Nationalities. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Perouansky, M 9) discussed Gorbachev's references to the nationality question in his speech at the CPSU CC plenum. The program wondered what exactly Gorbachev meant when he spoke of "nationalism" and "chauvinism," and observed that while Gorbachev listed several elements of Leninist nationality policy, he failed to mention the key element of this policy, namely, the right of every nation to self-determination to the point of secession. This principle, said the program, was subsequently violated by Lenin himself, as well as by his successors. The program remarked that while the Soviet press reports on the repression of the nationalities under Stalin, Khrushchev, and Brezhnev, it has been attacking the recent demonstrations in the Baltic republics, and the Crimean Tatars are branded as "extremists" for insisting on the right to return to their homeland.

DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Seytmuratova, NY 7) described the activities carried out on behalf of the Crimean Tatars by the late Soviet human rights activist General Petr Grigorenko. The item was pegged to the first anniversary of Grigorenko's death in New York.

12. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Yurenen, M 29:30), a RERUN from February 16, reported on a Soviet literary week held at the Bavarian Academy of Arts for writers Bella Akhmadulina, Andrey Voznesensky, Andrey Bitov, and Anatoly Pristavkin. The program included recordings of readings by Bitov and Voznesensky of Akhmadulina's verse. An RL interview with Voznesensky was featured in which he spoke of the profound understanding of Soviet culture which he found during his visit; positive developments on the Soviet cultural scene in 1987; the prospects for the publication of many interesting works in 1988 (however, it is about time interesting original works started appearing); the marking of the Vysotsky anniversary in the USSR; the publication in the USSR of Pasternak's Doctor Zhivago, which was important because it demonstrates how unjustly this novel was treated in the past; and the "revolution by culture" now taking place in the USSR. Audio Section material was used.

13. Religion. THE MILLENNIUM OF THE CHRISTIANIZATION OF RUSSIA (Rahr, M 18:30 and Miloslavsky, Jerusalem 11:30), a RERUN from February 12, began by outlining the four basic sets of demands being made by the Russian Christian community in the year of the millennium of the Christianization of Russia. These are the release of prisoners of conscience; the return to the Russian Orthodox Church of holy places, such as the Kiev Cave Monastery; the abolition of repressive legislation on religious cults; and equal rights for believers. In connection with the 70th anniversary of the slaying of Metropolitan Vladimir of Kiev, the program gave the text of an article entitled "A Debt of Remembrance," published in the second issue of the unofficial journal Vybor (The Choice) in the final quarter of last year, which speaks of the debt the present generation of Russians owe to those who in the past sacrificed their lives rather than collaborate with the forces of repression. The program concluded with an item on the wanderings of 18th-century Russian pilgrim Vasily Grigorevich-Barsky.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Rahr, M 7:30) drew attention to an article by Sirotkin in Nedelya enthusing over the original design for the Christ the Savior Church in Moscow, demolished in the early 1930s. The church was mentioned in the album of destroyed and desecrated Russian churches sent to Solzhenitsyn over 10 years ago by his friends and admirers.

14. History. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 4), continuing to leaf through old Soviet newspapers, cited the text of the statement, published in Pravda of 20 February 1918, by the Council of People's Commissars to the German government agreeing to sign the peace treaty of Brest-Litovsk under the conditions proposed by the Quadruple Alliance. The program noted that in the Collected Works of Lenin the signature of Trotsky is missing, and the text of the statement includes a reference to conditions acceptable to the Council of People's Commissars. The program remarked, in conclusion, that the eventual capitulation of Germany too was thanks not to Lenin's long-term policy, but to the determination of the soldiers on the Western front.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

None

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The Middle East. JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 8), in a review of developments in and around Israel during the past week, referred, particularly, to differences within the Israeli government over Shultz's plan for a Middle East settlement and opposition to the plan in the Arab world. Differences in Israeli political circles over the actions of the Israeli Army in the occupied territories were also mentioned. Reference was also made to price increases in January and a proposed tax reform.

2. NATO. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 11) cited comment on the upcoming NATO summit in The Los Angeles Times (Ted Schultz), the Neue Zuercher Zeitung, The Times (London), Die Zeit (former Director of the International Institute for Strategic Studies, Bertram), The International Herald Tribune (present Director of this Institute, Heisbourg, and Deputy Director of the French Institute of International Relations, Lelouche), and The Wall Street Journal. The comment focused on the dissension within NATO over the issue of nuclear arms reduction. A RAD Background Report from Munich of February 18 was used.

3. France-Albania. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanova, P 6:30) reported on the visit to Albania by Secretary of State to the French Prime Minister Didier Bariani. Citing French observers, the program spoke of the present Albanian leadership's attempts to overcome the country's economic backwardness and its general isolation, and the problem of how Albania could pay for possible French technological aid. The visit, according to observers, seems to have been fairly successful.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

1. Sport. In EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rubin, Calgary 5) RL's special correspondent at the Winter Olympics in Calgary reviewed the latest results and mentioned the incident in which Soviet speed skater Gulyayev was caught handing over a packet of steroids to a Norwegian skater; the Canadian Sports Minister's denunciation of a doping charge leveled against the Soviets by the Canadian skiing trainer; and the sudden, unexplained departure of three Romanian women skaters and their trainer (it was hinted in the press that the three were planning to ask for asylum in Canada).

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Geichman, W 4) drew up a balance sheet of the Calgary Winter Olympics so far and previewed upcoming events.

In EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rubin, Calgary 6) RL's special correspondent at the Winter Olympics in Calgary described the press center there.

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RADIO FREE EUROPE
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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Saturday, 20 February 1988
M. Frost

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Afghanistan. SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, M 10) broadcast translated excerpts from a Newsweek interview with one of the Afghan resistance commanders Abdul Haq in which he insisted that the first condition for any cease fire arrangement in Afghanistan is the unconditional withdrawal of all Soviet forces from the country. The program also made reference to an article in The Times (London) from February 17 and noted that on the anniversary of the founding of the Red Army no mention made in the official press of the senseless waste of human life incurred by the Soviet troops in Afghanistan.

2. The Unofficial Press. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 19:30) broadcast a telephone interview from Moscow with former political prisoner and editor of Glasnost, Sergey Grigoriants, on the recent publication in Paris of a collection of articles from his independent Moscow journal. Grigoriants expressed pleasure over the French edition and recounted the publication difficulties he encounters in Moscow where the circulation of the journal is restricted to around 200 copies owing to repressive Soviet publishing laws.

3. History. SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, M 10), pegged to the official anniversary of the founding of the Red Army on 23 February 1918, described Lenin's idea of a volunteer militia force formed from the most politically conscious elements of the working class. The program noted, however, that within three weeks compulsory duty in the new army was introduced owing to a lack of support for the Bolsheviks among the population at

large. The program also noted that the myth of the Soviet victories over German forces at Pskov on 23 February 1918 has still not completely disappeared from Soviet military history and pointed to the continuing official silence surrounding Leon Trotsky's seminal role in the founding of the Red Army.

4. Culture. WRITERS AT THE MICROPHONE (Perouansky, Voinovich, and Yurenen, M 30) reviewed the week of Soviet culture in Munich sponsored by the Bavarian Academy of Arts. The discussants evaluated the performances of the Soviet poets Bytov, Voznesensky, and Akhmadullina; regretted that no reciprocal festival of Western culture is taking place in the USSR; and spoke of the tremendous damage inflicted upon Soviet literature during the Brezhnev era when dozens of talented writers were obliged to leave the country.

5. Religion. NOT BY BREAD ALONE (Benigsen, NY 9; Rahr, M 9; and Aksenov-Meyerson, NY 9:30) commenced with a passage from the Gospel according to Saint Matthew read out in Orthodox churches on "Forgiveness Sunday," followed by the text of an address by the Initiative Group of the Russian Church Community for the Preparation for the Celebrations of the Millennium of Christianity in Russia calling for the release of all prisoners of conscience in the USSR and for the repeal of the outdated Stalinist laws on cults. The program concluded with profiles of Russian saints commemorated by the Church at this time of the year.

SUNDAY SERVICE (Rahr and Kholodnaya, M 50) presented a Russian Orthodox Church service.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

1. The Italian Communist Party. SPECIAL FEATURE (Predtechevsky, M 27:30) featured a discussion between British journalist George Urban and Italian CP member Giorgino Napolitano on the present relationship of the Italian CP to the domestic and foreign policies of the CC of the CPSU.

2. Eastern Europe. SPECIAL FEATURE (Fistejn, M 20) broadcast the second part of an interview with Die Welt's East European special correspondent Carl-Gustav Stroehm on the social, political, and economic conditions in Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The US. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Weinshtein, W 6) covered the results of last week's primary elections in New Hampshire and described the campaigns of the main contenders for the US presidency. The program made use of American press reports.
2. Israel. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Miloslavsky, Jerusalem 9) previewed the Middle East visit of US Secretary of State George Shultz and described the attitudes of the various political groups in Israel to the recent disturbances in the occupied territories.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

1. Sports EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rubin, 4:30) reported on the first week of competition at the Calgary Winter Olympics and reflected on the successful Soviet medal haul in the skating events.

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RADIO FREE EUROPE
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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Sunday, 21 February 1988
D. Felton

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Afghanistan. EMBATTLED AFGHANISTAN (Bensi, M 10:30 and Shapiro, Isr. 9:30) began with a review of the latest events in and around Afghanistan. The program reported on the interview given to Pravda by Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister Vorontsov in which he reaffirmed that the creation of a future Afghan government was a matter for the Afghans themselves, and pointed to the frustration being experienced by the Afghan resistance at being denied active participation in the search for a peaceful solution to the Afghan problem. Reference was made to the numerous terrorist acts in Peshawar, thought by most Afghan emigre politicians and by the Pakistani authorities to be the work of Kabul, including the assassination of Prof. Majrooh, a moderate intellectual and director of the Afghan Information Center. Here, the possibility of the involvement of Islamic extremists is not ruled out. Appeals to the Soviet government from around the world to end the war in Afghanistan were mentioned. In conclusion, the program drew attention to a remarkable article by Alexander Prokhanov in Literaturnaya Gazeta virtually admitting that the Soviet invasion had been a mistake, and traced Soviet propaganda's contortions occasioned by the unfavorable development of the Soviet engagement.

THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Predtechevsky, M 6) cited articles in The Guardian (Moscow correspondent Martin Walker) and the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung on Gorbachev's decision to withdraw Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

2. Soviet-US Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gendler, NY 3) pointed to the increased rate of Soviet purchases of American wheat. Experts ascribe this primarily to the low, subsidized prices for this wheat, as well as to the near exhaustion of Argentina's wheat-exporting capacity.

3. Foreign Policy. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, M 4) gave the contents of an article in The New York Times by Robert Manning on the new thinking in Soviet foreign policy aimed at

liquidating Brezhnev's legacy.

4. The Emigration. OUR PLANET (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 1) briefly referred to the case of a Soviet Jew who recently arrived in Israel from one of the Baltic republics, Kalmanovich, who has been arrested on a charge of espionage for the USSR, and is in trouble with the Israeli tax authorities.

5. The Leadership. THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Predtechevsky, M 4) cited an article by Rose-Marie Borngaesser in Die Welt on the lengthening shadow being cast by Ligachev over Gorbachev.

6. Restructuring. COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Krasin, W 7) remarked that in order to carry out his dismantling of the Stalinist system, Gorbachev needs to remove the party nomenklatura and replace it by another social group capable of running the country effectively. According to Soviet sociologist Tatyana Zaslavskaya, specialists and those willing to work hard and efficiently outside of the public sector constitute such a group. The program said that Gorbachev plans to use the people, via direct election of factory managers by the workers, by allowing several candidates for a given party or state post, etc., as an instrument for implementing restructuring, while glasnost and the intellectuals are being used to win the people's confidence.

SPECIAL FEATURE (Predtechevsky, M 27:30) presented the second half of an interview given to British journalist George Urban by top Italian CP functionary Napolitano in which he expressed support for Gorbachev's restructuring campaign, and said that the CPSU has moved quite some way along the road of realistic analysis of an outdated mythology. He suggested that after a transitional period, Gorbachev could allow free elections, which a democratized CP would possibly win. A genuine renaissance in the USSR, however, is impossible without a reappraisal of the Stalin era. Napolitano rejected Soviet official Zagladin's claim that the CPSU is part of the European leftist movement, said that a "people's front" such as existed in the 1930s is not possible today, and insisted that the USSR could not reckon on using the Italian CP as an "agent of influence." Radical reforms in the USSR, he said, will reduce the Soviet threat. Napolitano agreed with Urban that the Italian CP's program is not much different from the programs of other "progressive" forces.

THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Predtechevsky, M 2) cited the Stuttgarter Zeitung that the Soviet authorities' decision to drop plans to build an atomic power station under public pressure is symptomatic of the concessions being made to public opinion under Gorbachev.

7. Society. COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Matusevich, M 6:30), a RERUN from February 13, commented on the claim by representatives of the unofficial Pamyat society of an

international Zionist-leftist press conspiracy against it, and on the appearance on Austrian TV of the society's leader, Dmitry Vasilev. The program spoke of the neo-Fascist aura surrounding Vasilev, and suggested that it would be a good thing if Vasilev appeared on Soviet TV, so that the Soviet people could get acquainted with one of its "heroes."

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Henkina, M 6), a RERUN from February 19 of a review of the latest Soviet TV programs, highlighted a moving film on a home in Zagorsk for blind and deaf children which operates in defiance of the callous atmosphere of Soviet society. The program said the showing of the film demonstrates that a start has been made on a journey through a long, long tunnel.

8. Siberia. THE FORTUNES OF SIBERIA (Kushev, M 11:30 and Shapiro, Istr. 9) took issue with an article in Pravda by the party leader of the Krasnoyarsk Kray, Shemin, in which he sneers at the unofficial associations and groups which have sprung up in the USSR, in particular a "committee for promoting restructuring." Shemin argues that the problems with which these groups are concerned are being successfully tackled by the authorities. However, said the program, the groups were the first to draw attention to these problems. Statements in support of the groups made by prominent Soviet intellectuals and experts were quoted. The program presented Shemin's lip-service to restructuring as typical of the resistance which is being shown to restructuring in the provinces. An exception is the Irkutsk Oblast. The program recalled that under Chernenko, the Krasnoyarsk Kray was praised for its achievements, but now, the press is reporting on its mismanagement. The program then spoke of Siberia as a natural trading partner for Japan. However, while Gorbachev's restructuring envisages a certain decentralization of the country's economic system, the development of Siberian-Japanese trade is being hindered by political factors (in particular the Kurile Islands issue) and Soviet bureaucracy.

9. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Gladilin and Betaki, P 5 and 10:30) commented on a discussion in Literaturnaya Gazeta between literary critics which turned into a political discussion between conformists and nonconformists in the pre-restructuring era. The program spoke of progress being made by Soviet literary criticism, but at the same time took issue with a pseudo-debate in Neva praising the works of popular historical writer Valentin Pikul, who the program said distorts historical facts and caters for low tastes.

10. History. THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Predtechensky, M 6) cited an article by Jeane Kirkpatrick in The Washington Post on the official rehabilitation of Bukharin in the USSR. The article notes that in many respects, Bukharin's political views coincide with Gorbachev's restructuring.

FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 27:30) featured the first part of a chapter entitled "Stalin--a Hero and Artist of the Stalin Era" from Soviet emigre writer Andrey Sinyavsky's book The Foundations of Soviet Civilization. The chapter has been published in the Paris-based Russian-language journal Sintaksis, No. 19.

THE FORTUNES OF SIBERIA (Kushev, M 3:30) marked the 70th anniversary of the convening of the first session of the Siberian Oblast Duma in Tomsk. The program cited an account of the session by prominent Siberian public figure Ivan Yakushev.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

1. Poland. COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Gorbanevskaya, P 9:30) reviewed a collection of the writings of Polish public figure Stefan Kisieliewski recently published under the title "Without Censorship" by the Paris-based Polish Catholic publishing house "Spotkania." The program noted Kisieliewski's rejection of Marxist-type socialism, and his complaint that Poland was being Sovietized by the Poles themselves. The program agreed with Kisieliewski's contention that ideology was not dead in the USSR, but found his idea unrealistic that the Polish people could talk to the Soviet leadership over the head of the Polish communist party, and criticized his recommendation that the Polish opposition not propose replacing "bad" socialism by "good" socialism. Reference was made to Kisieliewski's advocacy of a free market.

2. The PRC. OUR PLANET (Gordin, M 2) included an item on the Chinese New Year.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The World Economy. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dreyer, W 5) noted that last October's stock market crash did not, as many predicted, lead to a worldwide recession.

2. Hitler and Stalin. OVER THE BARRIERS (Salkazanov, P 9) reviewed a play by Swedish writer Niklas Radstrom entitled The Roots of Hatred, or Hitler's Childhood being shown in Paris. The program included an RL interview with the producer, and drew a parallel between the childhoods of Hitler and Stalin.

3. Britain. OUR PLANET (Gregory, M 3) reported on the decision by the House of Commons to allow its proceedings to be televised.

4. France. OUR PLANET (Salkazanov, P 3) included an item on an unusual gift from the newspaper Le Quotidien de Paris to its subscribers, namely a computer diskette with information on the

candidates in the upcoming presidential elections, and on their political parties.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

1. Culture. Two art exhibitions in Paris were briefly reviewed in OVER THE BARRIERS (Gladilin, P 3), which quoted Le Monde.

OUR PLANET (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 1) reported on the award of a Japanese prize to Israeli writer Dov Zilberman for a thriller of his centering around a battle between the American and Israeli secret services and Arab terrorists.

OUR PLANET (Rahr and Gordin, M 4) included an item on Fasching in West Germany. The program explained the religious character of the carnaval, and mentioned the corresponding religious feast in Russia.

OUR PLANET (Gordin, M 4) played the Beatles' first record to reach the top of the British hit parade 25 years ago.

2. Sport. WORLD OF SPORT (Rubin and Shamkovich, Calgary 20) presented a report by RL's special correspondent at the Winter Olympics in Calgary on the highly computerized press center, the smooth course of the Games, the warm and friendly atmosphere, the large number of volunteers, and the men's free-style figure skating.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Monday, 22 February 1988
M. Frost

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Genis, NY 5:30) gave American press coverage of the planned withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan in The Washington Post and The Chicago Tribune of February 21.

2. Soviet-US Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Tsaryunov, W 7) broadcast coverage in the American press of US Secretary of State George Shultz's talks in Moscow with Soviet Foreign Minister Edvard Shevardnadze.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gordin and Fedoseyeva, M 7) gave details of US Secretary of State George Shultz's meeting with Sakharov in his Moscow apartment and also reported on his 20-minute meeting with a group of Soviet refuseniks during a lull in his official talks with Shevardnadze.

THE USA TODAY (Dovlatov, NY 12:30) commented on the formal celebration of the 30th anniversary of the Soviet-US cultural agreement. While admitting the need for cultural and scientific exchanges, the program regretted that, in the past at any rate, the nature of the Soviet government precluded the spontaneous exchange of talent between the two countries.

3. The Nationalities. ROUND TABLE (Roitman, Malinkovich, Ogasasian, and Rahr, M 27:30), pegged to the proposal to hold a CC CPSU plenum on nationality issues, discussed the possible measures such a plenum might adopt to placate the increasingly militant demands of the national minorities in the USSR. The

discussants concluded that although the nationalities issue presents enormous emotional, cultural, political, demographic, and economic problems to the Soviet authorities, some degree of parity is necessary if more serious problems are to be avoided in the future.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Roitman) gave a summary of the day's ROUND-TABLE discussion on the nationality issue in the USSR.

4. Restructuring. WORKERS' MOVEMENT (Morozov, W 7) described a dispute between workers and management in a Hydro-Electric Power Station in Divnogorsk and commented that economic reforms will not succeed in the USSR as long as the bureaucracy continues to view workers as mere cogs in an economic system and not as individuals in a social order.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyev and Kroncher, M 6) highlighted the problems faced by enterprises in the USSR who, despite the transfer to self-accountancy and self-financing, are still expected to fulfill their current five year plan quotas. The program recommended a government regulated market system to replace the current centrally planned economy.

5. Glasnost. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Mihaijlov, W 3) reflected on the re-evaluation of Soviet political and cultural leaders taking place in the Soviet press and wondered how much the USSR might have achieved if democratization had been introduced 70 years ago.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Kaminskaya, W 3:30) commented that despite the success of glasnost in providing greater levels of personal freedom in some spheres of Soviet life, the party does not intend to relinquish ideological control over the direction of the glasnost campaign.

6. Society. WORKERS' MOVEMENT (Simis, W 20), using readers' letters from the Soviet press, described the appalling working conditions endured by a high percentage of women in Soviet society. The program argued that the widely proclaimed equality of the sexes in the USSR is a myth, since women have conspicuously failed to penetrate top managerial or party positions and, for the most part, fill menial, low-paid, and health-endangering jobs. The program also highlighted the plight of millions of Soviet children under the age of 16 who are routinely subjected to intolerable work hazards owing to the local authorities' practice of employing unpaid child labor to make up deficits in production targets.

7. Culture. AT THE BOOKSHELF (Perouansky and Falkov, M 27:30) featured an interview with emigre writer Boris Falkov and broadcast two stories from his collection New Times, published by Strelets in 1987. The program was a partial RERUN from February 2.

8. History. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Perquansky and Fedoseyeva, M 9) summarized a The New York Times review of former Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko's memoirs covering his extensive diplomatic career.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Tolz, M 4:30) reviewed a recent article, appearing in Ogonek, on the 1938 execution of the Komsomol secretary Alexander Kosarev and commented that the article failed to mention the fate of several of Kosarev's predecessors who were also shot during Stalin's reign of terror.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 4:30) broadcast excerpts from the Soviet press from 70 and 10 years ago on the Soviet refusal to sign the treaty of Brest-Litovsk and on Brezhnev's military biography.

9. Religion. RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Fotiyev, M 3:30; Antich, M 7; Nazarov, M 8; and Aksenov-Meyerson, NY 9) covered the week's religious news, including items on the decision to allow Mother Theresa to establish a "mercy mission" in the USSR; reported on the results of a religious questionnaire conducted by the Paris based Herald of the Russian Christian Movement; and reviewed a recently published book by Soviet atheist propagandist Gordenko on the state of the Orthodox Church in the USSR.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fotiyev and Fedoseyeva, M 4) reported that, despite the claims of numerous Soviet journalists, it is still not possible for believers to have unhindered access to religious reading material in the USSR. The program called for an immediate improvement in Church-state relations in order to guarantee basic religious rights for believers.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

1. Czechoslovakia. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 8) chronicled the Communist takeover of Czechoslovakia, the 40th anniversary of which will be marked on February 24.

2. Poland. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fishtejn, M 6:30) reported on the government-decreed price increases on many basic consumer goods in Poland and backgrounded the Solidarity campaign to improve living conditions in the country.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The US. THE USA TODAY (Paramonov and Rubin, NY 15) included a summary of an article on "The American Establishment" in US News and World Report and a report on the changes taking place in the trade union organizations of the American automobile industry in the face of fierce competition from Japan.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

1. France. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 6) reported on the international exhibition of languages and cultural exchanges, Expo-Langue, held in Paris from February 18-22.

2. A Summary of the Latest Papal Encyclical on the World's Social Problems was given in EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 6).

3. Sport. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rubin, Calgary 6) continued coverage of the Calgary Winter Olympics and discussed the possibility of Soviet players joining National Hockey League teams next year.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Geichman, M 2:30) previewed the final round of the hockey tournament at the Calgary Winter Olympics.

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RADIO FREE EUROPE
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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Tuesday, 23 February 1988
D. Felton

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Soviet-US Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Weinstein, W 5:30) gave a roundup of Shultz's visit to Moscow. Citing Shultz, Shevardnadze, American officials, and the American press, the program noted progress on strategic arms limitation, and referred to the discussions on the next US-Soviet summit, Afghanistan, and an arms embargo against Iran.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY TODAY (Muslin, NY 4:30) reported on the launching of a US satellite on February 8 to test elements for detecting enemy missiles and nuclear warheads in space.

ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Gendler, NY 3), a RERUN from February 21, pointed to the increased rate of Soviet purchases of American wheat. Experts ascribe this primarily to the low, subsidized prices for this wheat, as well as to the near exhaustion of Argentina's wheat exporting capacity.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY TODAY (Muslin, NY 4:30), a RERUN from February 17, reported on the presence of a delegation of Soviet scientists at the annual conference in Boston of an American association for the promotion of scientific progress. The Soviet scientists were quoted on decentralization, greater openness, and less ideological pressure on the present Soviet science scene. Reference was made to the Soviet rejection of a US charge of illegal acquisition of Western technology for making low-noise submarine propellers and to the Soviet proposal for scientific cooperation with the US.

2. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fistejn, M 10), pegged to the upcoming next round of Geneva talks on Afghanistan, outlined the Soviet and US positions, noting points of agreement and disagreement. Special reference was made to the disagreement over the question of aid to the two warring sides; Pakistan's insistence on signing an agreement with a transitional government, which would allow the return to Afghanistan of millions of Afghan refugees on Pakistani soil; the US and American view that the formation of an Afghan government is a matter for the Afghans; the American expectation for quick collapse of the Kabul regime following a Soviet withdrawal; the regime's extremely low morale; and Iranian President Khamenei's insistence that the Mujahidin are the only force which has the right to determine Afghanistan's future.

3. Dissidents and Human Rights. FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 29:30) featured the second installment of the third part of Solzhenitsyn's Archipelago Gulag (YMCA, Paris, 1980).

4. The Economy. ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Shapiro, Isr. 9) remarked that, as pointed out by Academician Tatyana Zaslavskaya in her 1984 memorandum, the lack of independence of individual enterprises is a major reason for the inefficiency of the Soviet economy. The present widely advertised independence, however, is only a fiction, and enterprises' operations continue to be strictly regimented by the still-existing, directive-style of economic control mechanism.

5. Agriculture. ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Krasin, W 7:30) gave the contents of two studies on Soviet agriculture in an American Congressional report on the Soviet economy. The studies list the basic reasons for the inefficiency of Soviet agriculture and outline Gorbachev's reform program, but find his measures half-hearted and self-contradictory.

6. Housing. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Rahr and Kroncher, M 6) discussed the recently adopted party and government resolution on the encouragement of house-building by private individuals. The program said that while the resolution, which envisages a relaxation of restrictions on private house-builders and the possibility of their obtaining credits is to be welcomed, it alone will hardly solve the problem. For example, building materials are difficult to obtain. Building organizations catering only to private house-builders and not for state projects are needed. There are still conditions attached to the right to build privately, and one of the criteria for a person's receiving aid from his factory is his attitude to work.

7. Health. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 1:30), in a review of the Soviet press, drew attention to a letter in Izvestia of February 7 pointing to the intolerable, penitentiary-like conditions in sanatoriums for alcoholics in the USSR.

8. The Armed Forces. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 10) commented on the celebration in the USSR of the 70th anniversary of the Soviet armed forces. The program recalled the Soviet army's chequered history; said the golden era for the Soviet armed forces under Brezhnev is now a thing of the past; and observed that, thanks to Afghanistan, Defense Minister Yazov's speech was unusually modest.

9. The Nationalities. ROUND TABLE TALK (Roitman and Malinkovich, M 20) outlined Lenin's nationality policy, which called for enhancement of the individual identities of the various nationalities. The program described this policy as a compromise between dogma and reality and expressed the view that it should serve as a basis for the urgently needed revised nationality policy in the USSR. In particular, said the program, the republics should be given economic autonomy. The discussion of a new nationality policy called for by Gorbachev should take place in public with the participation of, not only government officials, also of but representatives of the nationality intelligentsias, in particular, those who have in the past suffered for their convictions. However, said the program, as a result, for example, of the demands of a centralized economy and a unified army, it is very much more difficult now to develop the individualities of the nationalities than it was in the 1920s.

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Nadirashvili and Oganessian, M 12), a RERUN from February 10, discussed the case of Armenian official Hayk Kotanjian, whose assignment was part of an insignificant personnel reshuffle carried out by party leader Demirjian in an attempt to ward off criticism from Moscow for not supporting restructuring. Kotanjian caused a storm of protest at a party meeting when he placed the blame for Armenia's desolate economic situation on the party leadership, criticized it for discrediting restructuring, and called for a new leadership and the replacement of Demirjian. Reference was made to an article by Kazutin in Moskovskiye Novosti on the Kotanjian affair which said that the Armenian party leadership hinted to Kotanjian at a parallel between his case and that of recently ousted Boris Yeltsin. The program expressed the view that under the present Armenian leadership there can be no question of democracy and glasnost in the republic. While Moscow is now more progressive than the local republican leaderships, a test of its nationality policy will be whether it will continue to apply pressure to the nationality republics when they no longer have conservative leaderships.

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Avtorkhanov, M 8:30) presented the final program in a series on Moscow's relations with the Muslim peoples in Russia/USSR. The program pointed out that in the case of the USSR's Muslim republics, religion is an attribute of national as well as religious identity. Moscow's goal of "denationalizing" the nationalities is utopian. The Gorbachev leadership, despite its talk of "new thinking," is still adhering to the Stalinist thinking on the nationality question. At the same time, the Politburo has established a special commission to formulate a new nationality policy. The program suggested that the party would do well to start restructuring its nationality policy by carrying out the wishes of its founder, Lenin, who advocated helping the nationalities to strengthen their identity.

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Krimerman, M 7) contrasted the lip service being paid by the Moldavian party leadership to restructuring with the desolate state of the republic's economy, the continued low standard of living, corruption, the suppression of criticism, etc., complained about by Moldavians in a stream of letters to Pravda.

10. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Vasily Betaki, P 7:30) gave a positive review of the work of Soviet poet Vadim Shefner in connection with the publication of a selection of his verses. The program noted that the cultural authorities have tended to belittle Shefner's importance.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fotiyev, M 4:30) gave the contents of an article by David Remnick in The International Herald Tribune of February 22 on the Ann Arbor-based publishing house "Ardis," which specializes in the publication of Russian-language editions of books suppressed in the USSR, and English-language editions of books by Russian writers which although artistically valuable are not considered profitable by major American publishers. The Russian-language books find their way into the USSR and even include Gorbachev among their readers.

11. Religion. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Rahr, M 13) featured RL telephone interviews with Russian Orthodox activist Alexander Ogorodnikov; Ivan Gel, a representative of a movement for the restoration and legalization of the Ukrainian Greco-Catholic (Uniate) Church; Anatoly Minchuk, a representative of Russian Pentecostals living in Estonia who are applying for emigration; and Viktor Aksyuchits, the editor of the unofficial journal Vybor. The interviewees were waiting in Ogorodnikov's Moscow apartment for a visit by US Assistant Secretary of State Richard Shifter. Ogorodnikov outlined his demands for rights for the Russian Orthodox church, Gel and Minchuk spoke of their individual campaigns, while Aksyuchits said he was pleased to hear that material from his journal was being broadcast by RL.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 2), in a review of the Soviet press, drew attention to an article in Literaturnaya Gazeta, No. 6, expressing satisfaction over plans to erect a memorial to St. Sergius of Radonezh in the village of Gorodok in the Zagorsk Rayon. The article spoke of inconsistencies in the entries on St. Sergius in the Large Soviet Encyclopedia and said how good it was that today, after having devised a variety of methods of destruction, people in the USSR have started looking for ways to create.

12. History. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rahr, M 5:30) recapitulated the circumstances leading to Estonia's proclamation of independence on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of this event.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 1), in a review of the Soviet press, drew attention to an item in Ogonek, No. 7, in which a teacher relativizes the claim made in favor of Stalin that under his rule prices of industrial goods and foodstuffs decreased year by year and labor discipline was higher by pointing to the inordinately high cost of these achievements, such as the loss of rights for kolkhoz workers.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Vishnevskaya, M 3:30) drew attention to the recent publication in Ogonek of the recollections of writer Daniil Granin of Mikhail Zoshchenko's public rejection, at a meeting of Leningrad writers in June 1954, of Stalin's chief ideologist Zhdanov's scathing criticism of him. This was the first instance of this kind. A stenographic record of Zoshchenko's speech was also published in Ogonek.

In OVER THE BARRIERS (Dovlatov, NY 7) Soviet emigre writer Sergey Dovlatov gave a positive review of a book by Soviet emigre writer Leonid Itselev on Bolshevik commissar and diplomat Alexandra Kollontai.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 2), continuing to leaf through old Soviet newspapers, cited a statement by the all-Russian Cheka published in Pravda of 23 February 1918 threatening "counterrevolutionaries" with death following a German offensive after Trotsky refused to sign the peace treaty of Brest-Litovsk.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

1. Czechoslovakia. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 2), continuing to leaf through old Soviet newspapers, cited from a speech by Alexander Dubcek, published in Pravda of 23 February 1968, in which the Czechoslovak party leader insisted that the country's future plans did not mean that its foreign policy

would not continue to be based on the principles of brotherly cooperation and equal rights with the USSR and other socialist countries. Six months later, the program noted, the countries concerned demonstrated these principles by invading Czechoslovakia.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. East-West Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Paramonov, NY 4) reported on the USSR's early withdrawal of short-range nuclear missiles from Eastern Germany and Czechoslovakia, citing White House spokesman Fitzwater that this was a good sign and that he hoped that the INF treaty would be ratified by the Senate. The program cited some of the statements made at the Senate hearings on the treaty both for and against the latter and referred briefly to the talks between Shultz and Shevardnadze in Moscow on strategic missile reduction.

2. The Balkans. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Perouansky, M 6) commented on the conference of the foreign ministers of six Balkan countries which has opened in Belgrade. The program disagreed with a TASS claim that the question of a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans was the major issue at the conference, pointing out that the conference has no fixed agenda and controversial issues between the Balkan countries are to be left aside. The program spoke of the credit deserved by Yugoslavia for bringing about the conference and agreed with TASS that the warming of US-Soviet relations has also had an influence on the Balkans.

3. Austria. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva and Gordin, M 8) gave background on the controversy surrounding Austrian President Kurt Waldheim in connection with his World War II activities.

4. The World Economy. ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Dreyer, W 5), a RERUN from February 21, noted that last October's stock market crash did not, as many predicted, lead to a worldwide recession.

5. France. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 7:30) reported on the controversy in France over the partial hunger strike being conducted by a group of "Action Directe" terrorists now on trial.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

1. Sport. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Geichman, M 3:30) reported on the latest skiing relay and speed skating results at the Winter Olympics in Calgary.

2. Science and Technology. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY TODAY (Muslin, NY 18) reported on possible future technological applications of new powerful ultrasonic generators and an American project to map all the approximately 100,000 genes determining the characteristics of the human organism.

3. Schopenhauer. OVER THE BARRIERS (Faybusovich and Malinkovich, M 8 and 4) outlined the life and work of German philosopher Schopenhauer on the occasion of the 200th anniversary of his birth. The program noted that Lenin branded Schopenhauer an "arch-reactionary." Reference was made to Schopenhauer's influence on other, including Russian, philosophers.

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RADIO FREE EUROPE
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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Wednesday, 24 February 1988
M. Frost

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, 8:30) discussed the differences between the various parties at the Afghan peace talks in Geneva which still have to be resolved before the Soviet negotiating deadline of March 15. The program also referred to an article in The New York Times which reported on the preliminary withdrawal of some Soviet personnel from Afghanistan.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fistejn, M 7), using a Knight-Ridder Syndicate report from February 24 and an article in The Times (London) from February 23, reported on the preliminary transfer of military responsibilities from Soviet to Afghan government troops in preparation for the expected Soviet withdrawal and reviewed progress on the peace talks in Geneva.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 6:30), citing commentaries from Le Monde, The International Herald Tribune, and AFP, analyzed the political future of Afghanistan and expressed particular concern over the future of the current Afghan government in Kabul with whom the resistance representatives have steadfastly refused to cooperate.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyev, M 3), using voice extracts from Senator Robert Byrd's speech in the US Senate, outlined the leader of the Senate Democratic majority's views on the need to proceed carefully with the Soviet Union in the negotiations on the future of Afghanistan.

2. The Nationalities. ROUND TABLE (Roitman, Mikaeli, and Oganesian, M 20) discussed the causes of the February 18 and 23 demonstrations in Armenia. The program backgrounded the pollution issue in Yerevan, talked about ongoing cultural, religious, and political conflict between Azeris and Armenians in the region, and gave a demographic and historical profile of the predominantly Armenian populated Autonomous Mountainous

Karabagh Oblast whose unification with Armenia is being demanded by the protesters in Yerevan and Stepanakert.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Perouansky, M 7) reported on the demonstrations in Yerevan demanding the union of the Mountainous Karabagh oblast with the Armenian SSR. The program gave a demographic and historical profile of the region where 80 percent of the population are of Armenian extraction and quoted the CPSU CC's negative response to the demonstrators' demands. The program also cited excerpts from the Soviet constitution pertaining to the right of individual republics to secede from the Union.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Oganesian, M 6) backgrounded the demands of the demonstrators in Yerevan for the unification of the Mountainous Karabagh oblast to the Armenian SSR. The program noted that the Mountainous Karabagh issue is just one of dozens of potentially explosive nationality problems that the Soviet leadership will be forced to deal with and concluded that no easy solution to the Mountainous Karabagh issue is in sight.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 1:30), on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the declaration of Estonian independence, broadcast a letter from members of the Lithuanian independence movement pledging support for the Estonian right to self-determination.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gendler, NY 2:30) gave the text of a telegram sent by 40 US Congressmen to Gorbachev, calling on the Soviet authorities to allow peaceful demonstrations to take place in Estonia to mark the 70th anniversary of the declaration of Estonian independence. A CND report from Washington of August 12 was used.

3. Dissidents and Human Rights. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva and Limberger, M 6:30) discussed the new regulations on the use of psychiatry in the USSR to be introduced on March 1. While the new regulations were welcomed, the program expressed concern that in the absence of legal system in the Soviet Union capable of guaranteeing basic human rights, it is inappropriate to expect radical improvements in Soviet psychiatric practice. The program referred to an article on the subject by Sergey Grigoryants which appeared in The New York Times on February 23.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Shragin, NY 13), pegged to the recent Soviet announcement of a possible review of Soviet psychiatric practices, summarized a report by the American Helsinki Monitoring Group on the abuse of psychiatry in the USSR for political purposes.

4. Emigres. OVER THE BARRIERS (Dovlatov, NY 10) recounted a chance meeting with a former Moscow jazz music collector who is now a salesman in a popular New York music store.

5. Restructuring. OVER THE BARRIERS (Paramonov, NY 7:30) focused on an interview by the Soviet economist and writer Nikolay Shmelev published in Moskovske Novosti in which he referred to the "amorality of economic inefficiency." The program reflected upon the efficacy of the glasnost campaign in highlighting the numerous paradoxes of Socialist morality.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, M 4:30), using comparisons with the Roman Empire, critically examined the system of the production, purchasing and distribution of wheat in the USSR, and suggested that establishment on nongovernment controlled enterprises to guarantee the efficient purchasing and distribution of wheat and other goods throughout the Soviet Union.

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Shapiro, Isr. 12) observed that despite the many changes that have taken place in Soviet society over the last few years, the "image of the enemy" has been preserved by the leadership as a useful propaganda tool for defending their policies against fictitious foreign enemies.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyev and Kroncher, M 6), based on articles appearing in Sovetskaya Rossiya and Sovetskaya Kultura, highlighted the problems encountered by recently established cooperatives with industrial enterprises which are still operating according to 5 year plans. The program commented that the two systems are incompatible and suggested an economic model whereby government controlled enterprises played a minimum role in the Soviet economy.

6. The Law. HUMAN RIGHTS (Kaminskaya, W 8), using a variety of Soviet press sources, gave examples of individual rights in the USSR being subjugated to the "collective will" in such a manner that benefit is derived neither by the individual or the community. Indeed, the program argued, that the erosion of individual liberties in the USSR, has adversely affected the quality of life in the Soviet Union.

7. Education. OVER THE BARRIERS (Genis and Vail, NY 10) discussed the lamentable state of literary studies in Soviet schools. The program concluded that incompetent literary instruction is threatening to create a "bookless" generation devoid of any feeling for the grandeur of Russia's literary past.

8. Literature. AT THE BOOKSHELF (Perouansky, M 29:30), a RERUN from 30 November, 1987, broadcast the first installment of Voinovich's satirical novel about life in Soviet Union in 50 years time, Moscow 2052.

9. History. RUSSIA YESTERDAY, TODAY, TOMORROW (Tolz M 16) broadcast the fourth and final program on the events surrounding the last days of Lenin. The program examined the political motives for Lenin's doctors spreading the rumor that Lenin died of syphilis and intimated that Stalin was instrumental in

perpetrating rumors about Lenin's death in order to discredit him for his own political gain. The program was largely based on an account of the last days of Lenin under the pseudonym of N. Petrenko, published in Minuvshee in Paris.

HUMAN RIGHTS (Fedoseyev, M 6:30) refuted a Radio Moscow announcement on the 70th anniversary of the formation of the Soviet Armed Forces, that the Red Army has never occupied small states and has never been the first to violate the borders of another state. The program enumerated the occasions from the beginning of the Second world War right up to the invasion of Afghanistan when the Soviet Armed Forces have both crossed state borders and occupied other states.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 4) broadcast excerpts from the Soviet press from 70 and 60 years ago on the Red Army and Stalin's dekulakization program.

RUSSIA YESTERDAY, TODAY, TOMORROW (Geller and Mirsky, P 9:30) reviewed the Biographical Dictionary of the Comintern, recently published in the USA and commented that the book fills in yet another blank spot in Soviet history where many members of the Comintern were liquidated during the purges.

10. Religion. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rahr, M 7), commented on an interview given to Deutsche Welle by Archbishop Michael of Vologda and Veliky Ustug in which he referred to the construction of several new churches in the USSR. The program remarked that the number of active churches in the USSR is miserly when compared with the ratio of churches to believers in pre-Revolutionary.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

None

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. East-West Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Tsaryunov, W 6) US agency reports, covered the contents of President Reagan's speech on East-West relations delivered on the eve of the meeting of NATO leaders in Bruxelles.

2. The US. EVENTS AND PEOPLE ((Weinstein, W 4:30) covered President Reagan's first press conference in four months in which he discussed issues ranging from East-West relations and violence in the Gaza strip to recent events in Panama.

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Simis, W 7), citing the perjury charges currently faced by former White House aide Michael Deaver, explained the Western democratic principle of justice which

ensures that all citizens, irrespective of office, are equal before the law.

3. France. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanov, P 4:30) reported on the controversy in France over the "Action Directe" trial in Paris.

4. Italy. DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Bensi, M 7) reported on the formation of a new Italian government and the enduring political crises in the Italian parliamentary system.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

1. Sport. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Geichman, M 3:30) reported on the results of the ski-jumping competitions at the Calgary Winter Olympics.

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RADIO FREE EUROPE
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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Thursday, 25 February 1988
D. Felton

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Weinstein, W 5:30) cited statements on the possibility of an agreement on Afghanistan by Shultz, who said he did not doubt the seriousness of Soviet intentions to withdraw its troops, and by Senate Majority leader Byrd, Republican Senator Gordon Humphrey, and State Department official Zalmi Halilzad, who expressed caution. The program also mentioned Deputy Secretary of State Armacost's meetings with Afghan resistance leaders in Islamabad, during which the leader of the resistance coalition, Khalis, said the war would continue if the present Kabul regime remained in power following a Soviet troop withdrawal. The resistance forces' criticism of the Geneva talks was also noted. A CND report from Washington was used.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 9:30) said the Soviet attacks against Pakistan and the Mujahidin over the question of a transitional Afghan government are typical of the self-righteousness which the USSR has been showing right from the start over the Afghan issue.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanov, P 9:30) reported, with voice cuts, on a February 25 Paris press conference given by Afghan resistance representative Hodayoun Tandar in which he rejected the Geneva talks, which he said should be between the USSR and the resistance, and detailed the resistance's plans for the composition of a future Afghan government. Tandar spoke of inevitable turmoil in Afghanistan following a Soviet troop withdrawal, said the resistance was not afraid of a possible cessation of foreign aid, and in reply to a question by RL's correspondent, commented that future relations between Afghanistan and the USSR depended on the latter. Audio Section material was used.

2. Foreign Policy. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Mihajlov, W 4:30) commented on Gorbachev's attempt, in his book on restructuring, to play down Khrushchev's "We will bury you!" threat to the capitalist world, and claim that Lenin always

wanted peaceful coexistence. The program gave quotes from Lenin which tell quite a different story, and said that the records of Lenin and Khrushchev in subjugating other peoples are also hardly indicative of a Soviet desire for peace. It is difficult to believe that such a desire exists, said the program, as long as the Lenin cult is not consigned to the same fate as that surrounding Stalin.

3. Foreign Trade. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Kroncher, M 6:30) commented on an article in Sovetskaya Kultura of February 20 on how Soviet ministerial officials failed to react to letters from an American firm trying to sell a fodder additive because this would have led to reduced Soviet grain purchases, and hence a reduction in Soviet foreign trade, and the officials are under pressure from the party leadership to produce figures reflecting growth and volume, rather than quality and efficiency.

4. Dissidents and Human Rights. DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 12:30; Fedorov, NY 9; and Alexeyeva, W 8:30) began by discussing a commentary on human rights by Igor Karpets, director of the USSR State Prosecutor's Office's All-Union Scientific Research Institute. The program took issue with his claim that in the West, the human rights problem in the USSR had been reduced to the issue of how many people, primarily of Jewish nationality, had been refused exit visas, and also with his claim that the principle of presumption of innocence was firmly anchored in Soviet law. After this, former Georgian political prisoner Zakhary Lashkarashvili recalled his fellow-prisoner Nikolay Ryzhkov, a former Soviet soldier in Afghanistan who fled to Pakistan and from there to the US, and returned to the USSR after Soviet Ambassador Dobrynin had assured him he would not be punished (AS-6144). Former Soviet political prisoner Yury Fedorov then described conditions in a specially strict-regime camp. In conclusion, the program reported on a session of the socioeconomic section of the Moscow Public Seminar on Humanitarian Problems and Human Rights held last December at which the official Soviet claim that the socioeconomic rights of Soviet citizens were adequately served was disputed.

FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 29:30) broadcast the second installment of Oleg Volkov's autobiographical account of prison life in the USSR, Descent into Darkness, published recently by Athenium in Paris.

5. The Economy. MAN AND SOCIETY (Chianurov, M 5), a RERUN from February 18, highlighted the problem of future unemployment in the USSR which some Western experts predict will total 13 percent of the work force by the year 2000. The program made reference to an article on unemployment in Moskovske Novosti and summarized Marshall Goldman's views on the social cost of unemployment published in The Los Angeles Times on February 17.

6. Society. MAN AND SOCIETY (Konovalov, M 7) cited reports in the Soviet press on recent cases of kidnapping, especially of children, in the USSR. Only a few years ago, this crime was officially presented in the USSR as something which only happened in capitalist countries. The program remarked that kidnapping is especially prevalent in Transcaucasia and Soviet Central Asia. An RLR Research Report was used.

7. Education. MAN AND SOCIETY (Voronitsyn, M 4), a RERUN from February 18, discussed Ligachev's proposals for educational reforms delivered to the CC CPSU plenum currently taking place in Moscow. The program commented that, although Ligachev has called for a greater orientation of the educational system to the needs of Soviet industry, his proposals are lacking in specific details. An RLR Research Report was used.

8. Health. MAN AND SOCIETY (Shapiro, Isr. 8:30), citing an article in Izvestia of last December by Parkhomovsky, pointed to the lack of facilities and conveniences for invalids in the USSR.

9. The Nationalities. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Belotserkovsky, M 7:30) said the recent demonstrations in Yerevan, Tallin, and Tbilisi show that no restructuring has so far taken place in the sphere of nationality policy. Although Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gerasimov has said that the Mountainous Karabakh demonstrations have been peaceful, the Soviet authorities still tend to present nationality demonstrations as the work of provocateurs and extremists, and ignore the nationalities' aspirations. The position of the CPSU CC and the local party leadership on the Mountainous Karabakh issue was outlined, and the view of democratically-minded dissidents was noted that there can be no successful political and economic reforms without a restructuring of nationality policy. Unrest among the nationalities, said the program, could provide conservative forces with an excuse for attacking the reformists. The trouble is, said the program, that the majority of the leading cadres in the party and the KGB have a great-power, imperialist outlook.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 8:30) cited comment on the latest Armenian and Estonian demonstrations by Le Figaro's Moscow correspondent Denis Legras, who spoke of demonstrations in Armenia besides in Yerevan, Armenia being banned for Western journalists, and the series of nationality demonstrations following the Alma-Ata unrest in December 1986, and Le Monde, which said ethnic tension and people's unwillingness to accept a situation created by Stalin are the common denominators of events in such different regions as Armenia and Estonia. In conclusion, the program mentioned a demonstration in Paris on the occasion of Estonian Independence Day, and a demonstration by Armenians in Paris outside the Soviet Embassy.

10. Culture. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fistejn and Malinkovich, M 20) and THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Malinkovich, M 6)

took issue with a February 20 article in Sovetskaya Kultura by Alexander Svobodin, a participant in the recent Moscow theater week in Munich. The program said the article attacks Soviet emigres, in particular RL staffers, for their alleged bitterness and hatred, and misrepresents a dispute between one of the Soviet representatives at the festival, Mikhail Ulyanov, and one of the program authors, Vladimir Malinkovich, over Ulyanov's castigation of the authors of a letter to Moskovskiy Novosti, namely Bukovsky, Orlov, Flyushch et al as traitors who were disturbing the restructuring process. Malinkovich pointed out that restructuring needs self-criticism. The attitude towards dissidence is one of the most crucial elements in restructuring. Soviet theater director Mark Zakharov, on the other hand, spoke favorably in Moskovskiy Novosti of the enthusiastic reception given to the Soviet guests by the Soviet emigre public in Munich.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Gladilin and Salkazanov, P 8) commented on the appearance of Soviet film director Sergey Paradzhanov at the Rotterdam film festival, the first time he has been allowed by the Soviet authorities to travel abroad. The program cited enthusiastic comment on Paradzhanov and his films in the Dutch newspapers Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant and De Volkskrant, and the French Liberation.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, M 4) gave the contents of an article by The Guardian's Moscow correspondent Martin Walker on the Soviet authorities' decision to publish Orwell's 1984 this fall. The article says this shows the glasnost campaign is continuing, and points out that a limited edition of 1984 is already in existence for the Soviet elite.

In OVER THE BARRIERS (Kublanovsky, P 8) Soviet emigre poet Yury Kublanovsky gave a positive review of Sailors' Yarns and In Search of Good Hope by Soviet writer Viktor Konetsky, published last year in the USSR.

11. History. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Tolz, M 9:30) observed that the Soviet press is no longer painting the unrealistically evil picture of Beria that it once did, and has set itself the task of examining the role played by Beria in the power mechanism of the socialist system. The program said that while this is a commendable enterprise, it seems clear that there is no intention to publish in its entirety the relevant documentation being kept in the KGB's archives. Instead, memoirs are being used, such as an article by the son of the late Anastas Mikoyan, Sergo, in which he cites the recollections of Beria by his father and other contemporaries of his. The article shows that Beria was not Stalin's "evil spirit," and that he had no control over the fate of Stalin's victims. The program disagreed, however, with Sergo Mikoyan's claim that palace revolutions were impossible in a socialist society. The program said the first step has been taken towards historical truth in the USSR, but there is a long way to go.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 3:30), continuing to leaf through old Soviet newspapers, cited the text, published in Pravda of 25 February 1918, of a telegram signed by Lenin and Trotsky in which the Soviet government accepted the terms of the Brest-Litovsk peace treaty. The program noted that in the complete works of Lenin, this document appears without Lenin's signature. The program also cited a Pravda editorial of 25 February 1938 on the discovery and liquidation of Trotskyite-Bukharinist espionage nests in rural organs. The program noted Bukharin's recent rehabilitation in the USSR.

12. Claude Simon on the USSR. OVER THE BARRIERS (Sezeman, P 8) reviewed and excerpted a book by French Nobel Prize-winning author Claude Simon entitled The Invitation in which he described the luxurious seclusion and constant surveillance of guests at the Issyk-Kul meeting between Soviet and foreign cultural representatives, and gave his impressions of Gorbachev.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

None

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. East-West Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 4) commented on and backgrounded the early withdrawal of Soviet medium- and short-range missiles from Eastern Germany and Czechoslovakia. The program noted contradictory information on the number of missiles involved, and described the withdrawal operation as largely propagandistic and psychological in nature, since the military value of the missiles concerned is small.

2. The Middle East. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Paramonov, NY 4) reported on Shultz's latest tour of Middle East countries during which the American peace plan will be discussed. Mixed reaction to the plan was noted.

3. Austria. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gordin, M 6:30) reported on the latest developments in the case of Austrian President Kurt Waldheim in connection with his World War II activities. Reference was made to the controversy over the question of his participation in a state ceremony marking the 50th anniversary of Austria's annexation by Nazi Germany, and the conclusions of the international commission of historians.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

1. Religion. JUDAISM (Lvov. Taratuta and Haskelevich, NY 9, 9 and 9) was devoted entirely to the feast of Purim, and included a recapitulation of the Book of Esther and an outline of the history, laws and customs of Purim.
2. Sport. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Geichman, H 6) commented on the latest ski jumping and ice hockey results at the Winter Olympics in Calgary. Among other things, the program expressed surprise that at the present time of glasnost and democratization, two Soviet ski jumpers were sent back to Moscow because Soviet officials did not consider they had any chance of success.

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RADIO FREE EUROPE
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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Friday, 26 February 1988
D. Felton

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Soviet-US Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Weinstein, W 4:30) gave the contents of President Reagan's statements on US-Soviet relations made in an interview to The Washington Post.
2. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 9) drew attention to a statement by an unidentified Soviet official that a Soviet troop withdrawal plan existed also for the case of an outbreak of civil war. The USSR would also agree to the presence of UN observers in Afghanistan. A Soviet spokesman was then quoted to the effect that the ruling Afghan communist party was never a representative of the Afghan people. The program spoke of Soviet attempts to create an ideological basis for its troop withdrawal, and noted in this connection Najibullah's starting to appear some time ago in the role of a devout Muslim. An article in Literaturnaya Gazeta by writer Prokhanov, a virtual mouthpiece of the Soviet armed forces' main political department, was mentioned in which he also criticized the Afghan communist party, but glossed over the suffering inflicted on the Afghan people. While Kabul boasts that it could crush the partisans on its own, Afghan officials and Soviet citizens are preparing for a possible departure. The program also noted the Soviet rejection of the positions of Pakistan and the Mujahidin on a future Afghan government, and mentioned US Deputy Secretary of State Armacost's visit to Pakistan and India, and India's contacts with the partisans.
3. Dissidents and Human Rights. DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 21:30 and Alexeyeva, W 8:30) gave a biographical profile of Mikhail Zotov, a human rights activist, writer, artist and former political prisoner. This was followed by a RERUN from 18 December 1987 of the text of a letter of his pointing to the shortcomings of restructuring as now practised, and calling for genuine restructuring (AS-6115), and the text of a postscript to the letter which speaks of a tendency to exonerate the KGB (AS-6149). The program concluded with brief case histories of dissidents who have long been confined in psychiatric hospitals. The program noted at the same time that

in 1987 many such inmates were released, and new confinements have virtually ceased. However, Soviet officials try to give the impression that the confinement of dissidents in psychiatric hospitals has been the work of local authorities.

4. The Emigration. AT THE BOOKSHELF (Voynovich, M 29:30), a RERUN from 2 November 1987, presented the second installment of Soviet emigre writer Vladimir Voynovich's satirical novel Moscow 2042, about a futuristic communist republic.

5. Jewish Affairs. JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 4:30), in a review of events in Israel in the past week, gave news of the activities of Soviet Jewish immigrants Ida Nudel, Iosif Begun, and Prof. Lerner, and reported on the arrival of Soviet Jewish activist Aleksey Magarik, and the refusal of emigration permission for Soviet Jewish refuseniks Kasharovsky and Pyatigorsky. The Israeli press was quoted that Shultz's visit to Moscow brought no improvement in the Soviet Jewish emigration situation. Reference was also made to the controversy over a proposal by Australian Jewish leader Libler to concentrate aid to Soviet Jewry on religious groups.

JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Roitman, M 15) excerpted a paper by Mikhail Heifetz on the evolution of Russian-Jewish relations delivered at a conference in Monterey, California, in January. The paper examines the reasons for antipathy and mistrust between Russians and Jews, and focuses on the use of literature in the USSR in the 1970s and 1980s for anti-Semitic purposes.

6. Restructuring. ROUND TABLE TALK (Roitman, Malinkovich, and Voslensky, M 20) and THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Malinkovich, m 6:30) was pegged to a February 25 briefing at the Soviet Foreign Ministry's press center on the question of a possible transition to a multiparty system in the USSR. Voslensky asked why the emergence of independent political groups could not be tolerated which would eventually acquire the status of political parties. Malinkovich suggested that while a transition to a multiparty system is theoretically possible, it is not yet necessary, and would not of itself promote democratization, which should be achieved by separating the party from the state, and developing democratically elected state structures such as the soviets. Malinkovich and Roitman expressed differing views on the possibility of an amendment to the Soviet Constitution allowing the existence of more than one political party, and the legitimacy of invoking Lenin on the issue.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Mihajlov, W 4:30) commented on increasingly frequent assertions in the Soviet press that Lenin and the Bolsheviks really wanted a multiparty system in the USSR from the very start, but they were compelled to set up a dictatorship because of the obstructionist, counter-revolutionary activities of their petty bourgeois

opponents. The program said this indicates that, at a time when a pluralism of opinion is being allowed on a wide spectrum of issues, it is becoming increasingly difficult for the leadership to justify the party's continued monopoly of power. The program spoke of the false conception that only one party can defend the interests of a single class, and wondered whether the Soviet working class really feels that a party responsible for impoverishment, stagnation, moral decline, etc. is expressive of its will.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 1) quoted a conversation overheard in the subway of a Soviet city, published in Pravda Ukrainy, February 11, concerning the discrepancy between words and deeds in respect of glasnost and democracy.

7. The Economy. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 4:30) said that it is the Soviet public who will pay the price of economic restructuring. Prices for consumer goods are rising, and although higher-quality goods are promised, Soviet enterprises are still required to fulfil the plan, and this is incompatible with higher quality.

8. The Nationalities. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Perouansky, M 7) said Gorbachev's appeal to the Armenian and Azeri peoples indicates that the situation remains tense in Mountainous Karabagh. The program drew attention to the discrepancy between the Soviet leadership's words and deeds in respect of the Mountainous Karabagh, with administrative measures instead of popular debate. The Independent was quoted on Gorbachev's two alternatives, namely a clampdown with its risk of damage to the USSR's international reputation, or a relaxation of central authority in accordance with the logic of the policies proclaimed by Gorbachev himself. The latter, however, could sow the seeds of an eventual disintegration of the Soviet empire. The program asked whether there was any need for a state held together by force.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 6) spoke of a Soviet policy of passive and active disinformation on the demonstrations in Armenia and Estonia, and reviewed French press comment. Le Figaro and Le Monde were quoted on the demonstrations in Yerevan, especial note being taken of the orderliness of the demonstrators, and the friendly attitude of the militia. Le Quotidien de Paris was quoted on the presence of military units in Yerevan, and Liberation on the events in Armenia shaking the Soviet empire. L'Humanite's Moscow correspondent Bernard Frederic was quoted as saying that he heard from witnesses that the demonstrators in Yerevan carried portraits of Lenin and Gorbachev.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Krimerman, M 6) cited the Moldavian and Soviet central press, as well as a Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Yablokov, on the catastrophic

environmental pollution in Moldavia, references to which the republic's leadership tries to suppress.

9. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (V. Betaki, P 11) reported on a discussion in Yunost on how the publication of works by talented young Soviet writers has been held up for years as a result of the party's ideological tutelage of literature, and of the reluctance of the literary establishment to share its privileges.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Malinkovich, M 8:30) gave a generally positive review of the Soviet film The Commissar, directed by Alexander Askoldov, which was awarded the Silver Bear prize at the Berlin film festival. The program commented that now, most of the Soviet films banned during the stagnation period are being shown not only in the USSR but abroad.

In OVER THE BARRIERS (Glickman, M 10) Soviet emigre artist and writer Gavriil Glickman gave his personal recollections of prominent Soviet conductor Yevgeny Mravinsky.

10. Religion. THE MILLENNIUM OF THE CHRISTIANIZATION OF RUSSIA (Rahr, M 30) cited a description of the former Moscow Church of Christ the Savior and its demolition in August 1931 given in the album Destroyed and Desecrated Churches, compiled in the USSR and published in the West by Posev. The program author added his early childhood recollections of the Church, as well as the recollections of an old peasant from the Yaroslavl Oblast, and noted a reference in Nedelya, No. 6, to the Church's demolition, and proposals in the USSR to build a memorial, possibly on the site of the Church, containing all that remains of it and another demolished church. After this, the program drew attention to an interview given to Komsomolets Uzbekistan, January 8, by Bishop Lvov of the Tashkent and Central Asian See of the Russian Orthodox Church in which he expressed tolerance for unregistered religious communities, and spoke of the Church's thousand years of service to the cause of peace. The program took issue with a subsequent article in Komsomolets Uzbekistana by Nelli Kolesasov denying that the Church helped the cause of peace, and expressing irritation over Bishop L'vov's tolerance towards unregistered religious communities. The program gave background on these communities.

11. History. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 2:30), after remarking how interesting the Soviet press has become under glasnost, cited readers' letters in Literaturnaya Rossiya, February 19, praising Stalin's achievements and criticizing those who were castigating him, and in Nedelya, No. 8, calling for guarantees that Yezhovshchina would not return.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 4), continuing to leaf through old Soviet newspapers, cited Lenin's statement, made three days after the creation of the Red Army and published in Pravda of 26 February 1918, in which he said Russia had to sign

an unfavorable peace treaty with Germany because it was defenseless. The program then quoted from a document signed by Lenin on the same day, but not published in the Soviet press, detailing plans to evacuate the government from Petrograd. The program also quoted a Pravda editorial of 26 February 1938 castigating Trotskyites and Bukharinists for shortages of sewing thread, stockings, and other consumer goods.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

1. Czechoslovakia. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fistejn, M 8), after observing that the 40th anniversary of the communist takeover in Czechoslovakia sees the country fraught with serious economic, social and nationality problems, said that in addition an unexpected conflict has sprung up between the Czechoslovak Catholic Church and the regime following Cardinal Tomasek's support for a 31-point petition by Moravian Catholics including a demand for a genuine separation of church from state. The massive popular support for the petition, said the program, has strengthened the Vatican's hand in its present negotiations with Prague. The program noted Czech press attacks against Cardinal Tomasek, and his response of calling for a nationwide pilgrimage to Prague on March 6.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The Middle East. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Tsaryunov, W 6) commented on Shultz's Middle East mission, and reported on his talks with Israeli leaders. Reference was also made to Israeli and Lebanese Muslim demonstrations against Shultz's visit, as well as Soviet and Palestinian attacks against the American and Israeli positions.

JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 4:30), in a review of events in Israel in the past week, focused particularly on Shultz's visit, the continued unrest in the occupied territories, and differences within Israel on what to do about the Palestinian problem.

2. The Balkans. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Paramonov, NY 2:30) reported on the end of the Belgrade conference of foreign ministers of six Balkan countries. The presence of Albania was noted, and reference was made to the rejection of a proposal by Greece to declare the Balkan peninsula a nuclear-free zone and remove all foreign bases, and a Romanian proposal for a Balkan summit in December. Yugoslav Foreign Minister Loncar was quoted that the conference was a success.

3. The FRG. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 6) commented on the new tariff agreement reached in the metalworking industry in

three regions of Western Germany. The coal and steel crisis in the FRG was mentioned.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

1. Sport. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Geichman, M 6:30), reporting on the Winter Olympics in Calgary, mentioned the disqualification of Soviet woman skier Nina Gavriluk for breaking advertising regulations, the disqualification of 19 other skiers for contravening dress regulations, and the controversy over the revealing dress of East German figure skater Witt. A preview was given of upcoming events, in particular the USSR-Sweden ice hockey match.

On EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rubin, Calgary 6) RL's special correspondent at the Winter Olympics in Calgary gave a profile of American woman speed skater Bonnie Blair and reported on a press conference she gave.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Saturday, 27 February 1988
M. Frost

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. The Nationalities. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, M 7:30) backgrounded the recent events in Armenia with excerpts from interviews with British specialists on the past and future of the Mountainous Karabagh. Using a CND report from London of February 26, the program also discussed the implications for other nationalities in the USSR of the recent disturbances in Armenia.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Krimerman, M 6) cited the Moldavian and Soviet central press, as well as a Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Yablokov, on the catastrophic environmental pollution in Moldavia, references to which the republic's leadership tries to suppress. The program was RERUN from February 26.

2. Restructuring. THE FORTUNES OF SIBERIA (Shapiro, Isr. 9) examined the new laws governing the independence of industrial enterprises in the USSR and, through a selection of readers' letters to Izvestia, discovered that despite all the rhetoric to the contrary, planning directives still emanate directly from Moscow ministries.

HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE USSR (Roitman, Malinkovich and Voslensky, M 9) was pegged to a February 25 briefing at the Soviet Foreign Ministry's press center on the question of a possible transition to a multiparty system in the USSR. The program was a partial RERUN from February 26.

3. Glasnost. HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE USSR (Shapiro, Isr. 9) discussed the latest moves to introduce democratic reforms into various spheres of Soviet life, using excerpts from readers' letters to Izvestia. The program doubted that, after 70 years of steadily accumulating a monopoly of power, the party is about to relinquish its hold over the country.

WRITERS AT THE MICROPHONE (Voinovich, M 10) recounted a recent meeting in Paris with a former Moscow colleague whose books are now being published in the Soviet Union. Voinovich criticized those writers who still condone any form of censorship in the USSR and asked, when, if ever, his own works and the works of other prominent emigres, will be published in the USSR.

4. Emigres. SPECIAL FEATURE (Kushev, Ogurtsov, and Malinkovich, M 50) features a two part interview with long-term political prisoner and co-founder of the All-Russian Social Christian Union, Igor Ogurtsov on the anniversary of his release from internal exile in the USSR. Ogurtsov described the circumstances surrounding his 1967 political trial, outlined his 15 years spent in prisons and labor camps, and discussed the prospects for political and social reforms in the USSR in the context of the glasnost campaign.

WRITERS AT THE MICROPHONE (Dovlatov, NY 7:30) described the success of the small Russian language publishing house in New York, The Silver Age, and speculated on the possibility of Western-based Russian language publishing houses gaining access to the huge Soviet market.

WRITERS AT THE MICROPHONE (Aksenov, W 12) featured the literary reminiscences of Vasily Aksenov prompted by a recent performance of the Soviet singer-poet Bulat Okudzhava in Washington. The program was RERUN from 13 June, 1987.

5. Siberia. THE FORTUNES OF SIBERIA (Wolfson-Komarov, Isr.10:30) described the harsh living conditions of the far north of Siberia and criticized the rapid Soviet exploitation of the region for which a high human and environmental cost is being paid.

6. Religion. NOT BY BREAD ALONE (Benigsen, NY 8; Rahr, M 10; and Aksenov-Meyerson, NY 9) broadcast a Sunday sermon on the First Sunday in Lent, gave details of Ogorodnikov's report to Deputy Secretary of State Shifter in Moscow on the current relationship of the church and the state in the USSR, and celebrated Russian saints whose anniversaries fall at this time of the year in the Russian Orthodox calendar.

THE FORTUNES OF SIBERIA (Fotiyev, M 7), noted last years's 400th anniversary of the introduction of Christianity to Siberia and described Orthodox relics in the ancient Siberian city of Tobolsk.

SUNDAY SERVICE (Rahr and Kholodnaya, H 50) presented a Russian Orthodox Church service.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

None

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The US. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Weinstein, W 7:30) reported on President Reagan's first White House press conference in four months in which he discussed a wide range of issues from US-Soviet relations to the situation in Central America. The program also reviewed an interview of the President in The Washington Post in which he elaborated his views on world events.

2. Israel. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Miloslavsky, Jerusalem 10) covered Shultz's visit to the Middle East to try and find a resolution to the impasse in the Middle East peace process.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

1. Sport. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rubin, NY 5:30) announced the overall victory of the Soviet team in the Olympic hockey tournament and reviewed an article appearing in The New York Times on professionalism in modern sporting events.

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RADIO FREE EUROPE
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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Sunday, 28 February 1988
D. Felton

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Soviet-US Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Weinstein, W 4:30), a RERUN from February 26, gave the contents of President Reagan's statements on US-Soviet relations made in an interview to The Washington Post.

2. Afghanistan. EMBATTLED AFGHANISTAN (Bensi, M 11:30 and Shapiro, Isr. 8:30) drew attention to an article by Prokhanov in Literaturnaya Gazeta in which for the first time in the Soviet press a picture of the war in Afghanistan and the political situation there is given which comes close to reality. As regards the doubts expressed in the article as to whether a socialist system can be imposed on a country like Afghanistan, the program said the argument could also be applied to the Soviet Central Asian republics. The program concluded with a chronicle of the changes in Soviet propaganda presentation of the "enemy" facing the USSR in Afghanistan.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Chianurov, M 6) gave the contents of an article in The Christian Science Monitor which among other things makes the points that the USSR's failure to crush the partisans is the sole reason for its decision to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan, and that chances for a democratization of Afghanistan following a Soviet troop withdrawal should not be overestimated.

3. Restructuring. COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Krasin, W 8) said the Gorbachev leadership realizes that Stalinist-type terror no longer works in the USSR, and is looking back to the Lenin era, with its relatively large degree of political, economic and cultural freedom.

THE FORTUNES OF SIBERIA (Shapiro, Isr. 9), a RERUN from February 27, examined the new laws governing the independence of industrial enterprises in the USSR and, through a selection of readers' letters to Izvestia, discovered that despite all the rhetoric to the contrary, planning directives still emanate directly from Moscow ministries.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 4), a RERUN from February 26, said that it is the Soviet public who will pay the price of economic restructuring. Prices for consumer goods are rising, and although higher-quality goods are promised, Soviet enterprises are still required to fulfil the plan, and this is incompatible with higher quality.

4. Computerization. OVER THE BARRIERS (Vail, Genis, Dovlatov, Gendler and Paramonov, NY 24:30) consisted of a round-table discussion pegged to recent Literaturnaya Gazeta material on the catastrophic situation regarding computerization in the USSR. The discussants noted that Soviet dissidents began to draw attention to this some 10 to 15 years ago. Especial reference was made to the use of computers in the West, and to the influence of computers on the creation of literary works. Soviet commentators, it was remarked, seem to regard computerization as a panacea for all the ills besetting the USSR, just as electrification, tractors, etc were in the past. However, the computerization of America, for example, is not the reason for that country's economic ascent, but rather a consequence of it. The basis for America's economic growth lies in such factors as political freedom and a market economy.

5. Siberia. THE FORTUNES OF SIBERIA (Wolfson-Komarov, Isr.10:30), a RERUN from February 27, described the harsh living conditions in the far north of Siberia and criticized the rapid Soviet exploitation of the region for which a high human and environmental cost is being paid.

6. Culture. OUR PLANET (Gordin, M 3:30) reported on the Alexandrov Red Army ensemble's singing Ave Maria to the pope. Voice cuts of the singing and of the pope's thanks were included. Audio Section material was used.

7. Soviet Sportsmen and Journalists Are Buying Like Crazy in Calgary Stores it was reported in OUR PLANET (Rubin, NY 2:30), which used an article in The Calgary Sun.

8. Religion. THE MILLENNIUM OF THE CHRISTIANIZATION OF RUSSIA (Rahr, M 30), a RERUN from February 26, included items on the former Moscow Church of Christ the Savior, demolished August 1931, an interview given to Komsomolets Uzbekistana, January 8, by Bishop Lvov of the Tashkent and Central Asian See of the Russian Orthodox Church in which he expressed tolerance for unregistered religious communities, and spoke of the Church's thousand years of service to the cause of peace, and a subsequent article in Komsomolets Uzbekistana by Nelli Kolemasov denying that the Church helped the cause of peace, and expressing irritation over Bishop Lvov's tolerance towards unregistered religious communities. The program gave background on these communities.

THE FORTUNES OF SIBERIA (Fotiyev, M 7), a RERUN from February 27, noted last year's 400th anniversary of the introduction of Christianity to Siberia and described Orthodox relics in the ancient Siberian city of Tobolsk.

9. History. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mihajlov, W 4:30) commented that while it is good to see material in the Soviet press exposing the Stalinist show trials, the morally healthy effect of this is virtually nullified by the attempt to place the blame for such perversions of justice exclusively on Stalin. The program pointed out that these perversions occurred under Lenin too, and they still take place today.

SOVIETOLOGISTS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Shragin, NY 20) reviewed a chapter concerning the role of the security organs in the forced collectivization campaign ordered by Stalin from a book by American political scientist John Dziak on the history of the KGB. The program also cited passages on how Khrushchev's de-Stalinization campaign did not question the KGB's status as an institution guaranteeing the party's power.

FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 28) featured the second part of a chapter entitled "Stalin--a Hero and Artist of the Stalin Era" from Soviet emigre writer Andrey Sinyavsky's book The Foundations of Soviet Civilization. The chapter has been published in the Paris-based Russian-language journal Sintaksis, No. 19.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

1. Czechoslovakia. COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Levin, M 8), a RERUN from February 22, chronicled the communist takeover of Czechoslovakia on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of this event.

2. The PRC. COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Gorbanevskaya, P 10:30) reviewed a book called A Man From Peking, published in the PRC in 1985, consisting of a collection of interviews with ordinary people in Peking in which they describe their everyday hardships.

OUR PLANET (Matusevich, M 1:30) included a brief item on Chinese actor and PRC Deputy Culture Minister Yung Luosheng, using an interview he gave to The Times (London) in which he expressed the view that in China culture should no longer be used as a weapon in political struggle.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

None

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

1. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Paramonov, NY 3) gave an obituary of Austrian-born American composer Frederick Lowe, who died recently at the age of 86. A recording of one of his songs from the musical My Fair Lady was included.

OUR PLANET (Salkazanov, P 3) reported that the French League Against Racism and Anti-Semitism has awarded a prize to French singer Charles Aznavour. Background on the league was given, and a recording of Aznavour's performance of the song Emigres, for which he was given the award, was included.

2. Child Care in Israel. OUR PLANET (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 1:30) reported on a new law in Israel entitling men to maternity and other leave to enable them to look after their children, and the creation of a seminar to train elderly people for this task.

3. Night Shifts and the Human Organism. OUR PLANET (Gregory, M 3) drew attention to an article in The Los Angeles Times in which Californian scientists say that human beings are not suited to performing responsible work during hours intended by nature for sleeping. The scientists point out that all nuclear catastrophes, such as Chernobyl, have occurred during the night.

4. The Creation of a Computer "Virus" and an "Anti-Virus" in Israel was reported on in OUR PLANET (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 1).

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Monday, 29 February 1988
M. Frost

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 6) reported on the progress of the indirect talks between Pakistan and the Kabul regime in Geneva. The program stated that Pakistan's insistence on signing an agreement with a new provisional Afghan government containing representatives of the resistance movement has met strong opposition in Moscow and Kabul.

2. The Nationalities. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Perouansky, M 9), citing Sergey Grigoriants' reports to correspondents in Moscow, described the scale of last weeks demonstrations in Yerevan, referred to the existence of an amateur film of the events, and reported that the protesters have agreed to to cease demonstrations in order to give Moscow time to find a just solution to the problem of the status of the Mountainous Karabagh oblast. The program also reported the scanty Soviet media coverage of the demonstrations and commented that the Mountainous Karabagh issue provides the most searching test to date of Gorbachev's resolve to implement the policies of glasnost with regard to nationality issues.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanova, P 7:30) reviewed press coverage of the Mountainous Karabagh issue in Le Monde, Le Figaro, and Le Quotidien de Paris of February 29.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gendler, NY 3:30) reviewed American press coverage of the demonstrations in Armenia in The New York Times, The Los Angeles Times, and The Wall Street Journal.

3. Glasnost. ROUND TABLE (Roitman, Henkina, and Tolz, M 20) discussed the controversy in the Soviet press surrounding Mikhail Shatrov's published, but as yet unstaged, play Onward, Onward, Onward about post-Revolutionary Soviet politics. The program examined the mostly negative reaction to Shatrov's play in Pravda which has led to some provincial theaters refusing to stage this, to date, most penetrating dramatic analysis of Stalinism. The opinion was also voiced the opinion that Shatrov's play directly corresponds to Gorbachev's call for a

reexamination of Soviet history in order to maintain the momentum of the current restructuring process.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Tolz, M 7:30), in the light of a recent article in Argumenty i Fakty on the causes of Lenin's death, discussed the various versions of Lenin's death promoted at different times in Soviet history. The program called for all the relevant material on the matter to be published in order that a thorough examination of the this crucial transitional period from Leninism to Stalinism can be carried out.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Gladilin, P 5) drew attention to a recent article in Yunost which only partially revealed the truth about the life and work of Yury Dombrovsky. the program condemned the practice of presenting half-truths to the Soviet reading public.

4. Restructuring. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 5) examined the endemic supply problems in Soviet industry. The program commented that in a centrally planned economy, where shortages of materials abound, it is unrealistic to talk about quantity being superceded by quality concerns.

5. Society. WORKERS' MOVEMENT (Krasin, W 8) examined the much discussed problem of alcoholism among Soviet workers and accused the Soviet press of ignoring the real cause of alcoholism in the USSR which is widespread discontentment with Soviet reality.

6. Trade Unions. WORKERS' MOVEMENT (Simis, W 20) reported on new policy proposals by trade union officials in the Soviet Union in the light of Gorbachev's glasnost campaign and concluded that as long as trade unions operate as mere appendages to party and industrial organizations they will not be capable of performing the role of defending Soviet workers' interests despite the bold pronouncements of their leaders.

7. History. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 3) broadcast excerpts from Argumenty i Fakty and Moskovske Novosti on Bukharin's rehabilitation and the return of icons confiscated by the authorities to the Orthodox Church.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 4) broadcast excerpts from the Soviet press from 70 and 50 years ago on a decree outlawing samizdat activity in Petrograd and on the Bukharin show trial. The program commented that although Bukharin et al have recently been rehabilitated, more than 400 political prisoners of conscience are currently languishing in Soviet psychiatric hospitals.

8. Religion. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rahr, M 11), in the light of Bishop Michail of Vologda and Veliky Usting's recent interview with Deutsche Welle in which he spoke about the church building program underway in the Soviet Union, highlighted the religious repression taking place throughout most of the USSR and argued

that the small number of churches being built in some parts of the country in no way compensates for all those that have been either closed down or converted into atheist museums.

RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Nazarov, NY 8) described the spiritual vacuum in the Soviet Union which facilitates the growth of extreme nationalist movements such as the Pamyat society. The program cited commentary from a January 9 Izvestia article which argued that ignorance of spiritual and cultural matters within Soviet society can provide a breeding ground for philistine patriotic movements which totally misrepresent the patriotic feelings of the people.

RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Shidlovsky, NY 10) reviewed the fourth annual RCDA conference in New York which concentrated on the role of the Orthodox church in contemporary Soviet society and discussed the upcoming celebrations for the millenium of the Christianization of Kievan Rus.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fotiyev, M 5:30) summarized an interview in Moskovskaya Pravda by Igor Makovets, the architect responsible for the restoration of the Danilov Monastery, on the damage incurred by the monastery premises during the anti-religious purges of the 1930s.

RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Aksenov-Meyerson, NY 9) reviewed Alexander Benigsen's book Muslims in the USSR, published by the YMCA Press in Paris, which describes the lives and customs of the fastest growing population group in the USSR.

9. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Betaki, P 8) examined the cautious approach to Brecht in the USSR and commented that while Brecht is falsely lauded as an advocate and practitioner of socialist realism by Soviet critics his major work has been tardily and unevenly published in the Soviet Union because of its controversial content.

10. Literature. AT THE BOOKSHELF (Perouansky, M 29:30) broadcast the third instalment of Vladimir Voinovich's satirical account of life in the 21st century in Moscow, Moscow 2042. The program was RERUN from 4 November 1987.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Maximov, P 8) profiled the life and poetry of Russian emigre poet Genrikh Sapguir.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

None

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The Persian Gulf. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, 8:30) backgrounded the eight year old war between Iran and Iraq and criticized the Soviet UN delegation's refusal to support a UN sponsored arms embargo against Iran for failing to comply with previous UN cease-fire arrangements.

2. The US. THE USA TODAY (Rubin, Dovlatov, Paramonov, Gendler, NY 28) discussed American attitudes towards work.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

1. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Salkazanov, P 5) reviewed the exhibition of Vincent Van Gogh paintings currently being shown at the D'Orsay Museum in Paris.

2. Sport. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Geichman, M 4) reported on the successful conclusion of the Calgary Winter Games.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Tuesday, 1 March 1988
D. Felton

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Soviet-US Relations. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY TODAY (Muslin, NY 1) included a brief report on an announcement in Moscow by an official of the joint American-Soviet committee for environmental research of plans for joint research into the change of the Earth's climate.

2. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 7:30) cited a few facts and figures from an article in Le Figaro of March 1 on the casualties suffered by the Afghan people as a result of the Soviet intervention; an article by Yelena Losoto in Komsomolskaya Pravda of February 28 on Soviet helicopter escorts for planes carrying journalists (the program described the article as an example as the more truthful Soviet reporting on Afghanistan); and an article by Alain Chevalerias in the February issue of the French journal Defense Nationale on Soviet helicopter crews robbing bus passengers. In conclusion, the program pointed to the false ring of Najibullah's statement lauding the Soviet troops' role in Afghanistan.

3. Foreign Trade. ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Dreyer, W 8:30) backgrounded the negative effects on Soviet foreign trade of the recent fall in world prices for industrial raw materials.

4. Dissidents and Human Rights. HUMAN RIGHTS (Shragin, NY 13), a RERUN from February 24 pegged to the recent Soviet announcement of a possible review of Soviet psychiatric practices, summarized a report by the American Helsinki Monitoring Group on the abuse of psychiatry in the USSR for political purposes.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Tsaryunov, W 4:30) gave the contents of an article in the latest monthly publication of Amnesty International which welcomes a new Soviet law allowing legal appeals against confinement in a psychiatric hospital, and speaks of an improvement in the human rights situation in the USSR.

HUMAN RIGHTS (Kaminskaya, W 8), a RERUN from February 24 using a variety of Soviet press sources, gave examples of individual rights in the USSR being subjugated to the "collective will" in such a manner that benefit is derived neither by the individual nor the community.

FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 29:30) featured the third installment of the third part of Solzhenitsyn's Archipelago Gulag.

5. The Economy. In EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyev and Kroncher, M 9) RL's economic observer amplified his thesis that pressure to fulfil the plan is incompatible with satisfactory quality of goods.

ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Krasin, W 8:30) gave the contents of an article on the private sector of the Soviet economy from a study on the economic reforms in the USSR commissioned by the US Congress's joint economic committee. The article speaks of a dispute between supporters and opponents of the encouragement of the private sector which has resulted in ambiguous and contradictory reform measures having been taken.

6. Agriculture. ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Shapiro, Isr. 9) said that while restructuring measures in Soviet agriculture have brought some improvement, a radical change has not take place. The reason for this, said the program, lies in the centralized system of administration, which rejects all elements of economic independence.

7. Society. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 1:30), in a review of the Soviet press, cited a reader's letter to Izvestia asking why the names were not published of persons stripped of the title of Hero of Socialist Labor for misdemeanors. The program commented that the history of the USSR knows many cases of high-ranking persons putting themselves above the law.

8. Women. ROUND TABLE TALK (Roitman and Henkina, M 20) commented on talk in the Soviet press of upgrading the status of the work done by women in bringing up children, including making it qualify for pension rights. The program noted that what is a radical, avantgarde feminist proposal comes at a time when the material situation of Soviet women is far inferior to that of women in the West. It was suggested that the proposal could stem from a realization that women's work in the production sector is not economical, and that women's work at home is necessary for the health of society. In addition, a future unemployment problem could be alleviated by having more women working at home. The program mentioned the problems of divorce, abortion, and housing, as well as Gorbachev's reference to the creation of a network of social organizations without whose agreement state organizations would not be allowed to take any

decisions in the relevant sector. The public airing of all these problems, said the program, is a hopeful sign.

9. The Armed Forces. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 9) highlighted a Moskovske Novosti interview with the Commander in Chief of Soviet Air Defense Forces, Army General Ivan Tretyak, on the subject of restructuring and "new thinking" in the Soviet armed forces. The program found Tretyak's answers unconvincing, and said they reflect the offensive character of Soviet military doctrine. Attention was drawn to some interesting details given by Tretyak on the shakeup in the Air Defense Forces following West German flier Rust's landing on Red Square, such as the initial complete ignorance of the affair by the forces' commander at the time, Air Chief Marshal Koldunov. This, said the program, suggests that the Soviet military command itself does not believe in the myth of a danger of an outside attack against the USSR.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 2), in a review of the Soviet press, cited a reader's letter to Argumenty i Fakty by a serviceman from Leningrad criticizing those who felt that they were too good for military service. The program pointed out that there are many who object to doing military service for such personal reasons as religious belief and Afghanistan, and in many countries there is the possibility of doing alternative, non-military service.

HUMAN RIGHTS (Fedoseyev, M 6:30), a RERUN from February 24, refuted a Radio Moscow announcement on the 70th anniversary of the formation of the Soviet Armed Forces to the effect that the Red Army has never occupied small states and has never been the first to violate the borders of another state.

10. The Nationalities. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Perouansky, M 7) reported and commented on the latest developments concerning the Mountainous Karabagh. The program cited the terse and noncommittal TASS report on the disorders in Sumgait, as well as statements about them by Glasnost editor Sergey Grigoryants and Azeri party leader Bagirov, and by Armenian party leader Demirchyan who also spoke of alarm among the Azeri population of Mountainous Karabagh. The program noted the peaceful nature of the massive Armenian demonstrations, and the nationalistic nature of the clashes between Armenians and Azeris. The genie, said the program, is out of the bottle, and Moscow is faced with the dilemma of either satisfying the Armenians' demands, which would set a dangerous precedent, or ignoring them, which would entail the risk of mass demonstrations and strikes which might have to be suppressed by the use of force, which would be incompatible with glasnost and restructuring. The broader issue, the program remarked in conclusion, is whether further democratization and economic and political decentralization is possible under a one-party dictatorship.

11. Culture. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Belotserkovsky, M 9:30) drew attention to an unprecedented letter published in Pravda of February 29 in which prominent Soviet theater personalities fiercely defended Mikhail Shatrov's play Further, Further, Further against massive ideological criticism. The program cited passages from the play, which uses the words of Lenin and his associates to criticize halfheartedness in restructuring.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Salkazanova, P 9) excerpted an interview given by Soviet film director Sergey Paradzhanov to the French newspaper Liberation in Tbilisi. Paradzhanov spoke about his childhood and his 15 lost creative years as a result of the authorities' cultural repression, and doubted whether Gorbachev would be able to carry out radical reforms since he was on his own.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Gladilin, P 9) reviewed a story by Lyudmila Petrushevskaya entitled "One's Own Circle," published in Novy Mir, No. 1, about the disorderly existence of Moscow intellectuals morally crushed by Soviet reality. The program expressed the view that conservative critics will doubtless use the story as an ideal opportunity to settle scores with intellectuals, dissidents, etc.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fotiyev, M 6) noted that the works of Russian poet Nikolay Gumilev, executed in 1921 on a charge of involvement in a "counterrevolutionary plot," are gradually being made accessible to the Soviet public, and the charge leveled against him is now being acknowledged in the Soviet press to have been false. The program then highlighted an article by Pavlenko in Sovetskaya Moldaviya of February 21 on Gumilev's second son, Orest Vysotsky, the upcoming publication of reminiscences of Gumilev by his half-sister, Alexandra Sverchkova, and an unknown woman in Moscow who has in her possession many of Gumilev's unpublished works.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Kublanovsky, P 9) discussed the complex and contradictory personality of Russian writer and philosopher Petr Chaadayev and his work. The program noted the publication of a collection of Chaadayev's works as well as a book about him in the USSR in 1986 and 1987 made possible as a result of Gorbachev's "thaw."

12. History. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 3:30), continuing to leaf through old Soviet newspapers, cited an article in Pravda of 1 March 1918 on the lack of resistance to the German advance into Russia at the end of World War I, and a Pravda article of 1 March 1938 castigating Trotskyites and Bukharinists. The program described the recent rehabilitation of Bukharin and his associates as an attempt to distract attention from the sufferings of millions in the Gulag.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

1. Poland. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Kh. Peterson, M 5) expressed surprise over the publication in the February issue of the journal Zhurnalist of a collection of material slandering Lech Walesa as being greedy, cynical, etc. in the style of Krokodil in the Stalin era. Zhurnalist made use of material of dubious authenticity from a Polish TV program of September 1983.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. East-West Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, Brussels 5:30) commented on the NATO summit in Brussels. The program noted in particular that a liquidation of short-range nuclear missiles is problematical for NATO in view of the Warsaw Pact's superiority in conventional forces. Genscher and Thatcher were quoted in this connection. The program said that the NATO countries find it difficult to believe in the Gorbachev leadership's peaceful intentions as long as its fine words are not matched by deeds. President Reagan was quoted on the continued need for a firm alliance between the US and Western Europe.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanov, P 5:30) dealt with France's position on disarmament, nuclear deterrence, the balance of conventional forces, etc as outlined by President Mitterrand and Prime Minister Chirac on the eve of the NATO council session to be held in Brussels.

2. The Middle East. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 7) reported on Shultz's Middle East mission and the American peace proposals. Mixed reaction to these proposals was noted in the countries visited by Shultz.

3. US-South Korea-North Korea. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Paramonov, NY 3:30) highlighted President Reagan's written interview given to the South Korean newspaper Dong A-Ilbo in which he called for close cooperation between the US, the USSR and other countries to ensure the safe and successful conduct of the Olympic Games in Seoul in the face of North Korean threats. Reference was also made to President Reagan's statements on US-South Korean economic relations, and to his favorable characterization of the new South Korean President, Ro Tae Woo.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

1. Science and Technology. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY TODAY (Muslin, NY 27) reported on a jubilee symposium in Washington marking the centenary of the American National Geographical

Society at which the future tasks of geographical research were outlined; the supposition of American astronomers on the possibility of life on neutron stars; an international conference in Tokyo on the safety of nuclear reactors; the first woman in the world to give birth following a heart and lung transplant; the death of American scientist John Brainer, who led the team which created the world's first electronic computer; American Senate hearings at which emphasis was laid on the safety factor in the planned launch of a new US space shuttle; a round-the-world record for passenger aircraft set by a Boeing-747; and the 50th anniversary of the discovery of nylon and teflon.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Wednesday, 2 March 1988
D. Felton

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Soviet-US Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Tsaryunov, W 4:30) reported on the latest developments in the US Senate hearings on the ratification of the INF treaty and cited US delegates at the Geneva talks on strategic missile reduction to the effect that it is doubtful whether an agreement could be ratified during President Reagan's term of office, but one could be signed in time for the Moscow summit.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Paramonov, NY 4) commented on Gorbachev's postponing a planned meeting with top American businessmen. The program noted the latter's surprise, and reported on speculation in the US as to the reason for the postponement. The program saw as the most likely reason that suggested by one American businessman, namely, Gorbachev's preoccupation with the latest developments in Armenia and Azerbaijan. The program also mentioned speculation on a new date for the meeting.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Volkov, NY 8) described as a historical event the appearance of leading Bolshoi Theater ballet dancers Andris Liepa and Nina Ananiashvili as regular members of the Balanchine theater troupe in New York. This, said the program, is all the more remarkable in view of the fact that Balanchine's style is completely alien to the Soviet/Russian ballet tradition.

2. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fistejn and Shuster, M and Geneva 8:30) featured a telephone report from Geneva by RL's special correspondent Savik Shuster on the general atmosphere at

the new round of talks between the Kabul regime and Pakistan on a settlement, of the Afghan conflict. Shuster reported on an interview he conducted with UN mediator Diego Cordovez, who said he was more hopeful than before regarding prospects for a settlement and pointed to Pakistan's continued insistence on the formation of a provisional Afghan government prior to a Soviet troop withdrawal and a noncommittal Afghan statement on whether the Kabul regime would be ready to sacrifice the position of president.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 5), pegged to the beginning of a new round of Geneva talks between the Kabul government and Pakistan, spoke of a tense situation in the country characterized by unusual Soviet activity at Kabul Airport; rumors of plans for a temporary transfer of the government from Kabul to Mazar-i-Sharif, the chief city of the Balkh District; uncertainty among Afghan officials as to future developments; discord between the two factions of the ruling communist party; and continued fighting in various regions.

3. USSR-Poland. RUSSIA YESTERDAY, TODAY, TOMORROW (Tolz, M 5), a RERUN from 22 July 1987 pegged to the beginning of the second session of the joint commission of Soviet and Polish historians whose task is to eradicate the blank spaces in the history of Soviet-Polish relations, cited an article in the Solidarity publication Hutnik of last May listing some of these blank spaces, in particular the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact.

4. The US, Iran, and Iraq. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 9) suggested that Iraq's intensification of attacks against Iranian cities with the use of Soviet-made missiles is an attempt, which seems to be having some success, to provoke Iranian ire against the USSR and, thus to end Moscow's double game with the two warring countries.

5. Dissidents and Human Rights. HUMAN RIGHTS (Shragin, NY 12:30), a RERUN from February 9, drew attention to the Soviet authorities' present tactics under restructuring of trying to neutralize dissident demonstrations by officially approved ones. The program mentioned an official peace demonstration outside the Foreign Ministry in Moscow on December 6 which coincided in time and place with a demonstration by Soviet Jewish refuseniks. The peace demonstrators received preferential treatment by the authorities and they abused and physically attacked the refuseniks. Similarly, an unofficial demonstration on the occasion of Constitution Day coincided with an officially sponsored human rights demonstration by the "Moscow public." Reporting in Moskovskiye Novosti, Natalia Izyumova criticized the formalistic nature of the latter demonstration and the occasionally odious character of the speeches, but failed to tell the whole truth about the human rights activists' tradition

of holding meetings on Pushkin Square and on who exactly the militia were keeping away from the demonstration. The impression, said the program, is that the organizers of the official demonstrations are interested not so much in the observation of human rights as in distracting attention from human rights violations.

6. Emigres. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Weinstein, W 8) presented a telephone interview with Soviet emigre musician Mstislav Rostropovich on the eve of the premiere in Washington's Kennedy Center of a symphonic work dedicated to Rostropovich by Soviet composer Rodion Shchedrin. Among other things, Rostropovich recalled with pleasure a concert held at the Kennedy Center almost one year ago in celebration of his 60th birthday, expressed hope for the glasnost campaign, and spoke highly of Shchedrin's work.

AT THE BOOKSHELF (Perouansky, M 29:30), a RERUN from 6 November 1987, featured the fourth installment of Soviet emigre writer Vladimir Voynovich's satirical novel Moscow, 2042 about a futuristic communist republic.

7. Restructuring. HUMAN RIGHTS (Kaminskaya, W 7:30), a RERUN from February 9, focused on a recent Pravda editorial entitled "Democracy and Initiative" asserting that those who advocate opposition parties and free trade unions are acting against the law. The program pointed out that, in fact, democracy implies the right to debate on ideological issues as well and to criticize the foundations of the regime itself. The tragic experience of the USSR, said the program, has demonstrated the need for opposition parties and free trade unions. The Pravda editorial is an alarming signal in that it shows that the authorities intend to continue to exercise control over public initiative, something which is incompatible with democracy.

8. The System. DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Shragin, NY 18 and Paramonov NY 9), referring to a recent letter to Pravda by a local internal affairs official, who suggested that local police chiefs should be democratically elected so that they would be accountable to the people, commented that failure to apply this principle to the top leadership has resulted in the USSR's having been ruled by unsuitable leaders, such as Stalin, for most of its existence. Nedelya was quoted on Stalin's prime aim of holding on to power. The program then asked how one can talk of democratization in the USSR when there is a one-party system there. The CPSU, said the program, is not so much a party as a power apparatus, the roots of which lie in the Marxist mythology of class warfare and of domination by the working class. However, Gorbachev's statement on the interests of mankind being more important than those of an individual class give certain grounds for hope. In conclusion, the program contrasted the

role played by the CPSU in the Soviet state (according to the 1977 Constitution, the party is the "nucleus of the state") with the natural evolution of the two main parties in the US as the result of the free political expression of the American people. The program disputed the argument voiced in the USSR that a multiparty system leads to anarchy and total permissiveness, remarking that this is exactly what a one-party system results in.

9. The Economy. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 5) gave examples of the various devices employed by Soviet enterprises to fulfil the plan despite constant shortages and supply difficulties, such as making products heavier if the plan has to be fulfilled in tonnage. The plan is fulfilled, said the program, but there are still not enough products.

10. Society. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Mihajlov, W 4) commented that only a slight relaxation of the state's pressure on Soviet society has resulted in a broad spectrum of ideological and political attitudes and streams coming to the surface.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Paramonov, Vail, and Genis, NY 16) discussed an article in Argumenty i Fakty, No. 5, by Gaviani and Manuilsky which comments on the results of a poll conducted among Soviet schoolchildren showing that prostitution is highly rated as a profession because it offers a chance of fleeing from Soviet reality. The program observed that prostitution has always existed in the USSR, and is not the result of the pernicious influence of the West or of ideological dissoluteness. The results of the poll, said the program, are indicative of a relatively new materialistic attitude in the USSR and of a reaction of healthy cynicism against officially decreed romanticism.

11. Food. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, M 5) commented on a top-level meeting of officials of the USSR Ministry for Bread Products on the need to improve the performance of the bread industry and the quality of its products. The program said decisions and resolutions alone can hardly be expected to improve the situation. What is needed is to allow master bakers taking pride in their work get on with the job.

12. The Nationalities. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, Oganessian, and Michaeli, M 11:30) presented a talk on the Armenian and Azeri positions on the Mountainous Karabagh issue with the chief editors of RL's Armenian and Azeri Services, Messrs. Oganessian and Michaeli. Oganessian said the Armenians are demanding a return of the Mountainous Karabagh region to Armenia because the Armenian majority there has been constantly repressed by the Azeris. Gorbachev himself, he said, agreed

that the Armenians in the Mountainous Karabagh are being culturally repressed, and was prepared to sign a resolution placing Armenian schools, the theater, etc., there under the Armenian Culture Ministry, while Foreign Ministry spokesman Gerasimov admitted that Moscow had made a mistake over the region which it was prepared to correct. As regards the argument that the Mountainous Karabagh had no frontier with Armenia, Oganessian pointed out that the Nakhichevan region, where the Azeris are in the majority, has no frontier with Azerbaijan. Michaeli noted that the Azeri leadership is for preserving the status quo. He cited a Deputy Chairman of the Azeri Council of Ministers that the Mountainous Karabagh is more highly developed economically, socially, and culturally than other areas of Azerbaijan, and claimed that the Armenians there were adequately cared for as regards media, schools, etc. In conclusion, Michaeli said representatives of the Armenian and Azeri peoples should get together to find a solution to the problem, while Oganessian insisted that the population of the Mountainous Karabagh should decide.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Perouansky, M 5) filled in the gaps left in a TASS account of Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gerasimov's press briefing for foreign correspondents in Moscow on the Mountainous Karabagh developments. These gaps, said the program, as well as the breaking up of a demonstration by Crimean Tatars on the steps of the Lenin Library in Moscow, illustrate the limits of glasnost and demonstrate that glasnost is not the same as freedom of the press.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 7:30) reviewed French press comment on the latest developments concerning the Mountainous Karabagh conflict. The program cited AFP, Le Figaro, Liberation, and Le Monde (Guetta) on the situation in Sumgait and Yerevan, the lack of glasnost in Soviet press coverage, the dilemma facing the Soviet leadership, and the possibility of a return of the Mountainous Karabagh to Armenia.

HUMAN RIGHTS (Fedoseyev and Strunskis, M 8), a RERUN from February 9, commented on a recent article in Sovetskaya Latviya by Pakalns against the Latvian human rights organization Helsinki-86 in which an attempt is made to brand the latter as fascist and anti-Semitic by associating it with an obscure emigre group in Canada. The program said the article is reminiscent of the Stalin era and is aimed at discrediting Helsinki-86 by showing that it has no place in present-day Latvia and that the issues it raises are already being dealt with. The program expressed the view that in accordance with glasnost, Helsinki-86 should be given the opportunity of defending itself in Sovetskaya Latviya.

13. History. RUSSIA YESTERDAY, TODAY, TOMORROW (Tolz, M 13), pegged to the 50th anniversary of the last big show trial of the Stalin era, namely, that of members of the "rightist Trotskyite block," remarked that while the Soviet leadership has now allowed a broad discussion of the trial in the press, it is the journalists, not the historians, who are writing about it, and they are not using solid documentary sources or studies by Western historians.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 4), continuing to leaf through old Soviet newspapers, cited Pravda of 2 March 1918 on the execution of a group of Cheka bandits who had robbed hotel guests. Previously, they had helped uncover a "counterrevolutionary plot." The program then cited a Pravda article of 2 March 1938 castigating members of the "rightist-Trotskyite" group going on trial. The program said the recent rehabilitation of Bukharin and his associates will remain a half-measure as long as there are still political prisoners in the USSR.

RUSSIA YESTERDAY, TODAY, TOMORROW (Geller, P 9:30) featured the fifth program in a series pegged to the 70th anniversary of the Soviet security organs. The present program was devoted to the renaming of these organs from the OGPU to the NKVD in 1934 and their role in preparing Stalin's show trials.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

1. Poland. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Kh. Peterson, M 4:30), pegged to a meeting of a joint commission of Soviet and Polish historians examining the question of gaps in the official history of relations between the two countries, looked at one of the gaps in the Polish press's domestic reporting, namely, demonstrations by health workers protesting against miserable pay and medical facilities.

2. The Socialist Countries. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fotiyev, M 4) highlighted a speech made at the Vienna CSCE conference by Vatican representative Audris Backis (published in the L'Osservatore Romano in which he called for the inclusion in the conference's final document of legal guarantees of the pope's right to appoint bishops to vacant sees, the right to give children a religious upbringing, and the right of access to the media for churchmen. The program said the speech clearly applies first and foremost to the socialist countries.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. East-West Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, Brussels 3) reported on the NATO summit in Brussels. The program said a consistent democratic consensus points to the correctness of NATO's defense policy. NATO Secretary-General Carrington was quoted as wishing success for US efforts to reach an agreement on a strategic missile reduction and hoping for more serious cooperation with the Warsaw Pact on the problem of imbalances in conventional and chemical weapons.

2. East-West Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 5:30) cited an article by The Washington Post's Budapest correspondent Jackson Diehl on how the East European countries, disappointed over the failure of a CMEA program of scientific and technical development, are turning to the West for assistance.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

None

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RADIO FREE EUROPE
RADIO LIBERTY

RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Thursday, 3 March 1988
M. Frost

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Afghanistan. ROUND TABLE (Roitman, Fistejn, Henkina, and Bensi, M 27:30) reported optimistically on the current round of indirect negotiations in Geneva between representatives from Pakistan and the Kabul regime and commented on recent articles in the Soviet press, which, for the first time, have provided a more realistic picture of life among the Soviet forces of occupation. The commentators argued that these articles represent a water-shed in Soviet public opinion and psychologically prepare the way for an acceptable withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan. The program also examined the aggressive Soviet press campaign against Pakistani policies on the Afghan issue.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanova, P 7:30) gave French press coverage of the indirect negotiations taking place between representatives of Pakistan and the Kabul regime in Geneva from Le Figaro. The program also referred to a crucial article in Komsomolskaya Pravda on the battle conditions faced by raw recruits in the Soviet occupation forces.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 11) reviewed a series of reports in Komsomolskaya Pravda on the arduous conditions faced by Soviet troops in Afghanistan. The program criticized the author for portraying the horrors of war from the Soviet standpoint without admitting Soviet culpability in decimating the population of the Afghan nation.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Shuster, Geneva 8) reported on the progress of the crucial round of talks taking place between representatives of Pakistan and the Kabul regime. The program reiterated the Pakistani insistence on the formation of a broadly-based provisional government before the signing of any treaty, in order to guarantee stability within the country during the nine-month Soviet withdrawal period.

COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Henkina, M 7) summarized the roundtable discussion on the latest Soviet press treatment of the war in Afghanistan.

2. The Nationalities. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Muslin, NY 4) presented an interview with an Armenian priest resident in California, Sasun Zamrakhgian who participated in the recent demonstrations in Yerevan during his stay in a nearby monastery. Zamrakhgian gave details of the series of peaceful demonstrations which took place from February 16 through February 26 in the Armenian capital and described the mood of the demonstrators as calm but resolute.

3. Restructuring. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 5) presented the fourth and final installment of an analysis of the restructuring process in the USSR. The program commented that since the introduction of self-financing and self-accountancy, most industrial enterprises find themselves in a critical state as they are required to fulfill state plans at the same time as attempting to sell their surplus goods in order to pay labor costs which are no longer subsidized by the central ministries. In fact, the program concluded, the state is requiring enterprises to fulfill production quotas while the consumer is now expected to pay subsidies in the form of higher prices with no guarantees of improved supply or quality of goods.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Gladilin, Copenhagen 10) reported on the opening day of the Copenhagen conference on "The Role of the Creative Intelligentsia in the Restructuring Process," a meeting of Western, emigre, and Soviet cultural figures, sponsored by the Society of Danish Slavists.

MAN AND SOCIETY (Kroncher, M 4:30) said that it is the Soviet public who will pay the price of economic restructuring. Prices for consumer goods are rising, and although higher-quality goods are promised, Soviet enterprises are still required to fulfill the plan, and this is incompatible with higher quality. The program was a RERUN from February 26.

4. Dissidents and Human Rights. (Fedoseyev and Malinkovich, M 6:30) discussed the introduction of a new law regulating conditions governing psychiatric units in the USSR. The program welcomed the granting of legal rights to psychiatric patients and called for the immediate release of all prisoners of conscience from Soviet psychiatric clinics.

5. Emigres. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Weinstein, W 8) presented a telephone interview with Soviet emigre musician Rostropovich on the eve of the premiere in Washington's Kennedy Center of a symphonic work dedicated to Rostropovich by Soviet composer Rodion Shchedrin. The program was a RERUN from March 2.

6. Society. MAN AND SOCIETY (Shapiro, Isr. 12), using a variety of Soviet press sources, reported on the critical state of most Children's Homes in the USSR, and recalled the author's own forlorn attempts to seek adequate psychiatric care for his son in the USSR in a children's sanatorium. The program

compared the primitive, punishing conditions of the Soviet special sanatorium with the range and quality of the services available for mentally-retarded children in Israel.

MAN AND SOCIETY (Plakkhin, W 9), using articles from Literaturnaya Gazeta and a variety of provincial newspapers, the program catalogued the high instance of food poisoning in the USSR caused by inadequate and poorly maintained food processing units. The program commented that as long as the emphasis in the food processing industry remains on quantity and not quality, no substantial improvements in the health of Soviet citizens can be expected.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, M 4) announced the recently approved plan to introduce visa credit cards to certain categories of Soviet citizens. The program welcomed the introduction of a credit card system into the USSR but decried the limited availability of the service which discriminates against ordinary working Soviet citizens.

7. Stalinism. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Tolz, M 4:30), using a variety of Soviet and Western newspaper sources, commented that Stalin and Stalinism are still very much a part of Soviet everyday life. The miserly level of democratic freedom, the sustained poor economic performance and the perverted legal system all testify to the pervasive influence of "the leader and teacher of the Soviet people and all progressive humanity."

8. The Media. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Chianurov, M 5:30) assessed Soviet media coverage of the Waldheim affair and commented that the Soviet press is continuing to disseminate disinformation on the issue. The program mentioned the possible Soviet knowledge of Waldheim's past which the Soviet government may have used to their advantage during Waldheim's stewardship of the UN.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fotiyev, M 4) reviewed a Soviet television discussion on the constituent parts of a Soviet "world-outlook." The program commented that the discussion was refreshingly free of Marxist dogma and conceded the important role that hope plays in the formation of a world-outlook.

9. Trade. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Krasin, W 3:30) , using a Reuter report, covered Soviet-US trade negotiations on increased Soviet grain, wheat, and corn purchasing quotas from American farmers.

10. History. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 4) broadcast excerpts from recent articles in Sovetskaya Kultura and Ogonek on victims of the purges in the 1930s and on the horrors of forced collectivization in 1929.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 3:30) read excerpts from Pravda published 70 and 50 years ago on the signing of the Brest-Litovsk treaty and the infamous trial of the now rehabilitated economic theorist Nikolay Bukharin.

11. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Malinkovich, M 10) summarized an article appearing in Literaturnaya Gazeta from February 17 on the need to reevaluate the role of literature in Soviet society. Five leading Soviet philosophers argued, that for too long, literature in Soviet society, has been the hand-maiden of political dogma. The program corroborated the views of some of the Soviet philosophers and called for a brand of literature which addressed the spiritual as well as the material aspects of Russian life.

12. Literature. FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe and Volkov, M 29:30) broadcast the third installment of Oleg Volkov's autobiographical account of prison life in the USSR, Descent into Darkness, published recently by Athenium in Paris.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

1. The Socialist Countries. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 7:30) gave a detailed summary of an article by William Pfaff in the The International Herald Tribune from March 3 on the bankruptcy of the Soviet economic and political model for the countries of Eastern Europe.

2. Hungary. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 4:30) reviewed an article in the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party organ Nepsabadshag, describing the importance for Hungary of seizing the present opportunity to instigate far-reaching economic reforms. The program commented that unless these reforms are accompanied by genuine political changes, Hungary will not experience any lasting benefit from them.

3. Poland. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kh. Peterson, M 5) highlighted an article in Tribuna Ludy which partially admits PUWP responsibility for the anti-semitic campaign of the late 1960s when an estimated 20 thousand Polish Jews were forced to leave the country.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. East-West Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, Brussels 7) updated the previous report from the NATO summit in Brussels, backgrounded the constituent nations and structure of the organization, and cited from a NATO document declaring the resolve of all 16 NATO countries to guarantee peace and the preservation of democratic freedoms within the countries of the NATO alliance.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 7) covered the announcement made by the NATO representatives meeting in Brussels on the future of conventional and nuclear weapons in the European theater.

2. The Middle East. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 6:30) reported on the current US diplomatic initiative to rally support for its Middle East peace plan.

3. Central America. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 3:30), using a Reuters report, reported on the annual two-day meeting between representatives of the EC and the Latin American countries of the Contadora group.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

1. Religion. JUDAISM (Lvov, Taratuta, and Haskelvich, NY 28) presented items on false prophets in Judaism, Moses, and a sermon on the history and traditions of the Parim.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Friday, 4 March 1988
D. Felton

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fistejn and Shuster, M and Geneva 9) featured a report by RL's special correspondent Savik Shuster on the talks in Geneva between Kabul and Islamabad on the Afghan question. Shuster focused on the sudden Afghan announcement of agreement to a Soviet troop withdrawal within nine months, and Pakistan's continued insistence on the formation of a provisional coalition government in Afghanistan. Shuster spoke of the Kabul regime's making a concession in an attempt to hold on to power.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 5:30) noted the Mujahidin's insistence on participation in a settlement of the Afghan question, and their agreement to a provisional government including "Muslims living in Kabul."

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Paramonov, NY 4) highlighted UN representative Ermacora's latest report on the human rights situation in Afghanistan. The report notes a slight improvement here, but points to continued killings, tortures, confinement of political prisoners, mistrust on the part of refugees, the lack of popular sanctioning of the new Constitution, and insufficient guarantees of a multi-party system. The report recommends the formation of a provisional government comprising all interested parties.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 9) pointed to the clearly unfounded optimism of the Kabul regime regarding its strength, popularity and bargaining position as exemplified by Najibullah's recent interview with Novoye Vremya. The program observed that, in contrast, Soviet press reports talk of the tremendous difficulties with which the Soviet troops are having to cope. At the same time, the Soviet press attacks Pakistan for its allegedly uncompromising stand, and speaks utterly unrealistically of Afghan provinces' independent economic relations with the USSR.

2. USSR-Yugoslavia. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Kh. Peterson, M 4:30) noted growing Soviet press interest in Yugoslavia in connection with Gorbachev's upcoming visit to that country. Previously, said the program, Soviet correspondents seemed to have little to say about Yugoslavia's positive features, such as non-alignment, as well as problems which it has which are allegedly alien to a socialist society, such as corruption, the enrichment of the nomenklatura, and in particular the nationality problem. For the first time under glasnost, said the program, a long review article, in Pravda by special correspondent Sharov, has appeared which gives a fairly well-balanced picture of Yugoslavia, although it is silent on unemployment, which also threatens the USSR, and makes only a fleeting reference to the Kosovo problem.

3. Foreign Policy. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 6:30) examined the effect of Gorbachev's "new thinking" on Soviet foreign policy. Western experts feel that Gorbachev's foreign policy differs from that of Brezhnev inasfar as Gorbachev, realizing that without a highly developed economy the USSR cannot preserve its superpower status, is concentrating on economic development rather than territorial expansion. An RLR Research Report of March 2 was used.

4. Foreign Trade. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Tsaryunov, W 4:30) gave the substance of a book by a former adviser of a Soviet foreign trade agency, Michael Knight, in which he offers advice to foreign businessmen on how best to avail themselves of the opportunities which have arisen as a result of the reform of the Soviet foreign trade system, in particular decentralization, under Gorbachev.

5. Dissidents and Human Rights. DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 12:30; Fedorov, NY 9; and Alexeyeva, W 8:30), a RERUN from February 25, began by taking issue with a commentary on human rights by Igor Karpets, director of the USSR State Prosecutor's Office's All-Union Scientific Research Institute. After this, former Georgian political prisoner Zakhary Lashkarashvili recalled his fellow-prisoner Nikolay Ryzhkov, a former Soviet soldier in Afghanistan. Former Soviet political prisoner Yury Fedorov then described conditions in a specially strict-regime camp. In conclusion, the program reported on a session of the socio-economic section of the Moscow Public Seminar on Humanitarian Problems and Human Rights held last December at which the official Soviet claim that the socio-economic rights of Soviet citizens was adequately catered for was disputed.

6. The Emigration. AT THE BOOKSHELF (Perouansky, M 29:30), a RERUN from 9 November 1987, featured the fifth installment of Soviet emigre writer Vladimir Voynovich's satirical novel Moscow, 2042 about a futuristic communist republic.

7. Jews. JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 2), in a review of events in Israel in the past week, mentioned Shultz's statement in a meeting with former Soviet Jewish refuseniks in Jerusalem that he had received an assurance from the Soviet authorities that there would be no full application of a law allowing family reunification only in the case of a first degree of relationship. It was reported that Shultz has so far failed to secure the release of a number of long-time refuseniks, but has succeeded in the case of prominent mathematician, Prof. Meyman, who has arrived in Israel with pianist Vladimir Feltsman.

JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Roitman, M 21) featured further excerpts from a paper delivered by Mikhail Heifetz of Jerusalem's Jewish University at an international conference in Monterey, US, on the subject of "Christianity, State and Society in Modern Russia: The Factors of Tradition and Change" in which he gave examples from recent Russian literature on the problematical relations between Russians and Jews. Heifetz said that the recent national-religious renaissance in Russia has had the healthy effect of bringing relations between the two peoples out into the open.

8. Restructuring. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 2), in a review of the Soviet press, quoted an item in Moskovske Novosti, No. 9, describing the appearance of 30,000 independent public organizations in the USSR as a consequence of restructuring, which has released the creative energies of the masses. The question is, said the program, whether these organizations will be treated in a normal, civilized manner. The program pointed out that the very existence of these organizations is due to the sacrifices made by the human rights movement.

9. The Economy. ROUND TABLE TALK (Roitman, Kroncher and Shapiro, M 20) said that the alleged new independence of Soviet enterprises is fictitious in view of the continued existence of plan commitments imposed by the state, and state control of the disposal of profits, the distribution of materials, and the fixing of prices. At the same time, the enterprises do have a considerable degree of freedom in fixing the prices of consumer products, which means in the final analysis that it is the consumer who pays the price of the poor performance of the Soviet economy. As regards inflationary tendencies in the USSR, the program said the only countermeasure is to increase the production of consumer goods of adequate quality.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 6), pegged to a Politburo discussion on how the new law on the state enterprise has improved the effectiveness of enterprises' operations, expressed the view that in fact the law has made life more complicated for enterprises, which are still subjected to the pressure of the state plan, and have no real independence. Both the law and the Soviet economic system as a whole, said the

program, are inadequate. It would be best if the directive organs would forget about meeting quantitative targets and allow the enterprises to enter into free relations with their suppliers and their customers.

10. Ideology. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Henkina, M 6), in a review of recent Soviet TV programs, drew attention to a discussion on "The Philosophy of Man" which reflects the Soviet leadership's dismay over the spiritual void in homo Sovieticus. Significantly, Marxism was hardly mentioned. The discussants spoke instead of the need for such things as a conception of man as an entity, a restoration of morality, and protection of the environment. The program regretted, however, that following a reference to "anti-Christ," the censors went into action.

11. The Law. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 2), in a review of the Soviet press, welcomed a series begun in Nedelya offering legal advice to readers. The first item concerns unwarranted detention of citizens. The program remarked that every Soviet citizen is aware that the authorities have so far been breaking the law with impunity.

12. The Nationalities. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyev, M 4) said a TASS report on 31 people having been killed during disorders in Sumgait related to the Mountainous Karabagh dispute is an illustration of glasnost in action, although it was not specified how many were Armenians and how many Azeris. Background was given on the Mountainous Karabagh issue, and it was noted that many consider that the CPSU CC statement that the demands for a revision of national-territorial boundaries are against the interests of Armenian and Azeri workers is insulting and has merely inflamed passions still further. Many political observers, said the program, view the creation of special commissions to examine the Mountainous Karabagh question as a serious test for the Soviet leadership.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Strunskis, M 10) featured an interview with Latvian human rights activist and co-founder of the "Helsinki-86" group, Grantins, who has just left the USSR, in which he talked about the group's objectives, in particular self-determination for Latvia. Grantins expressed the view that about 90 percent of Latvians would vote for Latvia's leaving the USSR. He also described how he was pressured by the authorities into leaving the USSR.

13. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Malinkovich, M 18:30 and Gladilin, Copenhagen 9) began by noting the recent appearance in the Soviet press of certain positive references to Soviet emigres had fought for radical restructuring starting back in the 1960s. Soviet emigre writer Anatoly Gladilin then reported on a conference taking place in Copenhagen on "The Role of the Creative Intelligentsia in Restructuring" in which besides Danish scholars and writers, writers from the USSR as well as Soviet emigre writers are taking part. Gladilin highlighted a

speech by Yury Afanasev, the Rector of the Moscow Historical Archives Institute, in which he called for a process of consolidation between Soviet emigres and their countrymen in the USSR for the sake of the success of restructuring. Reference was also made to speeches by Soviet emigre writer Andrey Sinyavsky, and Soviet writers Fazil Iskander, Oleg Poptsov, and Vladimir Dudintsev. After this, the program drew attention to an article by Soviet writer Georgy Kunitsyn in Literaturnaya Rossiya of February 26 in which he spoke of how Soviet literature had in the past failed to speak the truth, and drew a distinction between liberalization and freedom of the press. He said Stalin restored slavery in the Soviet Union, and while referring favorably to such writers as Akhmatova, claimed that Nekrasov had become a broken man. The program said Kunitsyn's article was bold, but it made no reference to Soviet literature's past call to kill the regime's enemies, or to the imprisonment of human rights activists who had ideologically paved the way for restructuring. The program concluded with a RERUN from 29 December 1987 of the late Soviet film director Andrey Tarkovsky's interview statements on the cinema, and his attitude to himself, his country, women, etc.

14. Religion. THE MILLENNIUM OF THE CHRISTIANIZATION OF RUSSIA (Rahr, M 29:30) was entirely devoted to the Pskov Cave Monastery. The program referred to an excellent West German TV film on the monastery shown last December, but pointed out that the film made no mention of the fact that the monastery only survived the Bolshevik takeover because it happened at the time to be on the territory of the new Estonian state. The program spoke of how the monastery was subsequently saved by the efforts of Christians both inside and outside the USSR, and quoted from emigre Russian religious activist Levitin-Krasnov's account of the repressive regime imposed inside the monastery. An outline history of the monastery was also given.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

1. The Socialist Countries. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Krimerman, M 6:30) gave background on the conflict between Hungary and Romania over Romania's treatment of its Hungarian minority. In the introduction to the program, reference was made to a Bulgarian demonstration against pollution from a Romanian chemical combine, a Yugoslav charge that Romania had been dishonestly appropriating electric energy from a joint hydroelectric power station on the Danube, the Yugoslav newspaper Borba's sharp criticism of Romania's economic policy, and Moscow Academician Bogomolov's statement in Budapest on Romania's economic crisis.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. East-West Relations. PRESS REVIEW (EVENTS AND PEOPLE) (Gregory, M 4:30) cited comment on the NATO summit in Brussels in The Washington Post (Jim Hoagland), The Times (London), and The Independent.

PRESS REVIEW (EVENTS AND PEOPLE) (Mirsky, P 7:30) focused on French press comment on the NATO summit in Brussels, quoting Le Figaro and Le Monde.

2. The Middle East. JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 3), in a review of events in Israel in the past week, reported on a certain abatement of the unrest in the occupied territories, related street demonstrations and clashes within the Israeli government which could herald early elections, and a controversy in Israel over the role of the media in provoking the Palestinian unrest.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

1. Religion. JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 1), in a review of events in Israel in the past week, reported briefly on the celebration of the festival of Purim in Israel.

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RADIO FREE EUROPE
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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Saturday, 5 March 1988
D. Felton

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Soviet-US Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Krasin, W 5) gave the contents of an article by Albert Axelbank in The Journal of Commerce on an American law firm's opening a branch in Moscow in connection with the operation of joint enterprises in the USSR.

OUR PLANET (Gregory, M 4) reported on the arrival of top Soviet film functionary Alexander Kamshalov in Hollywood to do business with American filmmakers. A joking reference in The Los Angeles Times was mentioned on Kamshalov being the "fifth column of Gorbachev's glasnost." Kamshalov denied that the head of the USSR Cinematographers' Union, Yelam Klimov, was retiring, and expressed the hope for an end to the ignorance and fear which have prevented the USSR and the US from dealing honestly with each other.

2. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, M 4), reporting on the latest developments in the Geneva talks between representatives of the Kabul regime and Pakistan, remarked that while UN mediator Diego Cordovez stated that all major obstacles to an agreement on Afghanistan had been removed, American officials in Geneva point to Pakistan's continued insistence on concluding an agreement which includes a provisional coalition government, and to the US insistence that aid to the Mujahidin will only be ended if Soviet aid to the Kabul regime is stopped as well. US State Department official Phyllis Oakley was quoted as denying that the US had already reduced aid to the partisans.

HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE USSR (Paramonov, NY 4), a RERUN from March 4, highlighted UN representative Ermacora's latest report on the human rights situation in Afghanistan.

3. Restructuring. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kushev, M 5), pegged to the 35th anniversary of the death of Stalin, remarked that exponents of restructuring are now not using the euphemism of the "cult of personality" to describe the Stalin era but are talking simply of "Stalinism." What is now being said openly was recently considered seditious. Revolutionary changes are

now taking place in the USSR, and the healthy forces within the party are winning, but reforms had long ago been called for by such human rights activists as Sakharov and the late General Petr Grigorenko. However, said the program, only when the full truth is told about the "neo-Stalinism" of the Brezhnev period, and its victims rehabilitated, will a final end be put to Stalinism.

In WRITERS AT THE MICROPHONE (Dovlatov, NY 6) Soviet emigre writer Sergey Dovlatov pointed to the differences between glasnost and restructuring (for example, glasnost is a question of words, restructuring one of deeds, glasnost is a state, restructuring a process, glasnost is a forerunner of restructuring). Dovlatov remarked that glasnost and restructuring seem to have many more enemies in the USSR than in the West.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gladilin, Copenhagen 9) reported on the final day of a conference in Copenhagen on the role of the creative intelligentsia in restructuring in the USSR. Participants included Soviet and Soviet emigre cultural representatives, as well as Danish scholars. The program highlighted a paper delivered by Natalia Ivanova, a Soviet literary critic and one of the editors of the journal Druzhba Narodov, in which she talked about opponents of restructuring who were resisting the presentation of historical truth in literary works. The program mentioned the friendly and constructive atmosphere of the conference, and the interest shown by the Danish public.

4. Glasnost. HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE USSR (Shapiro, Isr. 12) contrasted the freedom of information in the West, where not only is the amount of secrecy kept to a minimum but citizens enjoy the right of privacy of personal data, with the situation in the USSR and other socialist countries. Only hesitantly, said the program, is the question of freedom of information being raised in the USSR under the glasnost campaign.

5. Stalin. WRITERS AT THE MICROPHONE (Orshansky, W 13), a RERUN from 16 June 1983 pegged to the 35th anniversary of Stalin's death, presented an RL interview with Soviet emigre writer Vasily Aksenov about his attitude to Stalin. The program briefly mentioned a book by Aksenov's mother, Yevgeniya Ginzburg, entitled A Circular Route in which she describes her experiences in Stalin's labor camps.

6. The Nationalities. In WRITERS AT THE MICROPHONE (Voynovich, M 9:30) Soviet emigre writer Vladimir Voynovich reflected on the nationality question in the USSR in connection with the Mountainous Karabagh conflict. So far, said Voynovich, the Soviet leadership has managed to keep the various nationality problems under control, although it has exacerbated them by arbitrary resettlement and territorial divisions, but only a slight relaxation of pressure has resulted in these problems coming to the surface. Voynovich recalled his own personal

experience of the Crimean Tatar problem, in particular the transfer of the Crimea to the Ukraine, and described the nationality question as a tough test for restructuring.

7. Religion. NOT BY BREAD ALONE (Rahr, M 12; Benigsen, NY 9; and Aksenov-Meyerson, NY 9) began with a reading and discussion of a passage from the Gospel of St. Mark read out this Sunday in Orthodox churches describing how Christ healed a man sick of the palsy. In connection with the Soviet authorities' having last year allowed the creation of a Russian Orthodox parish and the opening of a Russian Orthodox church in the Kaliningrad Oblast, the program then gave the history of Russian Orthodox churches in Kaliningrad. The program concluded with profiles of Russian saints commemorated at this time of the year.

THE MILLENNIUM OF THE CHRISTIANIZATION OF RUSSIA (Rahr, M 29:30), a RERUN from March 4, was entirely devoted to the Pskov Cave Monastery.

SUNDAY SERVICE (Rahr and Kholodnaya, M and NY 49:30) featured a Russian Orthodox Church service.

8. History. OUR PLANET (Nikolayev, M 1) cited a review by Lenin's widow, Nadezhda Krupskaya, of the film October published in Pravda of 9 February 1928. Krupskaya's opinion was generally positive, although she criticized, among other things, a preoccupation with Kerensky, and the portrayal of Lenin.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

1. Poland. OUR PLANET (Gordin, M 3:30) cited Polish government spokesman Jerzy Urban's expression of concern over the mass emigration of Polish young people and intellectuals in recent years, and his warning that sooner or later, Poland will present the West with the bill for the education these people received. The program also referred to the pope's appeal to the Polish government to reorganize the country's economic and political structure so as to encourage Poles to stay at home. It was noted that beside economic emigres, many scientists are leaving Poland because of inadequate working facilities.

2. The Socialist Countries. HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE USSR (Mirsky, P 7:30), a RERUN from March 3, gave a detailed summary of an article by William Pfaff in the The International Herald Tribune from March 3 on the bankruptcy of the Soviet economic and political model for the countries of Eastern Europe.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. East-West Relations. In SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, Brussels 28) RL's special correspondent at the NATO summit in Brussels pointed to the NATO countries' consensus on fundamental issues,

in particular the agreement on the need to preserve the alliance's defensive capability while continuing a dialogue with the USSR and other socialist countries on the question of arms reduction. At the same time, it was noted, there are no objections to bilateral military ties between member countries. The program traced the history of NATO, observing that it was founded in view of the USSR's aggressive, expansionist postwar policy under Stalin. A contrast was made between NATO's democratic character and objectives, and those of the Warsaw Pact. Reference was made to the Warsaw Pact's numerical superiority and continuing military buildup.

2. The Middle East. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Miloslavsky, Jerusalem 9) outlined the American Middle East peace plan submitted by Shultz to Israel. The program noted differences within the Israeli government on the plan, and outlined the Jordanian position. The program mentioned the significantly mild Soviet reaction to the recent unrest in the Israeli-occupied territories, and the Israeli security forces' claim that Palestinians were being encouraged to participate in demonstrations by the presence of TV cameras. All in all, said the program, the period of stagnation regarding the Middle East situation has come to an end.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

1. The US Education System was described on SPECIAL FEATURE (Vail, Genis and Gendler, NY 20), which pointed especially to its high degree of decentralization and independence from the state, and its informal, individualistic philosophy.

2. Culture. OUR PLANET (Gordin, M 2:30) included an item on the international culture center in Amrisvil, Switzerland, made famous by a visit by Thomas Mann in 1947.

OUR PLANET (Salkazanov, P 4) gave an obituary of blues pianist and singer Memphis Slim (Peter Chatman), who died recently in Paris aged 73. Recordings of his music were included.

3. The New "Kneeling Buses" in New York Facilitating Entry for Disabled Persons was the subject of an item in OUR PLANET (Matusevich, NY 3).

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Friday, 6 March 1988
N. Petroff

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. US-Soviet Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 2) mentioned, in a review of events of the week in Washington, the ongoing Senate discussions on the recent US-Soviet agreement for the liquidation of medium and short-range nuclear missiles.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Volkov, NY 5) spoke of the upcoming Boston Festival of Soviet Music. The author stressed the belief that, strange as it may seem, there is nothing noteworthy in contemporary Soviet symphonic compositions that could arouse any kind of strong public reaction, as did the Fifth Symphony by Shostakovich when it was first performed in 1937.

2. Afghanistan. EMBATTLED AFGHANISTAN (Bensi M and Shapiro Isr. 9, and Levin, M 11) reported on the progress of the indirect talks between Pakistan and the Kabul regime in Geneva. The program discussed how Soviet military commanders, leaders of the Kabul regime, and Afghan society are reacting to the talks. It examined the possible meanings behind Gorbachev's declaration of future noninterference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. The program concluded with a critical look at an article in Komsomolskaya Pravda by Eleana Lesoto who had just returned from Afghanistan. The script takes issue with Lesoto's view that, despite the horrors of war, important goals beneficial to Soviet society were reaped as a result of the Soviet incursion.

HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE USSR (Paramonov, NY 4) a RERUN from March 5, highlighted UN representative Ermacora's latest report on the human rights situation in Afghanistan.

3. The Nationalities. THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Predtechevsky, M 20) cited articles in Le Monde, The Washington Post, The New York Times, The Guardian, and Rheinischer Merkur, on the Armenian demonstrations and the Karabagh issue. The Rheinischer Merkur drew attention to the overall Nationalities problem and gave a brief background look at recent disturbances involving other Slavic and non-Slavic minorities in the USSR.

4. Siberia. THE FORTUNES OF SIBERIA (Shapiro, Isr. 10:30) discussed the problem of corruption in Siberia. This is a relatively recent phenomenon in an area known for its legendary tradition of honesty. The author reasons that the rise in theft and corruption is a result of an increased influx of transient workers, as well as a severe deficit in food and goods obtained from the rich and bountiful resources of Siberia, too much of which is tapped for foreign exports and for private consumption by local party bosses.

THE FORTUNES OF SIBERIA (Shapiro, Isr. 9), a RERUN from February 21, spoke of Siberia as a natural trading partner of Japan.

THE FORTUNES OF SIBERIA (Shapiro, Isr. 5:30) took issue with the author Valentin Rasputin's recent statement that places the blame for pollution, the destruction of national monuments, and the ruin of the countryside, on the intrigues of foreign elements. The program suggests that it is irresponsible for such a well-known author to accuse others for what he well knows is the fault of the political system.

5. Restructuring. COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Mihailov, W 6) provided a thought piece suggesting that the process of perestroika possibly leading to a more pluralistic society can be compared to the processes and achievements of medical science in underdeveloped countries.

HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE USSR (Shapiro, Isr. 12), a RERUN from March 5, contrasted the freedom of information in the West with glasnost in the USSR.

6. Soviet Totalitarianism. COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Gorbanevskaya, P 10) reviewed a book called Totalitarianism in the 20th Century by Leon Polyakov which examines four totalitarian forms of government in this century: Soviet Communism, Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany, and totalitarian China. The program discusses Polyakov's examination of the Soviet Union as a model totalitarian state whose instruments of power and government were created by Lenin and further refined in stages by his successors.

FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 29:30) featured the conclusion of a chapter entitled "Stalin--A Hero and Artist of the Stalin Era," from Soviet emigre writer Andrey Sinyavsky's book The Foundations of Soviet Civilization. The chapter has been published in the Paris-based Russian-language journal, Sintaksis, No. 19.

7. The Economy. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mihailov, W 4) presented a think piece that offered a novel approach to solving those perennial problems facing the Soviet economy.

8. History. SOVIETOLOGISTS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Shragin, NY 20) reviewed a two volume work by the British sociologist and historian Theodore Shanin called At the Source of Russian Originality. The program investigates Shanin's attempt to determine what it is that makes Russian civilization unique. It concludes by underscoring Shanin's central theme, that Russia belongs to the family of "developing" nations.

9. Sports. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rubin, NY 5:30) remarked on the improvements in the style and contents of Soviet sports reporting, as reflected in recent articles on the Winter Olympics in Soviet newspapers and journals.

WORLD OF SPORT (Rubin NY 8:30) offered a western press review on the outstanding performance of the Soviet hockey team.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

1. Czechoslovakia. OVER THE BARRIERS (Paramonov and Dovlatov, NY 12) provided a psychological critique of the successful film adaptation in the US of a book by Milan Kundera. The program discusses the reasons why an American audience would react favorably to the film.

COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Fistein, M 11) commented on the unexpected growing conflict between the government and the Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia which has surfaced after 40 years of relative calm. The program drew attention to the recent "Petition by Moravian Catholics" which received an official endorsement by the Catholic Primate, Archbishop Tomasek.

2. Eastern Europe. HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE USSR (Mirsky, P 7:30), a RERUN from March 5, gave a detailed summary of an article by William Pfaff in The International Herald Tribune from March 3 on the bankruptcy of the Soviet economic and political model for the countries of Eastern Europe.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The US. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 4) reported on the vote in the House of Representatives stopping military and humanitarian aid to the Contras.

2. Sino-US Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 7) noted the arrival of the PRC Foreign Minister in Los Angeles where he attended the opening of the PRC's fifth new consulate in the US.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

1. The Olympics. OVER THE BARRIERS (Vail and Genis, NY 10) discussed the winter Olympics in Calgary as an entertainment event, a colorful fast-paced show presented to millions of television viewers by ABC. It was noted that the network heightened the interest level of the separate events by providing coverage that underscored the human side of the story, with frequent biographic sketches of individual participants.

WORLD OF SPORT (Rubin, NY 11:30) presented a wrapup by RL's special correspondent to the Winter Olympics in Calgary. The program focused on the highly colorful pageantry of the closing ceremonies. It concluded with a discussion of the problem of recruiting and keeping star athletes for the Olympic hockey teams.

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RADIO FREE EUROPE
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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Monday, 7 March 1988
D. Felton

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 4:30), commenting on Pakistani Foreign Minister Noorani's return to Islamabad to discuss the results of the Geneva talks on Afghanistan, made particular note of the fact that the government discussed future policy on Afghanistan with representatives of the opposition. Pakistan's continued insistence on a provisional government in Afghanistan was noted.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fistejn and Shuster, M 10) featured a further telephoned report from Geneva by RL's special correspondent at the UN-mediated talks on Afghanistan between Pakistan and the Kabul regime, Savik Shuster. Shuster spoke of Pakistan's continued insistence on the formation of a provisional government in Kabul, Washington's view that this would also be in the USSR's interest, the Afghan resistance's disbelief in Moscow's peaceful intentions, and continued fighting in Afghanistan.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 6:30) looked at Soviet propaganda attempts to explain away the failure of the USSR's Afghan adventure. The program focused on articles by Prokhanov in Literaturnaya Gazeta and Filatov in Krasnaya Zvezda which name scapegoats but fail to tell the real truth about the USSR's involvement in Afghanistan.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 7) quoted French commentators on the problems to be solved before an agreement on Afghanistan is reached in Geneva, in particular that of the future of the Kabul regime. Le Figaro and Le Monde were quoted.

2. USSR-Iran. ROUND-TABLE TALK (Roitman, Perouansky, and Bensi, M 20) discussed Soviet-Iranian relations in the wake of attacks by Iranian demonstrators on the Soviet Embassy in Iran and the Soviet Consulate General in Isfahan in protest against the delivery of Soviet missiles to Iraq. Concerning the Soviet Foreign Ministry's claim, made to the Iranian temporary charge d'affaires in the USSR, that there were "dark forces aiming to sabotage the normalization of Soviet-Iranian relations," the program remarked that from the Soviet point of view these relations were always ambivalent. On the one hand, the Iranian revolution destroyed Western influence in Iran, but on the other, the Islamic extremism there poses a threat to the Soviet Central Asian republics. The program recalled the USSR's gloating over the affair of the American hostages in Iran and noted its present dilemma of which side to support in the Iran-Iraq War. The program saw no direct link between the Iranian demonstrations and the Geneva talks on Afghanistan, pointed to Iran's position that the problem should be solved without the participation of the two superpowers, and observed that the Afghan resistance leaders are tending to dissociate themselves from Iran.

3. Dissidents and Human Rights. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 2) reported on a demonstration in Moscow by over one-hundred members of unofficial groups against the Stalinist heritage in Soviet political life. The program cited statements by Viktor Kuzin, the leader of the Perestroika-88 group, demonstrator Yuri Mityunov, and Glasnost chief editor Sergey Grigoryants. A Reuter report from Moscow was used. The program saw the growing number of such demonstrations as evidence that not only are human rights violations continuing in the USSR, but that glasnost is somehow taking effect.

PRESS REVIEW (EVENTS AND PEOPLE) (Salkazanov, P 4) quoted Le Monde (Bernard Guetta) on a demonstration held by the Perestroika-88 group in Moscow. The program pointed to the distorted account of the demonstration given in Vechernyaya Moskva.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Rahr, M 4:30) featured an RL interview with Swiss Reformed Church Pastor Eugen Voss on his visit to the USSR in January/February as a member of a delegation of the International Helsinki Federation. Voss reported on his meetings not only with Soviet officials but with representatives of the Soviet public, including Sakharov and Yelena Bonner, and the Glasnost Press Club, and said that he gained the impression that restructuring was indeed taking place in the human rights sphere in the USSR, but that the party clearly had no intention of introducing genuine democracy with a division of powers.

4. Jewish Affairs. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 1) reported on a demonstration by about one-hundred Soviet-Jewish women refuseniks in Moscow. The program saw the growing number of such demonstrations as evidence that not only are human rights violations continuing in the USSR, but that glasnost is somehow taking effect.

5. The Emigration. AT THE BOOKSHELF (Perouansky, M 29:30), a RERUN from 11 November 1987, featured the sixth installment of Soviet emigre writer Vladimir Voynovich's satirical novel Moscow, 2042 about a futuristic communist republic.

6. The System. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 4), in a review of the Soviet press, cited a Moskovskiye Novosti article by Prof. Butenko showing how in the USSR, a change of leadership has always been connected with the power struggle and changing foreign and domestic policy circumstances. The program added that the people have never had any influence on changes in the top state and party leadership, which enabled the leadership to keep the people in ignorance of the truth about Khrushchev's ouster, for example.

7. Society. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fotiyev, M 5) commented on an interview given by Soviet writer Daniil Granin to Moskovskiye Novosti in which he spoke out in favor of morality and against hiding from moral responsibility behind the collective and against double morality in personal and public life. The program found Granin's argumentation in favor of morality weak.

8. The Economy. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 5), pegged to a Pravda report on the drafting of a new law on cooperatives, noted that a kind of "rehabilitation" of cooperatives is being conducted by Soviet scholars. Special attention was drawn to statements by Doctor of Philosophy Tsipko in which he described cooperatives as a compromise between the interests of the individual and those of society, and sharply criticized those who opposed material incentives and advocated total state control over production. The program pointed, however, to the incompatibility between businesses based on private initiative and bureaucracy and state plans.

9. Labor Affairs. WORKERS' MOVEMENT (Simis, W 21) commented on the new law on collective agreements. The previous law, said the program, had virtually no influence on the situation of the workers. Although the new law, described in positive terms by trade union functionaries, abolishes the directive letters of the ministries and trade unions determining the contents of collective agreements, and allows workers' collectives and managements to work out agreements, this innovation is greatly devalued by the fact that basic working conditions are still determined by other laws and regulations. The antidemocratic

procedure for concluding and monitoring the observance of collective agreements remains. What is needed, said the program, is a new all-Union law, and, according to recent Soviet press reports, the Politburo has approved a draft of one. By way of contrast, the program described the situation regarding collective agreements in the US.

In WORKERS' MOVEMENT (Morozov, W 6:30) former Soviet trade union journalist Vladimir Morozov cited recent examples from the Soviet press confirming his own personal experience of how efficient workers earning far above average wage incur not only the envy of colleagues but the displeasure of management and officialdom as well. The program commented that after so many years of egalitarianism, this mentality cannot be changed simply by carrying out a few reforms. Furthermore, those who earn well are more independent of higher authority, which thus loses some of its power.

10. The Nationalities. THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Malinkovich, M 3; Fedoseyev, Oganessian, and Michaeli, M 11:30; and Malinkovich and Fistejn, M 15) began by remarking that in the era of glasnost, the Soviet leaders now realize that restructuring is not possible without a radical change in nationality policy along the lines of that pursued by Lenin. The Mountainous Karabagh conflict, the program added, has also highlighted a particular aspect of the nationality question in the USSR, namely the possibility of conflicts between the non-Russian nationalities. The program then presented a RERUN from March 2 of a talk with the chief editors of RL's Armenian and Azeri Services on the Armenian and Azeri positions in the Mountainous Karabagh conflict. This was followed by a discussion on the implications of the conflict for restructuring. Internationality relations have been shown to be far from the harmonious state depicted by Soviet propaganda, and their importance has been underestimated by the Soviet leadership. Under democratization, these relations will come to play an increasingly greater role. Conflicts between the non-Russian nationalities could be used by conservative elements as an argument against democratization and for a strengthening of central power. There was friction among the Transcaucasian republics even during their brief period of independence between 1919 and 1921. The official Soviet reporting on the Mountainous Karabagh conflict, said the program, constitutes a defeat for glasnost. The time has come to allow complete freedom of information, demonstrations, etc., for decisions taken with public participation are more sound. At the same time, said the Service, a nation should not be regarded as some kind of superindividual and human rights must be given greater priority.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Perouansky, M 7:30) gave examples of how, despite glasnost, the Soviet media are glossing over the recent

demonstrations and disturbances surrounding the Mountainous Karabagh conflict and trying to give the impression that the situation is returning to normal. Soviet dissident historian Roy Medvedev was quoted in The Financial Times in this connection. However, despite suppression of the facts, the nationality problems in the USSR are now making themselves felt with greater urgency than before. Comment by Alexander Putko in a Moscow Radio English-language broadcast was quoted placing the ultimate blame for the Mountainous Karabagh conflict on Stalin's violations of legality and of Lenin's nationality policy. The program also cited The Los Angeles Times (Jansen) that the only peaceful way of solving the nationality problems in the USSR is to give greater independence to the individual republics. The next logical step, the program remarked in conclusion, would be to give the peoples of the USSR the right of secession laid down in the constitution.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 1) reported on demonstrations by Crimean Tatars in Moscow and Krasnodar. The program saw the growing number of demonstrations as evidence that not only are human rights violations continuing in the USSR, but that glasnost is somehow taking effect.

PRESS REVIEW (EVENTS AND PEOPLE) (Predtechevsky, M 12) was devoted to world press comment on the nationality question in the USSR and the dilemma facing the Gorbachev leadership. The program quoted The Guardian (Moscow correspondent Walker), the Stuttgarter Zeitung, The Washington Post, La Repubblica (Moscow correspondent Giacobello), L'Unita, Die Welt, The Miami Herald, L'Express, and The Sunday Times (Moscow correspondent Angus Roxburgh).

PRESS REVIEW (EVENTS AND PEOPLE) (Salkazanova, P 3) reported on the broad and detailed coverage of the Mountainous Karabagh developments in the French press. Liberation and the AFP were quoted.

11. Religion. RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Fotiyev, M 6:30; Szydlowski, NY 7; and Aksenov-Meyerson, NY 8) began by commenting on the hypocrisy of an article by Kuzmin in Golos Rodiny, a Soviet newspaper for emigres, which overflows with enthusiasm and gratitude for the Soviet authorities for the return to the Russian Orthodox Church of the Tolga Monastery near Yaroslavl which the regime itself had confiscated. The program noted the more restrained expression of satisfaction by Archbishop Platon of Yaroslavl and Rostov. Following this, the program gave the content of a paper on the subject of the millennium of the Christianization of Rus delivered by the Rector of the St. Vladimir Seminary near New York, Father Ioann Meyendorf, at the annual conference in New York of the RCDA, an organization occupying itself with the situation of religion in

communist countries. Meyendorf spoke of the role of Christianity in Russia's history and culture. The program then drew attention to appeals to the Soviet authorities by religious activists to respect the rights of churches, religious associations, and believers which were published in the ninth issue of the unofficial information bulletin Glasnost.

12. History. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 2:30), continuing to leaf through old Soviet newspapers, cited Pravda of 6 March 1928 describing as absolute rubbish rumors spread by kulaks and speculators that NEP would be abolished and Pravda of 7 March 1938 reporting on Bukharin's confession at the trial of members of the "rightist-Trotskyite" block. The program mentioned Bukharin's recent posthumous rehabilitation.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Tolz, M 8) drew attention to the present publication in Znamya of the late Boris Yampolsky's novel A Moscow Street on the fear which gripped Soviet society under Stalin.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

None

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The Middle East. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Gordin and Nudelman, M and Tel-Aviv 5:30) included a telephoned report by RL's Tel-Aviv correspondent on the latest Palestinian terrorist attack against an Israeli bus on the Beersheva-Damona road. Statements by Israeli Prime Minister Shamir and Foreign Minister Peres were quoted, and the program described the attack as an act of provocation which harmed the interests of the Palestinians.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Gordin, M 1:30) highlighted a speech delivered by Israel's first Ambassador to the FRG, Asher Ben Nathan, at the opening in Fulda of a Week of Brotherhood organized by the Society for Christian-Jewish Cooperation. Nathan called for direct Arab-Israeli talks, and expressed the hope that one day, a week of Arab-Israeli friendship would be held in Jerusalem. Audio Section material was used.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

1. The US. THE USA TODAY (Kozlovsky, Rubin, and Shalamov, NY 9, 9, and 9) reported on the sentences handed down in the Howard

Beach case in which three blacks were attacked by a group of whites; the Armenian community in the US; and the American public's keen interest in photography.

2. Religion. RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Nazarov, M 8:30) gave the contents of the latest papal encyclical "Sollicitudo Rei Socialis" criticizing both liberalistic capitalism as well as Marxist utopianism and championing private enterprise and human rights.

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RADIO FREE EUROPE
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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Tuesday, 8 March 1988
D. Felton

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gordin and Shuster, 11 and Geneva 4) featured a further report from Geneva by RL's special correspondent at the Kabul-Islamabad talks on Afghanistan. Shuster cited UN mediator Cordovez that there would be no further developments this week, and that work was proceeding on the drafting of a final agreement. Cordovez' veiled reference to the Shultz-Shevardnadze meeting was mentioned.
2. Foreign Trade. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Gordin and Kroncher, M 5:30) noted that, in contrast to the Soviet media, the foreign press is constantly giving figures on Soviet foreign trade, including the USSR's foreign debts, which amount to 31 billion dollars and are giving rise to concern in the West. The program explained that the USSR needs foreign credits, in particular hard currency, due to the third-world character of its foreign trade; its exports largely consist in raw materials, and it has to import machinery, which it is not, however, using efficiently. The program said this is giving rise to doubts in the West as to the USSR's ability to repay the credits it receives. The program mentioned that the USSR, for its part, gives credits to East European and third-world countries, but these are either politically motivated, or designed to compensate for the poor quality of Soviet products exported to these countries.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Chianurov, M 6) gave the contents of an article by Terence Roth in The Wall Street Journal on how Soviet bureaucracy is hampering the expansion of Soviet foreign trade despite the greater independence which enterprises have been granted under restructuring.

3. Dissidents and Human Rights. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rahr, M 3) reported on demonstrations on Moscow's October Square and in the Krasnopresnensky Park held on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of Stalin's death. The demonstrators demanded democracy, freedom of speech, an end to the psychiatric repression of dissidents, etc., commemorated Stalin's victims,

and protested against existing remnants of Stalinism. The program remarked that the militia's mishandling of demonstrators constitute such remnants, which are holding up such positive processes as democratization, emancipation, etc.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyev, M 2), a RERUN from March 7, reported on a demonstration in Moscow by over 100 members of unofficial groups against the Stalinist heritage in Soviet political life.

HUMAN RIGHTS (Kaminskaya, W 7), citing The Washington Post, commented on a meeting in Sakharov's apartment between Soviet and American human rights activists during which he spoke of the need for restraint in the present fight for human rights under improved but more complex conditions, and focused on the issues of a Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan and the release of all political prisoners. The program condemned criticism leveled at Sakharov by certain Soviet dissidents to the effect that he had withdrawn from the day-to-day campaign for human rights, but insisted that releasing political prisoners is not enough; they must also be rehabilitated, and Soviet legislation must be changed so as to allow freedom of expression.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Galkina, NY 5:30) highlighted US Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights Richard Schifter's speech at the annual meeting in New York of the committee of American scientists in defense of human rights in which he talked about the emigration and foreign travel ban on many Soviet scientists on the grounds of possession of classified information, and employment discrimination against Soviet Jews. Schifter congratulated the committee on six new members, recent Soviet emigres.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rahr, M 11), an expanded RERUN from March 7, featured an RL interview with Swiss Reformed Church Pastor Eugen Voss on his visit to the USSR in January-February as a member of a delegation of the International Helsinki Federation.

FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 29:30) featured the fourth installment of the third part of Solzhenitsyn's Gulag Archipelago.

4. Emigration. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Tsaryunova, W 4), citing an article in The New York Times by Robert Peer, said that American officials are talking of the need to readjust the US's immigration programs in view of a sharp rise in the number of Armenians applying to emigrate to the US. The article noted that this development began before the unrest over the Mountainous Karabagh issue. The program pointed to the importance of the emigration issue in US-Soviet relations, and cited a US State Department official that the recent increase in Soviet-Jewish emigration is a considerable diplomatic achievement for the US.

5. Jews. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Gordin and Nudelman, M and Tel-Aviv 3) reported on demonstrations by Soviet-Jewish women refuseniks in several Soviet cities, and noted expressions of support for the demonstrators in Israel, the US, Britain, France, Japan, and other countries.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyev, M 1), a RERUN from March 7, reported on a demonstration by about 100 Soviet Jewish women refuseniks in Moscow.

6. Restructuring. HUMAN RIGHTS (Fedoseyev and Malinkovich, M 20) talked about the recent demonstrations in the USSR against the legacy of Stalinism and for restructuring, democratization, etc. The program said the demonstrations reflect the fact that the Stalinist-Brezhnevite structures and functionaries remain. However, constructive criticism is essential, otherwise the USSR's present crisis will become worse. The authorities have been breaking up demonstrations even when they have been in favor of restructuring because they are afraid of the possibly disruptive effect of public initiatives. The program noted as a relevant factor the fact that Russia did not go to socialism from capitalism. In conclusion, the program emphasized the need for guarantees of human rights and freedoms, and said monuments to the victims of Stalinism are necessary as a reminder to the younger generation.

7. The Economy. ROUNDTABLE TALK (Roitman and Kroncher, M 20) commented on the new draft law on cooperatives, describing it as not so much a law as a formulation of a general philosophical approach to cooperatives. The approach is positive, but on the other hand, the state price formation system is being imposed on cooperatives, and the drafters of the law seem to want a mere variation of the state economy, but this would mean the end of the cooperatives. The program spoke of regimentation, and of an attempt to combine the state-run centralized economy on the other hand, and a new-style economy orientated toward supply and demand on the other, but the two are basically irreconcilable. Cooperative banks, shares, etc. are to be tolerated, but under the present Soviet economic system, little will come out of the new law. Double taxation (on the cooperative's profits, and on the income of individual members) contradicts the policy of encouraging cooperatives. The program also saw a paradox between the toleration of cooperatives' external relations, and the fact that relations between cooperative members and hired workers are to be determined by local soviets.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Belotserkovsky, M 7:30) commented on the draft law on cooperatives which is to be subjected to nationwide discussion. The program saw the sheer length of the draft, which means that the ordinary workers will hardly have the time or patience to study it, as an undemocratic element. Nevertheless, the Soviet leadership seems to be moving slowly but surely towards democratization of the Soviet economy. The program found positive elements in the draft law, but pointed on

the other hand to passages placing limits on the prices which cooperatives may charge for their products, and introducing an unspecified sliding scale of taxation. The program referred particularly to a paragraph on the party organization being the political core of the cooperative, describing this as a classical piece of Bolshevik inflexibility. The major problem facing cooperatives, said the program, is a shortage of human and material resources, which can only be solved by placing a major part of industry and the national economy in general on a cooperative basis, with genuine self-management. The program recalled the flourishing cooperatives during the NEP period.

ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Krasin, W 8) backgrounded the introduction of Lenin's New Economic Policy (NEP) in the early 1920s, and observed that like the present economic restructuring program, it sprang from the need to redress the adverse effect on the economy of rigid, directive-style centralization. Unlike under NEP, however, private enterprise is being placed under the control of the local authorities, and is being hampered by party bureaucrats fearful of losing their privileges.

8. Military Policy. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Paramonov, NY 4:30) said that Western, in particular US experts are in the main convinced of a process of reorientation of Soviet military policy toward defense rather than attack, but are adopting a wait-and-see position. US Defense Secretary Carlucci was quoted on his upcoming meeting with his Soviet colleague Yazov. Gorbachev and Soviet military experts were also quoted. Western experts, said the program, link the reorientation of Soviet defense policy with Gorbachev's economic reform program, SDI, and a realization that in the thermonuclear era, military confrontation is no good for either side.

9. Women. ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Roitman and Henkina, M 16:30), a RERUN from March 1, commented on talk in the Soviet press of upgrading the status of the work done by women in bringing up children, and saw the public airing of the multitude of problems plaguing Soviet women as a hopeful sign.

10. The Media. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Henkina, M 5) commented on the recent "TV bridge" between Moscow and Tokyo. The program suggested that participants from the Committee of Soviet Women and the State Television and Radio's main department for external relations were in fact KGB officials, and noted the elegant way in which they evaded pointed questions from the Japanese viewers regarding the Kurile Isles, Chernobyl, etc. The program suggested that such TV bridges not be shown to the Soviet public because they cannot be deceived about the real situation in the USSR.

11. The Nationalities. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Perouansky, M 6:30) began by commenting on Gorbachev's statement to visiting Austrian CP leader Muhri, made in connection with the Mountainous Karabagh conflict, that in the past, Moscow's

nationality policy had been "cruel" and "callous." The program said that "criminal" would be a better word, and in this connection drew attention to a story by Anatoly Pristavkin published last year in Znamya on the deportation of Chechens. The program spoke of a tough legacy for Gorbachev, and said that postponement of the numerous nationality problems in the USSR will merely exacerbate them. Force can hardly be used, since this would constitute a cruel and callous policy condemned by Gorbachev himself. Soviet dissident historian Roy Medvedev was quoted as recommending in an interview to The Financial Times a gradual solution of the Mountainous Karabagh conflict. In conclusion, the program mentioned that demonstrators in Yerevan carried banners with the inscription "Karabagh--a Test of Restructuring," and suggested that referendums, also provided for under the Soviet Constitution, could help in the restructuring of Soviet nationality policy.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 5:30) pointed to the abundance of photographic and film material provided by the Western media on the Mountainous Karabagh conflict, and the absence of such material in the Soviet coverage, which does not tie in with glasnost.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanova, P 7) made a comparison between appeals for the preservation of order addressed by the PRC, Soviet and French authorities to Tibetans, Armenians and Corsicans respectively. The program remarked that only in the USSR and the PRC were there casualties, and that while the 1960s were marked by the colonial powers' withdrawal from Africa and Asia, the 1980s have been characterized by an awakening of national sentiments within multinational states. The program expressed doubt as to whether Gorbachev's belated expression of goodwill toward the Armenian and Azeri peoples will help the situation.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyev, M 1), a RERUN from March 7, reported on demonstrations by Crimean Tatars in Moscow and Krasnodar.

12. Culture. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Matusevich, M 3:30) cited an article by The Guardian's Moscow correspondent Martin Walker on the sudden cancellation, on the orders of Gorbachev's deputy Ligachev, of a rock concert against drug abuse scheduled to take place in Moscow. Walker spoke in this connection of uncertainty surrounding the cultural thaw in the USSR.

13. History. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 3), continuing to leaf through old Soviet newspapers, cited Pravda of 8 March 1928 on the Soviet government's decision to sign a protocol on the banning of the use of poison gas and bacteriological weapons. The program commented in connection with reports of the use of chemical weapons by Soviet troops in Afghanistan that the USSR seems to have forgotten about this protocol. The program then cited Pravda of 8 March 1938 on the

continuing trial of members of the "rightist-Trotskyite" block, specifically a letter from workers in the Soviet Arctic expressing "rage" over the alleged crimes of the accused. The program pointed out that all the accused except Yagoda were recently posthumously rehabilitated.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

1. Eastern Europe. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Kh. Peterson, M 4) said the various protest actions taking place in many East European countries are hardly a coincidence, but reflect a renaissance of the self-esteem of the various peoples living in the socialist camp. The program referred to a demonstration in Poland by Solidarity supporters and participants in the ecological movement "Freedom and Peace" against plans to build a new atomic power station; the Polish authorities' sharp reaction to an attempt by the Australian government to invite Walesa to that country; and massive repressions by the GDR authorities against believers and persons applying for resettlement to the FRG.

2. Czechoslovakia. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fotiyev, M 4:30) pointed to a sharpening conflict between the Czechoslovak Catholic Church and the authorities illustrated by arrests of many prominent dissidents prior to a church service in St. Vitus's Cathedral in Prague commemorating St. Agnes, patron saint of Bohemia. The program mentioned a document drafted by Catholic activist Augustin Navratil, demanding among other things a separation of church and state, which received the backing of Cardinal Tomasek. Brief reference was also made to the detention of five Czech dissidents invited to the house of a British diplomat, and to a subsequent protest by the British Foreign Ministry.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The Middle East. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 6:30) commented on the completion of Shultz's second round of talks with Middle East leaders on the US peace plan. The program noted Israeli Premier Shamir's negative reaction to the plan, and criticism of Shamir in the US Congress. The Los Angeles Times (Dan Fisher and John Broder) was quoted.

2. East-West Relations. OVER THE BARRIERS (Mirsky, P 27:30) was entirely devoted to a recent international symposium in Paris on the subject of "Europe's Cultural Countenance" in which especial reference was made to the present unnatural division of Europe between East and West. The program outlined the program of action decided upon, and highlighted papers delivered by Italian writer Alberto Moravia and his Hungarian colleague Gyorgy Konrad. Reference was also made to the contributions

made by Merab Marmardashvili (USSR), Dan Haulica (Romania), Antonin Lim (Czechoslovakia), and Pierre Mertens (Belgium).

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

1. Science and Technology. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY TODAY (Muslin, NY 27:30) featured items on the international race to produce the new generation of computers; electronically controlled homes; upcoming tests in the US of rescue systems for space shuttle crews; a suicide attempt in which a man shot out of his brain the part responsible for his problems; a planned commercial cosmodrome on Hawaii; the breaking away of a huge iceberg in the Antarctic; and a new design for a super-economic aircraft engine.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Wednesday, 13 April 1988

J. Benson

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. The USSR - Middle East. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Paramonov, NY 4) summed up the predominantly positive response in the US to the Soviet leadership's statements on the occasion of PLO leader Arafat's visit to Moscow about the need to preserve a balance of interests in the Middle East and their support for an international conference led by the UN. The New York Times (Philip Taubman) from April 12 and a Knight-Ridder Syndicate item of April 13 were quoted.

2. Soviet-US Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 5:30) said the recent obstacles to agreement on the methods of verifying underground atomic tests have arisen because the Soviets now require that joint Soviet-US experiments be completed first. The program predicted that the second round of negotiations on methods for verifying the scrapping of intermediate and short-range missiles would probably be resolved before the Senate debate, since both sides are interested in a rapid solution. The Christian Science Monitor and an AP dispatch, both from April 12, were used.

3. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 10) considered grim the words of press spokesman Gennady Gerasimov at a press conference in Boston on April 12 that the Soviets had done all they could in Afghanistan, especially when viewed in the context of the cost in lives and material on both sides. The program remarked that the Soviet forces had carried out a political genocide and a scorched earth policy in Afghanistan and repeated the story of bombs disguised as toys. The program

believed Gerasimov that the Soviet Union would think several times before engaging in a similar involvement elsewhere, noting the failures of other communist-supported governments and rebels in the world. Prof. John Erikson was quoted that the Soviets saw this type of neocolonialism as having no future.

EUROPEAN PERSPECTIVES (Levin, M 7) commented on reports on continued fighting in Afghanistan and possible Soviet troop withdrawal plans. Suspicions that a Soviet-controlled region in northern Afghanistan might be created during the withdrawal were mentioned. The program wondered whether the predictions of increased bloodshed after Soviet departure might be part of a Soviet plan to keep the Kabul regime afloat. Stories in TASS, UPI, and Newsday were cited.

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Shragin, NY 2) speculated that if the Soviet Union had a law similar to that of the American law on presidential war powers and if the government leaders considered it binding, Brezhnev and his followers would have had to listen to Sakharov and other voices opposing the invasion of Afghanistan, as mentioned by Academician Bogomolov in a recent issue of Literaturnaya Gazeta, and thousands of young lives would have been spared.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Shuster, Geneva 5) reported on the progress of negotiations on the future of Afghanistan taking place in Geneva and commented that the agreement to be signed tomorrow provides for the commencement of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from May 15, but does not guarantee a peaceful resolution of the Afghanistan situation.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, M 7:30) reviewed the critical attitude of The Wall Street Journal and The Toronto Globe and Mail (Canada) on the consequences of the Geneva treaty ending the war in Afghanistan, especially as regards the number of open questions and unresolved problems.

4. The Nationalities. DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Shragin, NY 15:30) examined the half-truths and information delays in the Soviet press coverage of the Nagorno-Karabagh conflict, concluding that the people of the autonomous region had demonstrated democracy in action in their petition, but by ignoring the people's desires the Central Committee of the CPSU had again acted antidemocratically. Moskovskiye Novosti from March 13 and 20 and Sovetskaya Kultura from March 17 were quoted.

5. Human Rights. RUSSIA YESTERDAY, TODAY, AND TOMORROW (Gorbanevskaya, P 7:30) reviewed the third volume of the reference work on the history of the Solovetsky concentration camp written by Mikhail Rozanov.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 8) discussed the repatriation of the French citizen Viktor Myshalyzin after he spent 42 years in the Soviet Union and interviewed the author of the book Frenchmen in the Gulag, Pierre Rigoullot, who noted that, in addition to the difficulty of obtaining a visa, these emigres do not receive any retirement benefits from the USSR. Le Monde, Le Quotidien de Paris, and Liberation from April 12 or 13 were cited.

6. Restructuring. OVER THE BARRIERS (Gladilin, P 15) gave a positive evaluation of the recent conference in Denmark "On the role of the creative intelligentsia in restructuring" in which prominent Soviet and emigre authors participated. The meeting concluded that genuine literature belongs to one Russian literature, that the most interesting things are now taking place in the Soviet Union, and that both sides consider the dialogue valuable and worthy of continuation. While noting that the often cited discrepancy between Soviet pronouncements for domestic and foreign audiences was not apparent at this conference, the program regretted the limited Soviet coverage of the conference.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 2:30) quoted a reader's letter in Sotsialisticheskaya Industriya from April 6 which criticised restructuring as being a deviation from the path of Marxism-Leninism. As an example of how authorities in Novosibirsk were, in contrast, preserving communist ideology, the program then read a note in Komsomolskaya Pravda from April 5 about hotel officials allowing only foreigners to use the toilet in a certain hotel.

HUMAN RIGHTS (Fedoseyev and Malinkovich, M 15), a RERUN from April 6, drew on articles from Nedelya and Izvestia to discuss the impact of Gorbachev's restructuring campaign on the treatment of human rights in the USSR.

7. Society. RUSSIA YESTERDAY, TODAY, AND TOMORROW (Slekseyeva, W 8) interviewed the American family who participated in the documentary-TV film "Back in Moscow," which recorded their return after a 20 year absence. While all family members noted changes for the better, only the mother observed that the lives of women had become even more difficult.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gordin, M 5:30) welcomed the announcement in an article in Literaturnaya Gazeta from March about the creation of a charity society in Leningrad to be headed by the writer Daniel Granin and contrasted it with extensive institutionalized charity in the West. While agreeing with Granin that glasnost has reawakened the concept of charity, the program called attention in this respect to articles about charity for veterans of the Afghanistan war, which were said to be examples of half-glasnost, leaving many questions about the war unanswered.

8. The Economy. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyev and Kroncher, M 5:30) discussed the proposed establishment of special economic zones in the Soviet Union to encourage Western industrial cooperation and accelerate the economic development of the country. The program commented that the scheme may inject much needed new blood into the system and reveals the bankruptcy of the Soviet economy.

9. The Military. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 1) remarked that, while it is not known whether the Soviets are now developing supersonic planes, the engine is considered the Achilles heel of new Soviet bombers.

10. The Judicial System. HUMAN RIGHTS (Kaminskaya, W 10) drew attention to a December 13 article in Izvestia recording the opinions of Soviet citizens on the failings of the Soviet judicial system. The program commented that the criticism leveled at the system are a healthy sign, but noted that justice officials themselves are slow to recognize such glaring faults in the system as the restrictions placed on defendant's access to a lawyer. The program was a RERUN from April 6.

11. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Kublanovsky, P 7) reviewed the 25-year career of the poetess Yunna Morits, citing poems from her selected works, On This Steep Shore, published by Sovremennik in 1987. The program drew attention to Morits' poetic honesty and the unusual fact that none of her poetry can be classified as political.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Betaki, P 6) attributed the fulsome celebrations in the Soviet press honoring the little-known Soviet poet Vasily Fedorov on the 70th anniversary of his birth as being due to the fact that he always wrote what the party requested, and cited passages on themes such as sacrifice for the communist future, eternal belligerence, etc. The program ironically concluded that Fedorov was a true representative of the Soviet traditions which reject the humanism of the Russian classics.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 2) contrasted the praise of Lenin's decree to promote the creation of a Soviet culture, which was published in Izvestia of 13 April 1958, with a letter in Pravda of March 9 complaining of the ubiquity and poor quality of Lenin statues throughout the country.

AT THE BOOKSHELF (Perouansky, M 27:30) presented the 21st installment of Vladimir Voinovich's satirical novel Moscow 2042. The program was a RERUN from January 1.

12. History. RUSSIA YESTERDAY, TODAY, AND TOMORROW (Geller, P 10) continued the series of the KGB, this time focusing on the year 1953, the trials of the physicians, Stalin's death, and the subsequent battle for power.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 6) corrected an excerpt of the book Red Planes, printed in Vechernyaya Moskva from April 2, about the constructor of the first "invisible" airplane, Robert Bartini, noting that the real reason his invention was not produced was that he was arrested in 1939, along with other scientists.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Malinkovich, M 5) discussed the recent appearance of articles in the Soviet press on the great famine of 1933 in which an estimated four-million Ukrainians alone perished. The program asserted that the publication of material on such previously considered sensitive topics is part of the general de-Stalinization campaign underway in the USSR.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 3) drew attention to the heroic description of the Stalinist construction of the Volga Canal in Pravda of 13 April 1938. A passage from Volume III of Solzhenitsyn's Archipelag Gulag was cited which provided supplementary details on the working conditions of this monumental project which was built by prisoners.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

1. Eastern Europe. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 8:30) summed up an article in Time (William Smith) of April 18 which examined the similarities of Gorbachev's reforms to those of the Czechoslovak government during the Prague Spring; the changes in process in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, and the GDR; and Gorbachev's interest in allowing the countries of Eastern Europe more autonomy in exchange for greater economic advances.

2. The International Communist Movement. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 7) expressed the opinion that Anatoly Dobrynin's recent speech in Prague about the journal Problems of Peace and Socialism sounded like a confession that the international communist movement and socialism, as well, have failed. The program criticized Dobrynin's anachronistic statements about capitalism; said that the Soviet Union had been an example of suppression and dictatorship, not democracy; and rejected Dobrynin's statements that the restructuring in the USSR is of value for the socialist countries, saying that the socialist countries are already far ahead of the Soviet Union.

3. Hungary. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Perouansky, M 6:30) considered it paradoxical that only 10 days after the publication of their proposed reforms, four of the leaders of the Hungarian Democratic forum were ousted from the HSWP. The program commented that a one-party system cannot allow genuine democracy without risking its own destruction, and consequently only half-reforms are possible. Magyar Nemzet, Otlet, and The Independent were cited.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

None

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

1. The US. DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Shragin, NY 7) examined the American law on presidential war powers.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Thursday, 14 April 1988
J. Benson

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Soviet-US Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Roitman and Kroncher, M 20) and THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Kroncher, M 5) featured a talk about the 11th annual meeting of the American-Soviet Trade and Economic Council held in Moscow. The program said the session was characterized by particular seriousness and high-level participants. Gorbachev gave a reception in the Kremlin for the American guests. The program noted that while American businessmen are attracted by the huge Soviet market, and the Soviets are interested in having advanced American technology at their disposal, agreements on only two joint ventures have so far been signed. The reason for this slow progress is that two completely different economic systems are involved, and both sides need time to size each other up. The program mentioned the various obstacles to the development of US-Soviet trade and economic cooperation, including mistrust of the other side's foreign policy, lack of confidence in the nonconvertible ruble, the poor quality of Soviet products, the Jackson-Vanik amendment, and high US customs tariffs. The USSR, said the program, is probably afraid that making the ruble convertible could result in severe inflation. The demands of Soviet economic plans conflict with the need to satisfy the demands of foreign customers, and there is also the problem of setting up service networks abroad. The program referred to the unbalanced structure of Soviet foreign trade, and cited Gorbachev that the window of hope which had opened in international relations should promote economic relations. The one factor which could help in the broadening of US-Soviet economic relations, said the program, is a general raising of the level of performance of the Soviet economy.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, P 5:30) detailed progress made in trade negotiations between Soviets and Americans, noting in particular the formation of a consortium of seven American firms to finance joint Soviet-American businesses. The program also quoted US Trade Secretary Verity as saying an increase in trade with the USSR was contingent on further improvement in the Soviet human rights record, a new US decision on Soviet

inclusion in the GATT, and on Soviet steps in the direction of a market economy. Articles in The Washington Post and The Los Angeles Times of April 14 were cited.

2. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Roitman, Bensi, and Shuster, M 20) discussed the agreement reached in Geneva on a Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan. RFE-RL's special correspondent in Geneva, Savik Shuster, said there is a conviction in UN circles that the Mujahidin will take power in one or two years. Although the Afghan resistance's political organizations in Peshawar have their differences, they all refuse contacts with the Kabul regime, and reject the Geneva agreements because they were concluded without their participation.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Shuster, Geneva 3:30) featured a telephone report by RL's special correspondent in Geneva on US Secretary of State Shultz's press conference following the signing of the agreement on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 8:30) recognized the Geneva agreement as an important milestone on the road to peace in Afghanistan, but predicted continuing unrest and fighting after the Soviet withdrawal, not only in Afghanistan but also in the countries harboring Afghan fugitives. The program gave an overview of the different factions in the government and the multitude of splinter groups in the resistance. Contrary to the recent article in Literaturnaya Gazeta by the writer Prokhanov, the program claimed that Islam fundamentalism had increased in Afghanistan as a result of the Soviet occupation.

On the occasion of the signing of the Geneva agreement on Afghanistan, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 15) reviewed the beginnings, the course, and the imminent end of Soviet involvement in the eight-year war. The program contrasted former KGB Major Vladimir Kuzichkin's version of an armed KGB overthrow with TASS's falsification of an Afghan request for aid and assistance, detailed the Soviets' variety of military tactics used, and touched upon the apparent opposition within the Soviet Union to intervention, noting that opposition was not due to the violation of international law but rather to the danger.

3. USSR-Cuba-Angola. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 6:30) summed up the talks of a colleague of Le Monde Diplomatique at the symposium organized by the Forum of International Politics of April 13 in Paris who analyzed the background of Cuban-Soviet involvement in Angola and alluded to signs of change in the situation.

4. Dissidents and Human Rights. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 3) read passages from an article in Izvestia from April 10 on political repression during Stalin's era which also

criticized arbitrary legal practices from the 1960s to the 1980s and condemned the current strong resistance to the rehabilitation of falsely punished citizens. The program remarked the author failed to mention that dissidents and human rights advocates were affected by this arbitrariness and that more than 350 political prisoners are still incarcerated in the USSR.

DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Davydov, M 11) honored the memory of the recently deceased Oleg Volkov with the story of his life and long incarceration in psychiatric hospitals and prisons written by a fellow prisoner of the Blagoveshchenskaya Psychiatric Prison.

FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 28) continued the series of excerpts from the autobiography of the recently deceased human rights advocate Oleg Volkov entitled Descent into Darkness, covering his almost 30 years in prison and camps.

5. The System. DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 14:30) read a samizdat article (AS-6128) which appeared in issue 6 of the independent journal Referendum. According to the article the control of the legislative, judicial and executive powers by a small group of people holding office in the Central committee, the Council of Ministers and the Supreme Soviet is the main reason that the society does not fundamentally change. Articles in Literaturnaya Gazeta from January 20 and Pravda from January 22 were cited.

6. The Leadership. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, M 5:30) summarized the report in The New York Times of April 14 investigating rumors about the disagreement between Gorbachev and Ligachev about the tempo of restructuring. The article said that despite glasnost it was still necessary to investigate rumors because meetings of the Politburo are still secret.

7. Restructuring. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedosyev and Malinkovich, M 4:30) criticized the playwright Aleksandr Helman for not drawing obvious conclusions that the party must be brought under control of society in his draft proposal calling for complete glasnost at the upcoming 19th party conference and in the work of the central committee plenum and all party leaders. The program said the main way to ensure that restructuring is not reversed is to separate the party from the government and to create democratic structures independent of the party. A Sovetskaya Kultura article of April 9 was cited.

8. Glasnost. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Tolz, M 9) drew attention to references to Aleksandr Shelepin, former head of the Lenin Youth Communist League of the Soviet Union and later the KGB, made in an interview with Vladimir Semichastny, who followed him in these capacities, which was published in the seventh issue of Komsomolskaya Zhizn but deleted in a shortened prepublication in Molod Ukraina of March 23. The program said the caution of

the editors of the latter publication was dictated by the fact that in the provinces the powers that be are still controlling what is said about their former leaders.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 5) summarized US President Reagan's speech before the annual meeting of the American Association of Newspaper Editors in which he contrasted the American freedom of the press with glasnost, quoting dissident Anatoly Sharansky on this topic, and called upon the press to continue their pressure for more liberalization of Soviet society.

9. The Economy. MAN AND SOCIETY (Kroncher, M 7), a RERUN from April 8, concluded a three-part commentary on the article of Mikhail Antonov published in issue No. 3 of Moskva, in which he attributed the economic stagnation of the Soviet Union to the priority given material welfare at the cost of political and social goals.

10. The Nationalities. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Perouansky, M 8:30) took the recent speech of Viktor Chebrikov, head of the KGB, as an occasion to criticize the recurring atavistic Stalinist cliches about foreign incitement in connection with the unrest in Armenia and Azerbaijan. The Soviet press was cited to elucidate Chebrikov's vague criticism of insufficient social-economic solutions to nationality problems. While admitting that the radio tried to inform Soviet listeners about the unrest, the program said these broadcasts were now being confirmed by the news in Soviet media and that "truth by installments" is as characteristic of Soviet news policy now as in the past. Articles from Pravda of April 4, issue 15 of the weekly Sobesednik, and the latest issue of Moskovske Novosti were cited.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 7:30) greeted the honesty and openness on nationality problems in the armed services which was voiced by Vice-Admiral Korniyenko, head of the political division of the Baltic Fleet, in an interview in Krasnaya Zvezda. Disagreeing that more stress on internationalist education of recruits would alleviate the tensions, the program noted that because of the growing proportion of recruits from Central Asia and Kazakstan, due to the higher birth rate in these areas, the previous policy of treating all nationality problems in the armed services as a purely military infringement of discipline is no longer feasible. A radical solution on the national scale was called for.

MAN AND SOCIETY (Wolfson-Komarov, M 10:30) disagreed with Western observers, stating that a national consciousness in Armenia came first and subsequently ecological concerns grew. After backgrounding the history of the environmental problems connected with Lake Sevan, the program analyzed the complex of

problems and said it can be solved only at the cost of other ecological projects.

11. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Dovlatov, NY 17) expressed the opinion that the new material received from samizdat channels and published anonymously in No. 166 of the New York emigre journal Novy Zhurnal gives a convincing picture of Mikhail Bulgakov's ties to a circle of Moscow intellectuals living in the former Prechistenka region.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Barsky, M 7) reviewed the first exhibit in Moscow of the drawings, graphics, and book illustrations of Salvador Dali which was greeted as a sensation.

12. Tourism. MAN AND SOCIETY (Shapiro, M 10) criticized the article by the head of the state commission on foreign tourism which appeared in Pravda from March 15 for not addressing the real reasons for the USSR's failure to exploit international tourism for much needed hard currency: the impossibility of preventing tourists from seeing real Soviet living conditions and protecting them from impoliteness and bad service due to the worker's lack of interest and motivation.

13. History. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 1) read a critical reader's letter in Pravda from April 12 which, among other things, accused Stalin of leaving the path of socialism.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 2) continued leafing through old newspapers, this time citing a letter published in Pravda from 14 April 1948 in which a young pioneer incited fellow students to study and make good grades in order to report success to the beloved leader Stalin. The program remarked this was not why one studied.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

1. Eastern Europe. OVER THE BARRIERS (Gorbanevskaya, P 11:30) summarized the two novels, The Big Notebook and Evidence, written in French by the Hungarian writer Agota Kristof about growing up in Eastern Europe. The program likened them to an Eastern European variant of Flaubert's Sentimental Education.

2. The PRC. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 4:30) drew attention to the several innovative steps toward more democracy made at the seventh National Peoples' Congress in Beijing, noting that they were broader and more confident than those being taken in the Soviet Union.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

None

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

1. Religion. JUDAISM (Lvov, Vail, and Haskelevich, NY 8, 6, and 13:30) included contributions on the importance of marriage in Talmudic literature, especially recommendations on how to choose a wife; the history of certain attributes of the Jewish wedding ceremony such as the huppah and wedding ring; and a sermon on the theological role of food, especially matzo, in Judaism.

2. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Genis, NY 7), a RERUN from March 10, gave a positive review of the historical film on China, The Last Emperor, by the Italian director Bernardo Bertolucci.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Friday, 15 April 1988
L. Mardirossian

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Afghanistan. Pegged to the signing of the Geneva agreement on Afghanistan on April 14, EVENTS AND PEOPLE and AT HOME AND ABROAD (Levin, M 8:30) took issue with a Pravda commentary and a TASS report, both giving a distorted view of the agreement and US military aid to the Mujahidin. A Mujahidin leader was quoted as saying that the Geneva agreement is far from being a peace treaty and requires only the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan but not the cessation of hostilities. Pakistani President Zia ul-Haq said that the Mujahidin would continue to work toward their end because the Geneva agreement offers no objection to their doing so. The program did not exclude Soviet troops' running the risk of being attacked by the Mujahidin during their withdrawal. A protest rally against the Geneva agreement will be held in Peshawar on May 15 sponsored by the Mujahidin though a spokesman for the Afghan National Liberation Front said that the agreement cannot be rejected as a whole.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE and AT HOME AND ABROAD (Silnitskaya, W 4:30) featured an article in The New York Times (Gordon) of April 14 dealing with US Secretary of State Shultz's meeting with US Congressmen and Senators April 13 to allay their fear that the Geneva Afghan agreement will lead to a one-sided cutoff in military assistance to the Mujahidin. Shultz reportedly repeated the US government assurances that the latter would continue to aid the Mujahidin as long as the Soviet Union sent arms to the Kabul regime. Chairman of the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee Pell, Senate Majority Leader Byrd, and other Congressmen were cited on the subject. A small group of House and Senate members continued to voice strong objections to the Afghan agreement. Senator Humphrey's office said that a letter signed by 15 Senators and delivered to President Reagan criticized the agreement and demanded that details of the US-Soviet accord on Afghanistan be published.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Paramonov, NY 4:30) presented US press comments on the Geneva Afghan agreement, citing The New York Times, The Washington Post, The Los Angeles Times, and AP.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE and AT HOME AND ABROAD (Gregory, M 4:30) dealt with various statements on the Geneva Afghan agreement by the NATO Council, the EC Commission in Brussels, the British government, the Austrian Foreign Minister, the Yugoslav government and Tanjug news agency, the Czechoslovak news agency, and the European Parliament.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 8) cited comments in Le Figaro, Libération, and The International Herald Tribune, all of April 15, on the Geneva Afghan agreement.

2. Dissidents and Human Rights. DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 4) read the text of a samizdat statement by two unofficial organizations, the Union for Armenia's National Self-Determination and the Armenian Subcommittee for the Defense of Political Prisoners, dated April 11, which was addressed to the CPSU CC Politburo, demanding that former Armenian political prisoner and leader of the recently created Union for Armenia's Self-Determination, Paruyr Hayrikian, who was arrested on March 24 in Yerevan for alleged anti-Soviet activities in connection with the Armenian demonstrations for the reunification of Azerbaijan's Autonomous Mountainous Karabagh Region with Armenia, be released immediately or at the very least be tried publicly in the presence of foreign correspondents.

DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 2:30) briefly dealt with the case history of Paruyr Hayrikian, focusing on his first three arrests in 1969, 1974, and 1980 respectively and gave the gist of a letter by his wife Yelena Sirotenko to the International Helsinki Federation requesting that foreign lawyers be present at his trial.

DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 7) excerpted from the ninth issue of the journal News (AS-6172) dated January edited by the Armenian Subcommittee for the Defense of Political prisoners, a branch of the Internationality Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners, consisting of Armenian, Georgian, and Ukrainian dissidents and human rights activists. The program read an editorial dealing with unofficial reports on the closing down of the 36th Perm severe regime labor camp and that of two other camps in the region of Perm and Mordovia. The editorial also said that about 100 political prisoners were transferred to the 35th Perm severe regime camp. Some political prisoners were believed to have been released but the authorities acted only under the pressure of international public opinion. The continuing campaign against the followers of Krishnaism was discussed in connection with the recent death of prisoner of conscience and member of the Armenian Krishna sect Sargis Ohanjanian. The editorial then reported that the above-mentioned Internationality Committee held its first conference in Yerevan on January 12-14.

DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 10) read the text of a letter (AS-6184) by former political prisoner Grigory Kutsenko

dated February 15-16 describing how a documentary was forged about Lithuanian priest and prisoner of conscience Alfonsas Svarinskas in a labor camp in Mordovia in 1987 with the aim to discredit him.

DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 2) gave the case history of Grigory Kutsenko, reading a material in the informal journal Referendum, No. 5. Kutsenko was arrested and sentenced to four years in prison in 1984 for anti-Soviet propaganda. He was amnestied on January 12.

DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 4) read the text of a letter (AS-6171) by Armenian political exile Vardan Harutyunian published in the November issue of the Armenian informal journal News in which the author said that he refused to sign a pardon because of his anti-Soviet convictions. He pointed out that restructuring and openness are useless in a one-party system.

DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 2:30) reported that a discussion on the theme of human rights was held in Copenhagen on March 20 at which Smolentsev, Chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Court, said that currently the number of political prisoners in the Soviet Union amounted to 41, while Editor of Vesti iz SSSR Lyubarsky gave higher figures.

3. Restructuring. Pegged to a two-day round table talk at the Editorial Board of Ogonek devoted to the question of whether Gorbachev's restructuring policy is irreversible, ROUND TABLE TALK (Roitman, Tolz, and Malinkovich, M 20) the participants focused on the idea that history, especially historical sources, should be freed from secrecy and censorship. Tolz expressed misgivings about Soviet Academy of Social Sciences Vodolazov's view that one of the major guarantees for restructuring must be the lifting of censorial control over "the most part of historical archives", arguing that censorship should be banned once at all regardless of publications, and that Vodolazov's proposals, like others' ones, failed to question the CPSU monopoly. In reality manuals of history are still based on the abridged history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks). Malinkovich took issue with jurist Boris Kurashvili's stressing the necessity of monitoring the state by the means of a "national front" under the CPSU's control, noting that no control of the state can be implemented unless the latter is dependent on the party.

Dealing with a letter by Leningrad teacher Nina Andreyeva in Sovetskaya Rossiya of March 13 critical of restructuring and Pravda's response in its April 5 issue viewing the letter as a "manifesto of anti-restructuring forces," AT HOME AND ABROAD (Mihajlov, M 5) said that obviously ideological polarization of Soviet society is under way. The program referred to two other letters, one of them by Tashkent lawyer Zhevlakov in Sotsialisticheskaya Industriya of March 20, warning that Soviet society is being turned toward a petit bourgeois socialism, and

another in Sovetskaya Molodezh of March 17 by 23-year-old Shchulakov from the Orenburg Oblast advocating more democratization through direct and general elections.

In a review of the Soviet press, AT HOME AND ABROAD (Nikolayev, M 3) excerpted from reader Borilin's letter in Pravda of April 12 in support of an editorial in the same newspaper critical of an article by Leningrad teacher Nina Andreyeva in Sovetskaya Rossiya of March 13 rejecting the idea of restructuring and criticism of Stalinism. In this connection the program also read a passage from Andreyeva's article questioning various proposals which the author believed were aimed at isolating the CPSU.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Malinkovich, M 7) dealt with a speech delivered by playwright Alexandr Gelman at a party meeting of the Board of the USSR Cinema Workers' Union on March 23 which was published in Sovetskaya Kultura of April 9. Gelman called on the upcoming 19th CPSU conference to strike a deathblow to anti-restructuring forces in the Soviet Union. The party meeting voted unanimously for Gelman's proposals aimed at democratization of Soviet life and sent them to the CPSU CC. While Gelman failed to suggest that the CPSU should be desestablished, his proposals were not devoid of inconsistencies.

Pegged to the upcoming 19th CPSU Conference, AT HOME AND ABROAD (Malinkovich, M 5:30) backgrounded support of Gorbachev's reform policies by various cultural unions in Estonia. The program noted that Estonian intellectuals called for radical political and administrative restructuring in the Soviet republics in order to put an end to the unlimited power of all-union ministries there. They also said that republican representations within the central bodies should be expanded and that each Soviet republic should have its representatives in various international organizations. Estonian intellectuals also discussed human rights, elections, openness, and other issues which were included in their address to the CPSU CC. The program lamented that such an unprecedented document was published only in the local official press.

4. The CPSU and Openness. EVENTS AND PEOPLE and AT HOME AND ABROAD (Belotserkovsky, M 7:30) noted that while the Soviet press has already emphasized the necessity for openness in party life in connection with the upcoming 19th CPSU Conference, nothing has been yet said about freedom of political opposition and factionism. In a speech to the USSR's Writers Union party organization meeting Soviet playwright Gelman called for unrestricted openness of the proceedings of all party meetings, including the above-mentioned conference as well as CPSU CC plenums and other party gatherings attended by the leadership. The program discussed party factionism which was prohibited in 1921.

5. Anti-Zionist Policy. JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Simis, W 8) reviewed a collection of articles under the title When Mirages Vanish. Zionism: the Practice of Shady Businesses which was published recently in Moscow obviously designed to convince Soviet Jews that emigration from the Soviet Union can only be a disaster. Drawing a parallel between this publication and previous Soviet anti-Jewish works, the program did not exclude the fact that some influential members of the Soviet leadership approve of such propaganda.

6. Housing. AT HOME AND ABROAD (Fedoseyev and Kroncher, M 7:30) discussed a recent Soviet government decree on "measures aimed at speeding up the development of cooperative housing" which was viewed as a positive step in the matter. A new approach to the housing problem has been set up at the expense of "the right to housing" which has been turned into "the right to buy housing" to be enjoyed by a great number of citizens, such an ambitious cooperative housing program would require the development of various infrastructure sectors.

7. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Dovlatov and Paramonov, NY 16) discussed rehabilitated Soviet writer Bulgakov's novel Heart of a Dog which was said to be not only a social satire but also a gloomy guess at the prospects of the expansion of human mind. In this connection the program took issue with an article by Soviet critic Tatyana Glushkova in the March 23 issue of Literaturnaya Gazeta which tried to socialize the Bulgakov novel saying that the main character Sharikov cannot be viewed as the novel's major scoundrel but the innocent victim of Professor Preobrazhensky's criminal experiments and a toy in the hands of political rogue Shvonder.

8. History. Marking the 35th anniversary of the Kremlin Doctors' Affair, JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Tolz, M 9:30) reviewed some Western publications on the subject and noted recent Soviet efforts to fill blank spots in treatment of the matter along with continued deliberate omissions and other distortions of facts. The program was a RERUN from April 12.

AT HOME AND ABROAD (Nikolayev, M 3:30) continued to leaf through old Soviet newspapers, this time, reading an address by Vecheka published in Pravda of 16 April 1918 calling on anonymous informers to have the courage to sign their letters. The program also read a Pravda report dated 16 April 1938 dealing with the case history of a certain Oshkin, alias Anasovich, an accountant who was executed for embezzlement.

9. Emigres. AT THE BOOKSHELF (Perouansky and Voinovich, M 29:30), a RERUN from January 4, featured the 22nd and final installment of a reading by emigre Soviet writer Vladimir Voinovich of his satirical novel Moscow 2042.

10. Religion. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rahr, M 10:30) previewed the upcoming National Council of the Russian Orthodox Church to be held earlier in June to adopt the Russian Orthodox Church's new administrative regulations. In this connection, the program dealt with an appeal by four representatives of the Russian religious community, such as priests Gleb Yakunin and Nikolay Gainov, and laymen Valery Borshkov and Viktor Popkov, sent to the Patriarch and the Synod dated April 12. The authors warned against inserting "state laws on the Church" into the above-mentioned regulations and demanded that the draft document be published for the religious community. The program then traced back Soviet anti-religious policy, including persecutions and atrocities, debunking an article by Soviet lawyer Klochkov in Sotsialisticheskaya Zakonnost of March viewing the Soviet Union as a country exhibiting tolerance.

THE MILLENIUM OF THE CHRISTIANIZATION OF KIEVAN RUS (Rahr, M 20), a RERUN from April 8, read an article in the emigre Russian journal Orthodox Life published in Jordanville in the US tracing the celebration of the 900th anniversary of the Christianization of Kievan Rus in Kiev in 1888.

THE MILLENNIUM OF THE CHRISTIANIZATION OF RUSSIA (Ross, M 9:30), a RERUN from April 8, continued to deal with the activities of the West European Committee for the celebration of the millennium of the Christianization of Kievan Rus in Western Europe.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

1. The Italian CP. COMMUNIST AFFAIRS (Bensi, M 4) discussed the reasons why the Italian CP has withdrawn from participation in the Prague-based magazine World Marxist Review (Problems of Peace and Socialism), all editors of which, including current editor Subbotin, have been Soviets, emphasizing the longstanding differences between the Italian CP and the CPSU. Dealing with the Italian CP's current political stand, the program noted that it has rejected pro-Soviet dogmatism but not at all Marxism-Leninism.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. East-West Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE and AT HOME AND ABROAD (Vail, NY 5) dealt with a survey by the UN Economic Commission for European Affairs reporting a dramatic increase in the number of joint ventures between East and West. Various figures were given. The US and the Soviet Union have already set up 17 joint ventures though only one of them can be described as a genuinely US-Soviet consortium.

2. The 45th Anniversary of the Warsaw Jewish Ghetto Uprising was marked by JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 11:30) which dealt with Israel media materials devoted to World War II Jewish Holocaust presented during the passed week. The program pointed out that soon after the Jewish tragedy the state of Israel became the Jewry's life-asserting leap into the future. Israeli Prime Minister Shamir was cited on the Arab world's ruthless war against Israel. The program then traced back the events in the Arab village of Beyta which led up to the unrest in the occupied territories and discussed related developments.

3. The US. OVER THE BARRIERS (Vail, NY 7) was a reflection on T-shirts and the various slogans printed on them.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

1. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Paramonov, NY 5) profiled US choreographer Robert Geoffrey who died in New York on March 25 at the age of 57.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Saturday, 16 April 1988
M. Frost

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Soviet-US Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 6) broadcast translated excerpts from President Reagan's April 13 address to the annual congress of American newspaper editors in which he extended a cautious welcome to recent reforms in the USSR but, at the same time, urged American editors to maintain international pressure on the Soviet leadership by focusing on Soviet human rights violations.

OUR PLANET (Gregory, M 3) gave writer Joyce Carol Oates' description of Gorbachev's December meeting in Washington with American cultural representatives, during which he fielded questions on a wide variety of topics, including restrictions on religious freedoms in the USSR.

2. Soviet-Israeli Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Miloslavsky, Jerusalem 11) reviewed Soviet policy toward Israel and the Middle East under Gorbachev and speculated on a possible Middle East tour by Soviet Foreign Minister, Edvard Shevardnadze. The program also commented upon Moscow's role vis-a-vis the US peace plan for the region and concluded that it was in the USSR's interest to maintain tension in the area in order to weaken the regional influence of the US.

3. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 8:30) reported on a Soviet Foreign Ministry press conference in Moscow on the upcoming withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. Using a UPI report the program detailed the Soviet losses, both in human lives and in terms of the billions of rubles of equipment

destroyed by the resistance forces, and speculated on Afghanistan's political destiny after the commencement of the Soviet troop withdrawal.

SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, M 8) analyzed the reasons behind the improved military performance of the Afghan resistance and described the scorched earth tactics employed by the Soviet Army to deprive the resistance of human and material support from the Afghan countryside. The program noted that the recent injection of sophisticated Western arms and the prevailing spirit of the resistance forces has finally persuaded Moscow to quit Afghanistan.

4. The Nationalities. HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE USSR (Malinkovich, M 9) previewed the upcoming XIX CPSU Conference in June at which Gorbachev is expected to attempt to consolidate support for the restructuring process and summarized the political program of Estonian intellectuals who are calling for a complete turnaround in internationality relations. The program voiced its support for the Estonian intellectual's call for more economic and social autonomy in the running of the various republics of the USSR.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Malinkovich, M 7), a RERUN from April 15, covered a proposal by Estonian intellectuals to restructure relations between Moscow and the various Soviet republics.

5. The Economy. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyev and Kroncher, M 5:30) discussed the proposed establishment of special economic zones in the Soviet Union to encourage Western industrial cooperation and accelerate the economic development of the country. The program commented that the scheme may inject much-needed new blood into the system, but it also highlights the bankruptcy of Soviet economic thinking.

6. Trade. OUR PLANET (Gordin, M 1) announced a Soviet agreement with a Brazilian firm to export 70 thousand crates of Russian vodka to the countries of South America.

7. The Law. HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE USSR (Kaminskaya, W 8:30) discussed a March 14 article in Pravda which featured a round-table discussion by top Soviet judiciary officials on reform proposals for the Soviet legal system. The program insisted that strong independent judges, impervious to pressure from local and district party instances, are vital to the proper functioning of the Soviet system of justice.

8. Society. HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE USSR (Shapiro, Isr.12), responding to a reader's letter published in Literaturnaya Gazeta, described the pernicious system of official passes and residence permits used to restrict individuals' movements

within the USSR. The program contrasted the "medieval" Soviet system of passes with the absolute freedom of travel and right of abode which exist in most Western democracies and roundly condemned this particular form of demographic control.

9. Fashion. OUR PLANET (Gordin, M 3) reviewed a fashion show by Soviet designer Slava Zaitsev which took place recently in Munich.

10. Culture. WRITERS AT THE MICROPHONE (Voinovich, M 13:30) presented a satirical review of a recent discussion on Soviet television between prominent Soviet philosophers. Voinovich asked why, in the age of computers and space travel, the Soviet Union is still paralyzed by the ideas of a German philosopher by the name of Marx who died before seeing a simple washing machine.

WRITERS AT THE MICROPHONE (Dovlatov, NY 6), pegged to an article appearing in Turkmenskaya Iskra, compared the conduct of American and Soviet citizen's abroad.

11. Literature. WRITERS AT THE MICROPHONE (Yurenen, M 10) described the current state of Soviet literature and depicted the unlimited opportunities in the West for following the latest developments in Soviet letters.

12. Religion. SUNDAY SERVICE (Rahr and Kholodnaya, M and NY 49:30), a RERUN from 25 April 1986, featured a Russian Orthodox Church service.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

1. Ethiopia. SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, M 10) backgrounded the continuing armed struggle between the Marxist government of Ethiopia and the Eritrian resistance fighters. The program cited commentaries from the Sueddeutsche Zeitung and the Swiss weekly Die Weltwoche on the tragic consequences of the government's policy of expending the limited resources of the country on the military and political conquest of an area, which, until recent times, enjoyed a measured degree of autonomy.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. Israel. OUR PLANET (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 5) related the success story of two Israeli teenagers who run their own computer software company.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

1. Religion. NOT BY BREAD ALONE (Rahr, M 6:30; Benigsen, NY 7:30; Kublanovsky, P 11; and Aksenov-Meyerson, NY 5:30) included a sermon on the doubting Apostle Thomas and an item on Patriarch Tikhon and focused on saints celebrated at this time of the year in the Orthodox calendar.

2. History. SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, M 10) reviewed a book by military historian John Keegan which profiled the military careers of Alexander the Great, the Duke of Wellington, and General Ulysses S. Grant.

3. Religion. OUR PLANET (Salkazanov, P 4) broadcast excerpts from French television's Sunday morning religious programs.

4. Entertainment. OUR PLANET (Gordin) presented a history of the Hollywood Oscar awards.

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RADIO FREE EUROPE
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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Sunday, 17 April 1988
K. Laur

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. US-Soviet Relations. COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Alekseyeva, W 6), a RERUN from April 10, summarized a public speech by the US Ambassador to the Soviet Union, Jack Matlock, on "Soviet-US Relations: a View from Moscow".

OUR PLANET (Gregory, M 3), a RERUN from April 16, gave writer Joyce Carol Oates' description of Gorbachev's December meeting in Washington with American cultural representatives, during which he fielded questions on a wide variety of topics, including restrictions on religious freedom in the USSR.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Paramonov, NY 3:30), based on an April 14 article in The New York Times, discussed the Soviet explanation of an outbreak of Siberian plague in the city of Sverdlovsk in 1979 which a Soviet delegation to the American Academy of Sciences recently attributed to infected meat supplies. The program noted the existence of a biological weapons plant in the area of Sverdlovsk, which US military experts hold responsible for the deaths of at least 66 Soviet citizens.

2. Afghanistan. THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Predtechevskiy, M 13) reviewed the way the world press highlighted the upcoming Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. The following newspapers were cited: Weekendavisen (Denmark), The Daily Express, Le Figaro, Dagens Nyheter, the Frankfurter Neue Presse, The Los Angeles Times, The Guardian, the Neue Zuercher Zeitung, and Die Welt.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 6), a RERUN from April 16, reported on a Soviet Foreign Ministry press conference in Moscow on the upcoming withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. Using a UPI report, the program detailed the Soviet losses, both in human lives and in terms of the billions of rubles of equipment destroyed by the resistance forces, and speculated on Afghanistan's political destiny after the commencement of the Soviet troop withdrawal.

COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Matusevich, L 5), a RERUN from April 10, based on an article in The Observer, reported on the atrocities committed by the Soviet Army in the Afghanistan village of Kal-Algu, where they killed seven children and eleven Mujahidin.

3. Dissidents and Human Rights. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, M 3:30) covered a speech by the British Deputy Foreign Minister David Mellor at the recently reconvened Vienna Conference on European Security and Cooperation in which he called for the release of Soviet prisoners of conscience and the universal right of emigration from the USSR.

4. The Nationalities. NATIONAL FORUM (Nadirashvili, Malinkovich, Mesilane, Levchuk, and Rauda, M 27:30) looked at the way the plenum of the Soviet Writers' Union, which took place in the middle of March, dealt with the nationality problem. Whereas the participants of the plenum had mainly focused upon the cultural and educational aspects of the nationality problem and the changing role of the mother tongue in the republics, the program came to the conclusion that the national difficulties are a result of lack of real national autonomy.

SOVIETOLOGISTS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Shragin, NY 20) started reviewing the book by Helene d'Encausse, entitled Decline of the Empire, one of the standard works on the nationalities problems of the Soviet Union.

5. The Society. FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 29:30) read an essay by Grigory Pomerants, "Through Whirlpools," published in the unofficial Soviet magazine Glasnost, No.10, of 1987. Pomerants has been writing philosophic articles beginning with the 1960s. They have been published either in samizdat or abroad. The above-mentioned essay dealt with the religious renaissance in the Soviet Union, warning against a revival of the national-religious discord.

THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Predtechevsky, M 7) was pegged to an article in the West German weekly Die Zeit highlighting the celebration of Easter in Moscow. The program stressed that the Russian Orthodox Church is undergoing a

revival at present and the importance of religion is growing in Soviet society. But, the program noted, whereas the officials try to use this phenomenon to improve their image in the West, in the reality they have not improved the situation of the church and religion too much.

6. Restructuring. IN THE WORLD OF SPORTS (Rubin, NY 5) cited two articles in the newspaper Sovetski Sport (Soviet Sports) making fun of the present Soviet style of reporting on all sorts of positive changes as having become possible only thanks to perestroika.

7. Trade. OUR PLANET (Gordin, M 1), a RERUN from April 16, announced a Soviet agreement with a Brazilian firm to export 70 thousand crates of Russian vodka to the countries of South America.

8. Ecology. THE FORTUNES OF SIBERIA (Shapiro, M 10:30) highlighted the plans to build a new hydroelectric power station on the Siberian river of Katuni. The program noted that until now, all waterpower stations built in Siberia have caused serious damage to Siberian nature, so it is easy to understand why, during the present period of glasnost, people have become extremely pessimistic about building new industrial units in Siberia. As an example the program offered the discussion around the project of the Katuni waterpower plant carried by the magazine Sibirskie Ogn.

9. Siberia. THE FORTUNES OF SIBERIA (Kushev, M 6) analyzed the problem why Soviet Siberia is not able to reach even self-sufficiency, whereas tsarist Siberia provided a quarter of the grain exported by the country. The reason for that, the program stressed, is, that the peasant, in order to work well, has to feel responsible and has to feel the master of his land.

10. Literature. OVER THE BARRIERS (Etkind, P 13) was pegged to the fact that the literary magazine Oktyabr has started publishing the novel Life and Fate by Vassily Grossmann and noted that this fact is more surprising than if the Soviet leadership had officially allowed the organization of another political party. There were still some sentences, the program mentioned, which were left out, although it does not diminish the influence of the book.

THE FORTUNES OF SIBERIA (Krasin, W 8:30) continued to review the memoirs of Semyon Krapivsky, entitled Born Three Times. Krapivsky was a colonel of the Soviet Army during the World War II who spent 11 years in Stalin's prison camps.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Betaki, M 12) noted that for the first time the poems by Yuri Dombrovski, a rather well-known prose writer who spent a long period of his life in prison, were printed in

Yunost, No 2. The program noted that Dombrovsky's poems evidently served as a literary example for a whole generation of poets who lived and worked in prisons.

11. Fashion. OUR PLANET (Gordin, M 3), a RERUN from April 16, reviewed a fashion display by Soviet designer Slava Zaitsev which took place recently in Munich.

12. Sport. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rubin, NY 5:30) commented on the appearance of Dynamo Kiev soccer star and former European Footballer of the Year, Oleg Blokhin, for an Austrian second division club. The program welcomed the development, but lamented the Soviet practice of only exporting players who are well past their peak to foreign soccer and hockey clubs.

IN THE WORLD OF SPORTS (Rubin, NY 6) reported that, after a long break, Soviet runners participated in a race in the US. The Soviet team gained the fourth place.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

1. Yugoslavia. COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Simis, W 8), a RERUN from April 10, summarized an article analyzing the deep and permanent crisis of the Yugoslavian economy, published in the Russian-language US magazine Problemy Vostochnoi Evropy, No. 19-20, 1987.

2. Hungary. COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Salkazanov, P 7) a RERUN from April 10, highlighted the present economic crisis in Hungary and compared the differences in coverage of the matter by the French magazine L'Express of March 25-31 and the Soviet magazine Argumenty i Fakty, No. 12.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. Israel. OUR PLANET (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 5) related the success story of two Israeli teenagers who run their own computer software company.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

1. Entertainment. OUR PLANET (Gordin, M 1), a RERUN from April 16, presented a history of the Hollywood Oscar awards.

2. Sport. IN THE WORLD OF SPORTS (Rubin, NY 7) noted that a whole generation of the world's best figure skaters is leaving amateur sports this year and looked at their plans and possibilities for the future.

3. Religion. OUR PLANET (Salkazanova, P 4), a RERUN from April 16, broadcast excerpts from French television's Sunday morning religious programs.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Monday, 18 April 1988
M. Frost

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 6:30), based on UPI and Reuters reports from April 16 and 17, covered the meeting in Islamabad of leaders of the seven major resistance groups and commented that a peaceful resolution of the war in Afghanistan is a distant prospect inasmuch as most resistance leaders refuse to recognize the conditions of the Geneva treaty. The details of military outposts recently captured by the Mujahidin forces were also given.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 6), citing commentaries from The Chicago Tribune and The Christian Science Monitor, assessed the impact of the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan on Gorbachev's political standing in the USSR.

2. The Nationalities. THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Fishbein, M 7) broadcast translated excerpts from an article by Ukrainian poetess Oksana Zabuzhko, published in the Kharkov journal Prapor, on cultural repression taking place in the Ukraine where national literature and history does not have a permanent place in the school curriculum.

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Maksudov, M 7) read the second installment of an article by emigre historian Sergey Maksudov appearing in the journal the USSR: Internal Contradictions on the development of a nationalities policy in the USSR.

3. Dissidents and Human Rights. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyev, M 5) reported on the proceedings of the Vienna conference on human rights and quoted Britain's representative, David Mellor, as saying that continued human rights violations by the USSR and other Eastern bloc countries have required the conference to continue its work for an extended period of time (18 months).

4. Restructuring. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Paramonov, NY 6) reviewed a New York Times article of April 17 describing opposition to Gorbachev's reform programs from middle-ranking party and government officials. The program commented that Gorbachev is requiring party and government officials to support reforms which deprive them of many of the privileges which they have enjoyed since Stalin's times.

ROUNDTABLE (Roitman, Malinkovich, and Tolz, M 20) discussed the recent controversy over the publication of an antirestructuring letter in Sovetskaya Rossia. The discussants agreed that the letter and its subsequent rebuttal in Pravda reflect the ideological conflict taking place between reformers and conservatives in Soviet society and more specifically within the CC of the CPSU.

THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE (Belotserkovsky, M 9) read the sixth part of Belotserkovsky's analysis of self-financing enterprises in the USSR. The program compared the Soviet system of self-financing in industry with cooperative enterprises in the West where the workers participate in the running of the enterprise and are eligible for a share of the profits.

5. The Economy. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 5) commented on Ekonomicheskaya Gazeta's response to a reader's letter on the reduction in the value of Soviet foreign trade. The program pointed to the disproportionately high level of fuel exports (60 percent of all Soviet exports) which means that the Soviet trade balance is particularly vulnerable to fluctuations in the value of the dollar.

6. Society. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 6) analyzed the slogans to be used in this year's May Day parade and noted that, despite traditional party propaganda, the slogan's are less strident, more humane, and stress the multinational nature of the Soviet Union in the wake of recent nationalist demonstrations in Kazakstan and Armenia.

7. History. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Nikolayev, M 6) broadcast excerpts from the Soviet press from 60 and 20 years ago on the notorious miners' trial of 1928 and on the events taking place in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE (Belotserkovsky, M 15) broadcast the last installment of Sergey Maksudov's "The Birth of a Monster," published in Forum on the horrors of forced collectivization in the 1930s.

8. Literature. AT THE BOOKSHELF (Perouansky, M 29:30), a RERUN from 12 June 1987, read the first part of Yury Galperin's novel, The Russian Version.

9. Religion. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fotiyev, M 4) summarized and commented on a recent letter in Kommunist describing the persecution of a young medical student by party members for announcing his intention to become an Orthodox priest.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rahr, M 10:30) reported that the upcoming National Council of the Russian Orthodox Church to be held early in June will adopt the new administrative regulations of the Church. In this connection, the program dealt with an appeal by four representatives of the Russian religious community, such as priests Gleb Yakunin and Nikolay Gainov, and laymen Valery Borshkov and Viktor Popkov, sent to the Patriarch and the Synod dated April 12. The authors warned against inserting "state laws on the Church" into the above-mentioned regulations and demanded that the draft document be published for the religious community. The program then retraced Soviet antireligious policy, including persecutions and atrocities, debunking an article by Soviet lawyer Klochkov in Sotsialisticheskaya Zakonnost of March viewing the Soviet Union as a country exhibiting tolerance. The program was RERUN from April 18.

RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Nazarov, M 10), responding to an article in Nash Sovremennik on the moral disintegration of Soviet society, discussed the pitfalls of atheism as a state doctrine.

RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Kublanovsky and Salkazanova, P 6:30) reviewed the seldom published poetry of Oleg Chukhontsev.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

1. Poland. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 7) summarized an interview appearing in Liberation with Mark Edelman, the second-in-command of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, the 45th anniversary of which is being marked by various official and unofficial activities in Poland.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Perouansky, M 8) reported on the official demonstrations in Poland marking the 45th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising.

2. Czechoslovakia. THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE (Belotserkovsky, M 3) reported on Anatoly Dobrynin's statements made in Prague on the need to restructure foreign communist parties in the wake of disappointing electoral performances in many parts of the world.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. Israel. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 6:30) announced the murder of PLO second-in-command Wazir by an unspecified group of people and reported on the increased violence in the Israeli occupied territories. The program also reviewed the prospects for a solution to the Middle East crisis based on the US peace plan for the region.

2. France. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanova, P 6) profiled presidential candidate and leader of the French "Greens" party Antoine Waechter.

3. The US. THE USA TODAY (Rubin, Kozlovsky, and Dovlatov, NY 29:30) included items on unemployment, the Irish community in New York, and American garage sales.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

None

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Tuesday, 19 April 1988
K. Laur

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

A. US-Soviet Relations. OVER THE BARRIERS (Volkov, NY 6) highlighted the Festival of Soviet Music in Boston stressing the triumph of Maya Plisetskaya and the success of Shchedrin and the fact that the festival not only promoted Soviet-American relations but also relations between Soviet emigres and the Soviet citizens living in the Soviet Union.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Paramonov, NY 4:30) summarized the assessment of the new thinking in Soviet foreign policy, given by Newsweek of April 25. The program stressed that the Soviet Union has really become much less aggressive in its foreign policy and is even trying to get rid of some of its Third World clients.

2. Soviet-Japanese Relations. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Matusevich, M 8) looked at the Soviet reaction to a speech by the Japanese Foreign Minister. The program mentioned that the Soviet Union evidently does not recognize that the Japanese will never accept the loss of the Southern Kurile Islands.

3. Afghanistan. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Bensi, M 7) dealt with recent events in Afghanistan. On the one hand, the Soviets are preparing for the troop withdrawal, and on the other hand the fighting has grown even more fierce in some regions, especially around Kabul, the program mentioned. The program focused on the conflict between the two wings of the Afghan CP and also, to some extent, between different Mujahidin groups about the question of whether the Geneva accords should be partially accepted.

ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Levin, M 5:30), a RERUN from March 31, noted that in his February 8 statement making known the upcoming Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan Gorbachev did not say a word about the disastrous economic situation in the country.

4. The Demjaniuk Trial. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD and EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 3:30) commented on the verdict of

the Israeli court which found Demjaniuk guilty of having been the sadistic concentration camp guard known as Ivan the Terrible. The program highlighted the main points of the verdict.

5. Restructuring. ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Alekseyeva, W 7:30) analyzed the paper delivered by Paul Gregory, Professor of economics at the University of Houston and one of the world's leading specialists in Soviet economics, on April 11 at the Kennan Institute. The paper entitled "Bureaucrats' Resistance to Economic Reforms in the USSR" seriously questioned whether Soviet economic leaders have any reason to be happy about restructuring, because if it is ever likely to bring positive economic results, then only in ten years. The working class is not very happy about the reforms, either, the program added.

HUMAN RIGHTS (Fedoseyev and Malinkovich, M 21) looked at the ways the Soviet intelligentsia and the supporters of perestroika are trying to guarantee the irreversibility of the democratization of the country. The program drew on two articles: one in Moskovske Novosti of April 10 and another in Sovetskaya Kultura of April 9 both stressing the special role the law has to play at the present stage and in the future, if the country should be made democratic. Both articles stressed the difference between liberalization and democratization and demanded a real democratization of the country. The lack of democracy in the country's tradition and history should be made up for by special education programming about democracy.

6. The KGB. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Belotserkovsky, M 9) reported that finally, after a long silence, discussion has started in Soviet society about the necessity of establishing public control over the security forces and army. The program cited an article in Ogonek, No. 14, and also a letter by dissidents Genrikh Altunyan and Vladislav Nedobora, published in the emigre magazine Strana i Mir, the latter accusing the KGB of being the main obstacle to perestroika. The program noted that the speech by the chief of the KGB, Chebrikov, on the occasion of the 110th birthday of Felix Dzerzhinsky illustrated the truth of this accusation.

7. Nationalities. ROUNDTABLE (Roitman, Malinkovich, and Perouansky, M 20) highlighted the way the joint plenum of the creative unions of Estonia, which took place on April 1 and 2, dealt with the nationality problem. The program based on a summary published in Sovetskaya Estonia of April 8 and called the plenum "most important event of the perestroika years". The program stressed the fact that the Estonians did not use the usual Soviet euphemisms and even called the Soviet Union "an empire". The program noted that the appeal of the plenum to the CP conference in the end of June listed quite a few serious steps which would be necessary to improve the nationality problem in the Soviet Union, the most radical of which was a call to change the Soviet Constitution.

8. Society. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 4:30) was pegged to articles in following Soviet newspapers: Izvestia and Trud of April 19, Ogonek, No. 15, and Moskovske Novosti, No. 16. The program highlighted the news that during World War II, from 1941 until 1945, the sarcophagus of Lenin was evacuated to Tyumen; took issue with a reader's letter claiming that Lenin's name has been too often mentioned in vain; and expressed its surprise about the fact that for the first time, the Soviet news media has reported with respect on the celebration of Easter masses in the churches of Moscow.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD and EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 4) reported that the seventh session of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, which took place on April 19, was dedicated to housing problems. Recently, two new laws meant to ease the housing shortage were adopted. So it looks like the leadership is seriously looking, for the first time in Soviet history, for a solution to the disastrous housing situation of the country. But, the program stressed, the problem cannot be solved with the aid of laws as long as there is no serious economic and industrial basis for building.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gordin, M 5) reported that the Soviet tourism agency Inturist has raised the prices for Soviet tourists travelling abroad explaining the move by citing the rising cost of living in Western countries. The program stressed the fact that a Soviet citizen is ready to pay practically any price for the right to travel abroad and condemned it as shameful that the freedom to travel and visit foreign countries still remains inaccessible for Soviet people.

9. Economy. ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Nagrodsky, M 6:30), a RERUN from April 12, looked at the results of introducing the system of state control, which is not working under the control of the enterprise, any more than one year ago. The program noted that although thanks to state control the country lost goods worth more than 6 billion rubles, generally the quality of Soviet goods has remained low. The program analyzed two important reasons for that: the low quality of raw materials and the lack of qualification of workers.

10. The Law. HUMAN RIGHTS (Kaminskaya, W 5) was pegged to an article in Nedelya, No. 8, demanding that the present reforms, especially glasnost, should be made irreversible. The program noted that only laws could guarantee that Stalinist lawlessness would not return and looked at how the Soviet judicial system should be reorganized.

11. History. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 4), continuing to leaf through old Soviet newspapers, cited Bukahrin's address to the Leningrad party aktiv printed in Pravda of 19 April 1928 in which he defended the "red terror" and explained the essence of the Shakhtinsk fraud case. Ten years later, the program noted, he himself fell victim to the

terror and a very similar frame-up. The program also carried excerpts from Pravda of 19 April 1938 reporting that Lysenko had been appointed President of the Academy of Agricultural Sciences.

12. Culture. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 9:30) carried an interview with Aleksey Maslov, an actor of the Moscow Taganka Theatre, who applied for political asylum in Madrid during the theatre's guest performances in Spain, and now lives in France. Mr. Maslov stressed that his decision not to return to the Soviet Union was caused by the continuing lack of creative freedom and the fact that theatre, in fact, is a mirror of a society, and this society is deeply ill. Maslov commented on an interview with Yury Lyubimov by Izvestiya of March 30 saying the official attitude toward artists has still not changed.

13. Literature. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD and EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Yurenen, M 6), using an article in The Washington Post of April 18, drew attention to the fact that the Moscow section of the Writers' Union rejected the application by Tatyana Tolstaya, apparently the best prose writer of the young generation. The main reason for this decision was the fact that in an interview given to Moskovske Novosti of 22 February 1987 she dared to criticize the writer Vasily Belov, generally recognized as the prophet of the older generation Russian nationalist-oriented writers.

FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 27:30) continued to read from Solzhenitsyn's The Gulag Archipelago.

14. Religion. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD and EVENTS AND PEOPLE Fotiyev, M 4) were pegged to the meeting of John Paul II with Lithuanian bishops visiting the Vatican. The pope expressed his regret about not being able to participate at the 600th anniversary of Christianization of Lithuania and said he hopes perestroika will improve the still difficult situation of religious believers in the Soviet Union.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

1. Romania. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanova, P 6:30) noted that on April 18, Romania expelled two French TV journalists who wanted to gather material for a documentary about the life of average Romanians. The program explained why Romania is so afraid to let the world know the truth about the country. Although the Soviet news media still lauds the economic achievements of Romania, in reality the economic situation of this country is disastrous, the program stressed. The program used a TASS dispatch of April 16, an AFP dispatch of April 18, an article in Le Point of April 10, and an article in Le Quotidien de Paris of March 15.

2. Vietnam. ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Vail, NY 4), a RERUN from April 9, described the disastrous economic situation in Vietnam and discussed the possibility of the US aid to this country.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The US. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 5), drawing on an article in The Washington Post of April 19 and a CND report from Washington of April 18, commented on the US attack on Iranian oil platforms in response to the damage of an American frigate caused by an Iranian mine.

2. The Middle East. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD and EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Perouansky, M 6) was pegged to the murder of the second highest-ranking leader of the PLO, El Wazir, and Western newspapers' coverage of this event. These newspapers were cited: the Frankfurter Rundschau, the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Haaretz, and The Financial Times.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

1. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Paramonov and Vail, NY 20) was dedicated to this year's Academy Awards. The program gave the history of the awards, described the ceremony, and named this year's main winners. Some major problems of contemporary cinematography, especially American cinematography, were also analyzed.

2. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY TODAY (Muslin, NY 27:30) reviewed the annual New York automobile exhibition, dedicated to the 100th anniversary of the car, mentioned that the scientists have found out that slow metabolism is the main reason for obesity, and gave a number of minor technical news reports.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Wednesday, 20 April 1988
M. Frost

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Soviet-US Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Paramonov, NY 4) presented the latest UN report on progress in the liquidation of chemical warfare supplies throughout the world. Using a UPI report from April 19, the program reiterated the US position of refusing to make the quantity and location of its chemical warfare supplies public while the USSR as long as the USSR refuses to provide details of its own chemical warfare supplies and production sites.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 5:30) previewed the upcoming round of talks between Shultz and Shevardnadze on a range of issues to prepare the way for the Reagan-Gorbachev summit to take place in Moscow at the end of May. The program reported that Shultz intended to raise questions on human rights issues and emigration from the USSR and cited commentaries from UPI, The Washington Post, and The Los Angeles Times from April 19. CND reports from Washington and Islamabad from April 19 were also used.

2. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Perouansky, M 8) contrasted TASS statements on the success of the campaign for national pacification with Reuter reports of intensified fighting around the Afghan-Pakistan border. The program also conveyed the opinion of Western diplomats based in Islamabad that even the Kabul shop-keepers are openly looking forward to the withdrawal of Soviet troops--a contention which directly contradicts recent TASS statements on the overwhelming support for the Najibullah government in the capital.

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Shapiro, Isr. 8) commented on the credibility gulf between Soviet media coverage of Afghanistan and the reality of the Soviet "presence" in the country. Using articles from Pravda, the program showed that Soviet correspondents have only comparatively recently started reporting on the grisly truth of the Soviet invasion.

3. Restructuring. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Yurenin, M 8:30) commented on the internal struggle taking place within the Writers Union of the USSR between those who support Gorbachev's reforms and those who have declared another "Stalingrad" to halt the process of liberalization in Soviet culture.

4. Rehabilitation. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Levin and Malinkovich, M 5:30) discussed an April 19 article in Izvestia on the recent rehabilitation of Ivan Demura, a collective farm worker, who was tried and executed in 1938 on trumped-up charges of treason against the state. The discussants agreed with the author of the article that the execution of Demura was indeed a "crime against the people" perpetrated by Stalin in order to demonstrate that no one was immune from the terror of the state.

5. Glasnost. HUMAN RIGHTS (Kaminskaya, W 8:30) examined the broad range of groups and associations which have sprung up under Gorbachev's policy of glasnost and observed that some societies (i.e. Pamyat) receive far greater state patronage than others. The program observed that despite constitutional guarantees of equality, the party is discriminating against associations which it deems are not in the public interest.

6. Democracy. DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Bensi, M 6:30), citing readers' letters from Izvestia, drew attention to the farcical nature of Soviet elections where "yes" votes are often recorded at 99 percent of the total ballot. The program demonstrated that genuine democracy can only be attained under a multiparty political system.

7. The Media. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 4:30) read a selection of readers' letters on various topical themes from Izvestia, Vechernyaya Moskva, and Ogonek.

8. Society. HUMAN RIGHTS (Fedoseyev and Kroncher, M 10) commented on a Supreme Soviet pronouncement guaranteeing an individual apartment or house for each Soviet family by the year 2000. The program responded favourably to the increased importance attached to cooperative housing schemes in the USSR but observed that, without a sound financial, promises of universal housing by the year 2000 are futile.

9. History. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, 4:30) presented excerpts from the Soviet press from 60 and 50 years ago on the Miners trial and the spy mania which swept the country in the late 1930s.

10. Literature. RUSSIA YESTERDAY, TODAY, TOMORROW (Tolz, M 29:30) presented a chapter from Venedikt Erofeev's novel Moskva-Petushki, published in the Paris journal Kontinent, to mark the 118th anniversary of the birth of Lenin.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Gladilin, P 7) reviewed Boris Yampolsky's latest novel A Moscow Street, published in Znamya (vols. 2 and 3), dealing with the daily terror of the Stalin era.

AT THE BOOKSHELF (Perouansky, M 29:30) presented the second installment of Yury Galperin's novel The Russian Version. The program was RERUN from 15 June 1987.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Betaki, P 10) profiled the life and work of the Acmeist poet Vladimir Narbut to mark the centennial of the poet's birth.

11. Religion. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Malinkovich, M 8) carried Pope John Paul II's appeal for the Soviet government to grant recognition of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in the USSR. The program also broadcast an account of the liquidation of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church by a special commission established by Stalin in 1946.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fotiyev, M 5) summarized an interview with the Chairman of the Soviet Religious Affairs Committee Konstantin Kharchev on the current status of church-state relations in the USSR published in the Italian independent journal Il Messagero on April 19.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

1. Romania. DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Krimmerman) broadcast the text of a letter signed by 50 Romanian emigre writers protesting over the continuing repressions taking place within the country.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. International Terrorism. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 9) discussed plans to combat international terrorism in the wake of the Kuwaiti airliner hijacking and the Naples car-bomb explosion. The program called for greater cooperation between the USSR and the US on this matter.

2. The Persian Gulf. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 20) reported on clashes in the Persian Gulf between US and Iranian naval forces and presented a PRESS REVIEW with commentaries from The Independent, The Guardian, The Basler Zeitung, Liberation, LA Repubblica, the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, and The Wall Street Journal.

3. France. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 7) profiled the main candidates in the French presidential elections citing commentaries from Le Monde, Le Figaro, and The International Herald Tribune from April 20.

4. The US. DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Simis, W 8) explained the democratic principle of the division of power between the executive, legal, and judicial branches of government in the US.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

1. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Savitsky, P 10) reviewed Philip Kaufman's latest film The Unbearable Lightness of Being, based on a novel of the same name by Czech writer Milan Kundera, which is currently enjoying a successful run in Paris cinemas.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Thursday, 21 April 1988

J. Benson

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Soviet-US Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 4:30), based on articles in The Washington Post from April 21 and The Los Angeles Times from April 20 and 21, examined a few major questions to be discussed at the upcoming summit in May, in particular the American proposal to reduce strategic missiles by 50 percent and solutions for regional conflicts, especially in the Persian Gulf. Political observers were said to be concerned about signs that Soviet foreign officials plan to focus attention on the Far East after withdrawal from the Middle East.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 7) highlighted the four main topics President Regan mentioned in a speech before the Massachusetts Council on International Relations on April 21 about his plans for the upcoming summit with Gorbachev: regional conflicts, human rights, arms control, and bilateral American-Soviet ties.

2. Soviet Union-Eastern Europe. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Ferouansky, M 6) approved of Soviet Prime Minister Ryzhkov's frank criticism of the CMEA and his admission that there is no one solution to all members' problems, according to the program the correct diagnosis of the CMEA's illness. A few blanks in the Soviet press coverage of Ryzhkov's speech were also noted. Articles in the Soviet press, and dispatches from the Hungarian MIT news agency and the AP were used.

3. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 5:30) listed the problems left unresolved by the Geneva agreement, above all the role of the Mujahidin; the formation of an interim government; the selection, protection, and financing of a peace force to oversee the Soviet troop withdrawal; and the return of the Afghan refugees to their homeland. In the face of such obstacles, the program found quite inappropriate Najibullah's preparations for celebrating the 10th anniversary of the so-called "April Revolution."

4. Human Rights. FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Shlippe, M 29:30) broadcast the eighth installment of readings from the book by Oleg Volkov, Descent into Darkness, about his many years in Soviet concentration camps and psychiatric hospitals.

5. Restructuring. DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 7:30) read a samizdat article (AS-66185) from the fourth issue of the independent Moscow journal Viewpoint in which the author expressed the opinion that the past two years of restructuring, in particular the ousting of Yeltsin and the whitewashing of the affair, had proven the nonviability of socialism. The only solution, however, said the article, was to continue along the path of the new policy and carry it to its end.

MAN AND SOCIETY (Shapiro, M 9) cited continuing complaints about the consumer service sector in the Soviet press and remarked that only a market economy, which of necessity requires the authorities to give up their power to regulate everything, can effect real change in this area. Articles in Izvestia from January 29 and February 6 and 29 as well as Moskovske Novosti from March 27 were cited.

ROUNDTABLE (Roitman, Yurenin, and Voinovich, M 20) discussed the controversy within the Writers' Union of the USSR over Gorbachev's reform program. The discussants maintained that the recent Pravda article expressing support for the reform movement and signed by all 38 secretaries of the Union masks the fact that the majority of Union members and Union secretaries are steadfastly opposed to any form of liberalization process in literature which threatens their considerable privileges.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Roitman, Yurenin, and Voinovich, M 7) summarized the ROUNDTABLE discussion on the controversy over the restructuring within the Writers' Union of the USSR.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Tolz, M 6:30) commented on an article in the fourth issue of the independent journal Viewpoint (AS-6185) which exposed the poor financial and technical state of Soviet archives and the continuing policy of excessive numbers of restricted and classified documents even during the era of glasnost. The program remarked that so far restructuring in Soviet archives has been only very superficial and cautioned against believing Soviet claims to the contrary.

6. Restructuring and Glasnost. DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Alekseyeva, M 8:30) reviewed the contents of the first issue of the unofficial Moscow journal Viewpoint, dedicated to elucidating sociopolitical problems and providing a forum for unofficial opinions. Articles in this issue called for grassroots support for the changes instituted from above; attributed the unattractiveness of the Soviet brand of socialism to its lacking humaneness, and recommended the social budget be increased and injustices and privileges be eliminated; argued

that peace and trust were possible only on the basis of glasnost about the military sector and free access to foreign publications; and advocated open criticism of party and government officials, the removal of the authoritarian monopoly of the party, and a more active responsible role for citizens.

7. Glasnost. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Genis, NY 5:30) summarized an article in The Washington Post (David Remnik) of April 20 which said the glasnost policy cannot be equated with freedom of speech but must be seen as a political instrument for modernizing the Soviet economy. Consequently only select people can apply it and only to select topics. The article mentioned that the main barrier to real glasnost is fear.

8. The Economy. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Maslinkovich, M 8:30) considered very important and insightful the criticism and above all concrete recommendations to correct the lack of progress in the economy after three years of restructuring which were discussed by the economist Nikolay Shmelev in the fourth issue of Novy Mir. However, the program objected to Shmelev's exaggerated formulation ("everything economically effective is moral and everything not, immoral") as being unfortunate and perhaps even harmful to his argument.

9. Ligachev. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, M 5) summarized the American press reports on rumors that a confrontation between Gorbachev and Ligachev on the tempo of restructuring has resulted in Gorbachev's increased authority, Ligachev's loss of responsibility for surveillance of press and TV, and Alexander Yakovlev's gain. The possibility of Ligachev's being promoted to Gromyko's titular post was also mentioned. The New York Times and The Washington Post from April 21 were cited.

10. Yeltsin. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 7) read passages of an article in the German-language version of Moskovske Novosti about the current life of former Moscow city party boss Boris Yeltsin. Yeltsin, according to the journalist (Mikhail Poltoranin), admitted he had difficulty getting used to a deputy position, had taken a lot of drugs before giving his speech at the plenum in October, said the alleged copy of his speech circulating in Moscow was a falsification, and still considered his speech an honest and correct view. The reporter criticized the Sverdlovsk post office as acting unconstitutionally by refusing to send any post to Yeltsin after the speech.

11. Stalin. In OVER THE BARRIERS (Gladilin, P 4) the emigre writer Anatoly Gladilin expressed the opinion that Konstantin Simonov's memoirs With the Eyes of a Man of My Generation, beginning serial publication in Znamya, is an important work because it reveals new aspects of Stalin's attraction and the psychology of his power.

In contrast the literary critic Efim Etkind, on OVER THE BARRIERS (Etkind, P 17), while acknowledging the relevance and bravery of Simonov's wartime journalism and poetry, strongly objected to the view that in his memoirs Simonov was repenting his role in the literary establishment under Stalin and was settling scores with the past. Etkind accused him of shamefully justifying the worst side of the past in order to put himself in a better light.

12. The Nationalities. DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Seitmuratova, M 9:30) read passages from letters published in the 10th issue of the independent Moscow journal Glasnost, two of which were from residents of the Crimea who had eyewitnessed the forced deportation of the Crimean Tatars. Both strongly objected to the historical falsifications in the Soviet press about the Crimean Tatars and advocated they be returned to their homeland.

13. Society. MAN AND SOCIETY (Gordin, M 7), a RERUN from April 13, welcomed the announcement in an article in Literaturnaya Gazeta from March about the creation of a charity society in Leningrad to be headed by the writer Daniel Granin. The program agreed with Granin that glasnost has reawakened the concept of charity, but contrasted its meagre beginnings with the extensiveness of institutionalized charity in the West.

14. The Emigration. OVER THE BARRIERS (Betaki, P 6) introduced the little known emigre poet Yury Odarchenko, who in his small oeuvre successfully combined an almost childish intonation with a surrealistic view of the world's fundamental evil and pettiness. Poems were quoted from his book Denik.

15. The Media. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Nikoayev, M 6) presented extracts from Trud, Izvestia, and Selskaya Zhizn on rehabilitation, the Novodevichy cemetery in Moscow, and on a drug scandal in Tajikistan.

16. History. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 4) read an article from Pravda published 70 years ago which calumnized the Socialist Revolutionists shortly before they were outlawed by the Bolsheviks. The program then contrasted the heroic image of Brezhnev in Pravda 10 years ago with a highly critical letter from a reader published in this year's fourth issue of Ogonek.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

1. Yugoslavia. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Mikhailov, NY 4) attributed the recent, albeit 14-year delayed, publication of Solzhenitsyn's The Gulag Archipelago in Yugoslavia not only to the wave of political repression there in the 1970s, but to the fact that the Yugoslavian brand of communism saw itself as a

direct descendent of Lenin and the Revolution, which Solzhenitsyn strongly criticized in his work.

2. North Korea. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Levin, M 3) gave examples of the fulsome praise of Kim Chen Ir, the son of the current dictator, noting their similarity to articles on Stalin.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. France. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanov, P 5:30) reported on the official ceremony around the naming of a street in Paris, "Lane of the Refuseniks" in honor of Soviet Jews and quoted Aviva Kuchinskaya, the head of the French Committee for Solidarity with Soviet Jews which proposed the naming, on the emigration situation.

2. Israel. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Nudelman, Tel Aviv, 6:30) reported on some of the major celebrations in and abroad marking the 40th anniversary of the founding of the country and reviewed the major milestones in the country's history, its accomplishments, and unresolved problems.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

1. Religion. JUDAISM (Lvov, Vail, and Khaskelvich, NY 27:30) featured items on the origins of contemplation, the sabbat; the spiritual meaning of light in the Jewish tradition; and a sermon on sacrifice as a means of uniting the material with the spiritual.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Friday, 22 April 1988
M. Frost

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Soviet-US Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 4:30) described the Soviet-US trade which is set to expand even faster with the impetus of the upcoming Gorbachev-Reagan summit meeting in Moscow.

2. The Leadership. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Vail, NY 6:30) reviewed US press commentaries from The Washington Post, The New York Times, and The Los Angeles Times on speculation surrounding discord between Gorbachev and Ligachev as a result of the March 13 article in Sovetskaya Rossiya criticizing the current reform process in the USSR.

3. Dissidents and Human Rights. DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 27:30) presented an interview with former political prisoner and current editor of the emigre journal Strana i Mir, Kronid Lyubarsky, on his discussions with Soviet officials at two conferences which took place in Copenhagen in March of this year. Lyubarsky described the atmosphere and the substance of the talks and noted that despite the Soviets' inability to give satisfactory answers to his questions on the number and treatment of prisoners of conscience in the USSR, the very fact that such meetings took place gives him hope for the future.

4. Restructuring. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 7) commented on Fedor Burlatsky's recent controversial article in Literaturnaya Gazeta advocating a new brand of socialist pluralism to replace the outmoded Stalinist model of state socialism in the USSR. The program commended Burlatsky's appeal for a state bureaucracy subordinate to a "civil society" and commented that this is a similar political platform to many Socialist Democratic parties in the West. The program warned against the dangers of partial political and economic reforms which have produced crisis economies in Yugoslavia and Poland and called for the pluralization of all aspects of Soviet society.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Voinovich, M 7:30) commented on the controversy surrounding the Leningrad school teacher Nina Andreyeva's March 13 article in Sovetskoe Rossiya defending Stalinist principles. Voinovich condemned the demagoguery in the Soviet press attacking Gorbachev's restructuring program but observed that, unlike Khrushchev, Gorbachev appears to have supporters who are, for the time being, capable of dealing with the criticism being levelled at them by opponents to his program.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, M 6) described the Soviet diplomatic campaign to rally support abroad for Gorbachev's reform proposals in order to gain valuable trade agreements. The program cited commentaries from the Handelsblatt, Die Presse (Austria), and The Globe and Mail (Toronto).

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Belotserkovsky, M 7) examined the cult of Lenin which is currently being revived by the current leadership to lend support to its reform program. While stressing Lenin's advocacy of NEP, the party still ignores other progressive aspects of Lenin's thought with regard to nationality problems and democratization of the party structure.

5. Glasnost. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Mihajlov, W 5) reflected on a recent article in Moskovske Novosti on the need to publish the works of non-Marxist oriented philosophers such as Vladimir Soloviev and Nikolay Berdayev, whose works have long been banned in the USSR for ideological nonconformity.

6. History. IN THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 3:30) presented articles from the Soviet press from 70 and 60 years ago on the 1918 decree on the cessation of Easter bonuses for workers and extracts from Krupskaya's memoirs of life in emigration with Lenin published in Pravda on 22 April 1928.

IN THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 5:30) presented readers' letters from the Soviet press from April 22 on poverty among pensioners in the USSR.

7. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Shaginyan and Gladilin, P 6) reviewed Soviet director Gennady Poloky's film Intervention, which is currently being shown at a Paris festival of Soviet cinema.

8. Literature. ROUND TABLE (Roitman, Matusevich, and Yurenin, M 20), drawing on a March 26 article from Pravda, discussed this year's Lenin prize laureates and noted the absence of a prize winner for literature. The discussants opined that this reflected Gorbachev's dissatisfaction with the Writers' Union of the USSR which was described as a "bastion of conservatism."

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Roitman, Matusevich, and Yurenin, M 5:30) summarized the roundtable discussion on this year's Lenin prize laureates in the arts.

AT THE BOOKSHELF (Perouansky, M 29:30) presented the third installment of Yuri Galperin's novel The Russian Version. The program was RERUN from 26 June 1987.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Tolz, M 10), a partial RERUN from April 20, presented a chapter from Venedikt Erofeev's novel Moskva-Petushki to mark the 118th anniversary of Lenin's birth.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Kublanovsky, P 10) reviewed the collected works of Vladimir Makanin, a writer of the Khrushchev "thaw" years, which were recently published in Moscow.

9. Religion. THE MILLENNIUM OF THE CHRISTIANIZATION OF RUSSIA (Rahr, M 16:30) presented extracts from an American journal, The Orthodox Life, describing the ninth centennial of the christianization of Russia which was celebrated in Kiev in 1888.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

1. Poland. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Perouansky, M 8) reported on the official demonstrations in Poland marking the 45th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising.

JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Roitman, M 10) read extracts from Tsivya Lubetkin's memoirs of the 1943 Warsaw Ghetto Uprising published posthumously in Israel in 1979.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. International Terrorism. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 10:30) reviewed international press coverage of the ending of the Kuwaiti airliner hostage crisis in The New York Times, The Times (London), The Financial Times, The Independent, The Guardian, Die Presse (Austria), the Sueddeutsche Zeitung, Le Soir (Belgium), and Mujahid (Morocco).

2. NATO. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 7:30) reported on the parliamentary crisis in Denmark precipitated by the government's defeat on a motion requesting all NATO warships using Danish ports to inform the authorities of the presence of nuclear weapons.

3. France. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanov, P 6) profiled the French CP's presidential candidate Jaques Duclos in the context of the declining attraction of the French CP for the French electorate.

4. Israel. JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 9) reported on the latest events in the Israel during the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Israeli state. The program also commented on the presence of an official Israeli delegation in Poland to mark the 45th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising and described the controversy surrounding the assassination in Tunis of PLO second-in-command Wazir.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

1. Religion. THE MILLENNIUM OF THE CHRISTIANIZATION OF RUSSIA (Ross, P 11:30) described the extensive preparations taking place in Paris to celebrate the millenium of the Christianization of Russia.

2. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Gorbanevskaya, P 8) reviewed Andrzej Wajda's film The Devils, based on Dostoyevsky's novel of the same name, which is currently enjoying a successful run in French cinemas.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Saturday, 23 April 1988

J. Benson

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. Soviet-American Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Polishchuk, W 7:30) detailed a few of the concrete agreements reached at the first joint Soviet-American meeting of mass media officials in Washington in April to increase the quantity and quality of information on each country made available to the other. The program mentioned, among other things, a ten-week film festival in each country, an American book center in Moscow and traveling book exhibits, and the reduction of travel restrictions on American journalists in the USSR.

2. Soviet-Polish Relations. In connection with the joint appeal of Gorbachev and Jaruzelski for historians to fill in the blank spots in their common history, SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, M 14:30) backgrounded the massacre of Polish officers at Katyn Forest in 1940 by Soviet security forces and quoted passages from a speech on this subject by the historian and Solidarity activist Adam Michnik in Warsaw. After listing a number of other such problems requiring clarification, Michnik recommended that non-government historians should also take part in the reinterpretation. Literaturnaya Gazeta from April 3, an article in Politika, the Polish samizdat journal Konfrontazia, and Tribuna Luda were cited.

3. Soviet-Austrian Relations. SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, M 4) reported on the Austrian Defense Minister's recent visit to the Soviet Union to convince the Soviets not to oppose Austria having its own missiles and suggested the Austrians might have to buy Soviet missiles as a precondition for agreement.

4. Soviet-Cuban Relations. OUR PLANET (Nikolayev, M 1:30) quoted a letter published in the sixth issue of Ogonek complaining about the insulting and humiliating rules of behaviour required of Soviet citizens visiting Cuba.

5. Afghanistan. SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, M 9) quoted international press reports critical of the gaps in the Geneva agreement but nevertheless relieved at the prospect of Soviet troop withdrawal. Excerpts were read from an article (Peter

Schille) in Der Spiegel of April 18 on the preparations of the partisans to continue the battle. The British newspaper The Guardian and the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung were also quoted.

6. Dissidents and Human Rights. HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE SOVIET UNION (Lyubarsky, M 12) wondered why the newly-liberalized Soviet press has not yet said anything positive about Soviet human rights advocates and prisoners of conscience. The program traced the involvement of the intelligentsia in the human rights movement in the Soviet Union over the past twenty years, noting that many features of glasnost and restructuring derive from their demands. Sakharov was said to be the only released dissident who has been almost completely rehabilitated, while at least 400 are still incarcerated.

7. The Emigration. IN WRITERS AT THE MICROPHONE (Aksenov, W 8), a RERUN from 19 April 1986, the emigre writer Vasily Aksenov differentiated between the writers of the so-called third wave of the Russian emigration from their predecessors in Russian emigre literature.

8. Restructuring. IN THE WRITERS AT THE MICROPHONE (Voinovich, M 9) the emigre writer Vladimir Voinovich interpreted the turmoil around the article in Sovetskiya Rossiya from March 13 criticizing the reinterpretation of Stalin as the opening battle between the pro- and anti-restructuring forces. He then characterized the Soviet phenomenon of demagogues, those who loudly voice support for any change while secretly working for its downfall, as exemplified in the 1960s.

IN WRITERS AT THE MICROPHONE (Dovlatov, NY 6) the emigre writer Sergey Dovlatov approved the recent canvassing of Soviet citizens on their understanding of democracy, but expressed shock at the very low figures published in Argumenty i Fakty which showed only five percent comprehend it. Recalling his own initial experience in America, Dovlatov commented that democracy has to be practiced one step at a time by people who consider everything forbidden that is not expressly allowed.

9. Society. HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE SOVIET UNION (Kaminskaya, W 6:30) cited examples of organized crime from the forties to correct the false impression being created by Gorbachev and the Soviet media that it first began to spread during the Brezhnev era. While recognizing the role of glasnost in making such crimes more dangerous now, the program said the impunity of powerful officials and the widespread moral indifference to such crimes will continue to favor them. Moskovske Novosti from March 13 was cited.

10. Religion. NOT BY BREAD ALONE (Kublanovsky, P 8:30) reviewed the recently published collection by the YMCA press of the works of Father Sergey Bulgakov, Russian emigre theologian and religious philosopher of the first half of the twentieth

century, in particular concentrating on his praise of Archpriest Pavel Florensky who died in prison. The program said the works of both religious writers if made accessible to Soviet readers could cause a moral regeneration of the society.

On the occasion of their namedays, NOT BY BREAD ALONE (Aksenov-Meyerson, NY 8:30) backgrounded the Lithuanian Saints Anthony, Johann and Eustacius; Prince Mstislav; and Father Zosima, the founder of the Solovetsky Monastery.

SUNDAY SERVICE (Rahr and Kholodnaya, M and NY 49:30), a RERUN from 2 May 1987, featured a Russian Orthodox Church Service.

11. Sport. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rubin, NY 5:30) drew attention to the striking absence of any understanding of individual rights in a discussion in Pravda from April 11 on how to regulate transfers from one soccer team to another. The program remarked that while the Soviet press continues to speak of the professional nature of Soviet sports, soccer players neither have a union nor a contract, basic attributes of professional sports elsewhere in the world.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

1. Hungary. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, M 4:30), based on a RAD Background Report from April 21, analyzed recent events in Hungary on the eve of the conference of the MSWP which indicate increasing criticism of the communist party and calls for more democracy.

2. Cuba. OUR PLANET (Gordin, M 1) drew attention to the increased renovation and construction going on in Cuba aimed at attracting more foreign tourism.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The US. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Weinstein, W 10:30) summed up the major events of the week in the US, touching upon American reprisals against Iran in the Persian Gulf, Shultz's preparations for the summit meeting in Moscow, President Reagan's speech about Soviet-American relations and Afghanistan in Massachusetts, and the results of the primaries.

2. Israel. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Miloslavsky, Jerusalem 9) highlighted the unrest and increased tensions between Israelis and Palestinians after the murder of the PLO leader El Wazir and predicted the conflict will continue until one of the sides has a strong leader.

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

1. The FRG. OUR PLANET (Gordin, M 2:30) reported on West Germans' urge to travel, noting that of all industrial nations they work the least number of hours and have the most vacation time.

OUR PLANET (Gordin, M 1:30) reported on West Germany's attempt to attract youth to stamp collecting by printing stamps with pictures of rock musicians.

2. France. OUR PLANET (Salkazanov, P 2:30) listed favorite summer vacation spots of French students and their economic prices.

3. Computers. OUR PLANET (Nudelman, Tel-Aviv 3) backgrounded the development of computer virus programs which destroy stored data and the vaccine programs to protect data bases against them, in particular mentioning a virus that appeared in the computer of the Israeli Intelligence Agency.

4. Religion. NOT BY BREAD ALONE (Benigsen, NY 7:30) first read a passage from the New Testament according to mark about the women who first learned of Christ's resurrection when coming to anoint his corpse and then broadcast a sermon honoring these women as symbols of love, that conquers fear, and of mercy.

OUR PLANET (Gregory, M 3) traced the history of a religious-military order from the 12th century to the present.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Sunday, 24 April 1988
D. Felton

A. SOVIET TOPICS -- POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL:

1. USSR-Cuba. OUR PLANET (Nikolayev, M 1) gave an excerpt from Ogonek, No. 6, 1988, in which a CPSU member by the name of Antonishin complains of the petty instructions issued by the authorities to a group of Soviet citizens about to make a tourist trip to Cuba on how they should behave themselves.

2. The Emigration. RUSSIA YESTERDAY, TODAY, TOMORROW (Tolz, Malinkovich, Geller, Khazanov and Corti, M 49:30) gave the text of a "Cologne Appeal" by 16 prominent Soviet emigres (Avtorkhanov, Voslensky, Vladimov, Zinoviev, Bukovsky, et al) highly critical of restructuring and its prospects. The appeal was published at the beginning of April in the Paris-based Russian-language journal Russkaya Mysl, and later in other Western newspapers. This was followed by a discussion of the document by RL analysts who in part gave a negative appraisal of it.

THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Predtechevsky, M 8:30) cited an interview given to the Italian newspaper La Repubblica by Nobel Prize-winning writer Iosif Brodsky in which he spoke of the Soviet regime's ambivalent attitude towards him, gave a cautious appraisal of Gorbachev and his reforms and the changes taking place in Soviet literature, and warned of the danger of the ideology of the unofficial "Pamyat" association.

3. The Leadership. THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Predtechevsky, M 9) cited an article by Mikhail Poltoranin in the German-language edition of Moskovskiye Novosti on two meetings with former Moscow party leader Boris Yeltsin.

4. Society. THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Predtechevsky, M 2:30) cited an article by the Moscow correspondent of The Times (London), Christopher Walker, on the reemergence of charitable feelings in Soviet society.

5. The Nationalities. SOVIETOLOGISTS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Shragin, NY 19:30) cited from a chapter in French politologist Helene Carrere d'Encausse's book The Decline of an Empire, published in 1979, in which she speaks of the failure of Moscow's policy of integrating the nationalities, and of Moscow's failure to face up to the problem. In the introduction, the program cited an extensive interview in Izvestia of March 22 with two specialists in the nationality problem in which they express surprise over the demands made by Armenians in respect of the Mountainous Karabagh.

NATIONAL FORUM (Nadirashvili, Malinkovich, Mesilane, Levchuk and Rauda, M 27:30), a RERUN from April 17, discussed the way in which the plenum of the USSR Writers Union held last month handled the nationality problem.

6. Siberia. THE FORTUNES OF SIBERIA (Kushev, M 21:30 and Krasin, W 7) began by commenting on an article in Pravda of March 9 which observes that while it was the Russian peasant who was largely responsible for having imposed a Russian stamp on the Soviet Far East, the level of agricultural efficiency in the region is inadequate. The article puts the blame on local party officials, and also the fact that peasants lack a feeling of being masters of the land. The problem, said the program, lies not in individual persons but in the very system of management. This was followed by a brief item on Siberia's national symbols. The program then discussed the April issue of the journal Sovetsky Soyuz, intended for foreign readers, which was devoted entirely to Siberia. The program said the journal presented a stereotyped, propagandistic picture of Siberia, with the notable exception of an interview with the writer Valentin Rasputin, who sharply criticized the environmental ravages in Siberia as the result of industrial development. After this, the program cited a statement in Sovetsky Soyuz by Alexandra McLanaghan, publisher of the Alaskan Tundra Times, calling for a resumption of free contacts between the native inhabitants of Alaska and Siberia. The program concluded with an excerpt from a book by K. Petrus entitled Prisoners of Communism, published in New York in 1953, describing how in 1935 and 1935 nuns celebrated Christmas and Easter in a Siberian concentration camp.

7. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Gladilin, Kublanovsky, Betaki and Glezer, P 1:30, 8, 8 and 9) began by discussing a collection of poetry declaimed at poetry evenings at the Polytechnical Institute in Moscow during the period 1917-23 which was

published last year by the "Moskovsky Rabochy" publishing house. The program pointed to the banal, postrevolutionary enthusiasm reflected in the poetry. After this, the program gave a positive review of poetry in the first issue for this year of Novy Mir. The program ascribed the notable rise in the standard of poetry in this journal to the new head of its poetry section, Oleg Chukhontsev. The program concluded with a profile of the nonconformist artist Vyacheslav Kalinin, who has finally achieved official recognition. The program author knew Kalinin personally.

8. Religion. FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 29:30), a RERUN from April 17, gave the text of an essay by Grigory Pomerants in the unofficial journal Glasnost, No. 10, 1987, entitled "Through Whirlpools," on the religious renaissance in the USSR.

9. Sport. WORLD OF SPORT (Rubin, NY 3) said Soviet soccer star Oleg Blokhin's signing up officially as a player for an Austrian second-league team marks a big step forward economically for Soviet sport. The program mentioned Soviet ice hockey players playing in Austria and Japan, and wondered why the Soviet State Committee for Sport is showing such hesitation in negotiations with the NHL.

B. CROSS-REPORTING AND OTHER TOPICS OF COMMUNIST AFFAIRS:

None

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

None

D. CULTURAL, SOCIAL, AND SCIENTIFIC TOPICS OF NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES:

1. Sport. WORLD OF SPORT (Rubin, NY 15:30) included items on the controversy surrounding the International Amateur Athletic Federation's threat to exclude British athletes from all international competitions, including Olympic Games, if British runner Zola Budd is not disqualified in connection with her appearance at an athletics competition in South Africa last June; and the USA's chances of staging the 1994 world soccer championship.

2. Miscellaneous. OUR PLANET (Gordin, M 10:30; Nudelman, Tel Aviv 3; Gregory, M 3; and Salkazanov, P 2:30), a RERUN from April 23, included items on computer "viruses," the Knights of Malta, West German tourists, tourist programs for young people in France, and new postage stamps in Western Germany bearing the portraits of late rock stars.

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