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DAILY BROADCAST
ANALYSES

RL-Rheson
1988 April-June



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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Monday, 25 April 1988
M. Rudin

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

1. Soviet-US Relations. Drawing on an AP dispatch and an article in The Washington Post, both of April 24, and an article in The New York Times and a Reuter dispatch, both of April 25, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 5:30) reported on Secretary of State Shultz's visit to the USSR and his talks with Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and Shultz's briefing at NATO headquarters in Brussels concerning the outcome of his talks.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kushev, M 6:30) noted that a symposium took place in Anchorage, Alaska, attended by US and Soviet officials, which was devoted to the problems of cooperation between Alaska and Siberia, in particular the question of opening the US-Soviet border in the area of the Bering Straits. The program observed that the Soviet official, Gennady Gerasimov, who attended the symposium was optimistic about the prospects of achieving this goal. The program referred to a recent article in The Moscow News in which the publisher of a major newspaper in Alaska was given the opportunity to speak out for contacts through the Bering Straits. In conclusion the program talked about the favorable results of US-Soviet cooperation in the economic and humanitarian spheres in the area of the Pacific Ocean.

ROUNDTABLE (Roitman, Fistejn, and Predtechevsky, M 20) discussed the state and perspectives of Soviet-US relations in the political and military spheres, both bilaterally and globally. The participants assessed the positive and negative results of the warming of Soviet-US relations; referred to an article in

Welt am Sonntag by Henry Kissinger who says that the treaty, which will probably be signed by Reagan and Gorbachev at the upcoming summit, will hardly contribute to increasing stability and security in the US; listed the remaining disagreements in the security sector; and noted a meeting of members of the Soviet and American media which was organized by the USIA and was held in Washington on April 23.

2. Afghanistan. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Shuster, M 3:30 and Gordin, M 1) reminded listeners that Najibullah, who said at a meeting in Kabul marking the 10th anniversary of the April revolution that the recently signed agreement is a victory of "new political thinking," did not initially want to sign the agreement and had to be pressured to do so by Gorbachev at a meeting with the Soviet leader in Tashkent. RL's special Afghanistan observer also pointed out that the agreement is a victory for Soviet soldiers who will leave Afghanistan but not for the near future of Afghanistan where both sides may continue the bloodshed.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Navrotsky, Stockholm 4:30) reported on Sweden's reaction to the upcoming withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. It was noted that Sweden plans to assist Afghanistan in rebuilding its destroyed economy and that a Swedish official will meet with members of the patriotic front for the liberation of Afghanistan in Peshawar to discuss this subject. Articles in Dagens Nyheter were cited.

3. Restructuring. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 4:30) excerpted articles responding to a controversial article by Nina Andreyeva in Sovietskaya Rossiya of March 13 on restructuring. Articles in Sotsialisticheskaya Industriya of April 16 and an interview with Latvian dramaturgist Shatrov in the Latvian newspaper Sovetskaya Molodezh were cited.

THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE (Belotserkovsky, M 5:30) noted articles in The New York Times and The Washington Post about differences between Gorbachev and Ligachev, who is the chief controller of Soviet television and the press, observing the lack of glasnost in the work of the higher party leadership. The program also noted a letter in Pravda of April 19, signed by a large group of members from the USSR Writers' Union, in which they express their support for the leadership's restructuring and democratization fight.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Perouansky, M 8) discussed two publications which shed a critical light on developments in the sector of economic reforms and restructuring: a joint report published by the CIA and the Department of Defense and an article by Nikolay Shmelev in the April issue of Novy Mir. The program then

highlighted an article in The New York Times contrasting the restructuring processes in the USSR and the PRC which observes that, unlike the USSR, the PRC has been successful in its economic reforms but less successful in reforming the cultural sphere.

THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE (Belotserkovsky, M 6) showed that claims currently circulating in the Soviet Union that Lenin and Leninism are the theoretical basis for restructuring are untrue. The program was pegged to the 118th anniversary of Lenin's birth.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kushev, M 3) cited an interview in The New York Times with Valentin Yumashev, director of Ogonek's readers' letters section. The program observed that it becomes apparent from Yumashev's interview that glasnost does have its boundaries and that what is allowed Pravda is not necessarily allowed Ogonek.

4. The Nationalities. THE USSR AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Maksudov, M 4:30) presented the third installment of an article by emigre historian Sergey Maksudov entitled "The Perspectives of Nationality Development in the USSR." Today's reading discussed the principles of the present nationality policy.

THE USSR AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Soldatov, M 14:30) read an article from Sovetskaya Estonia which featured in an abridged form proposals drawn up by members of the plenum of the creative unions of Estonia directed to the CC of the CPSU on how to solve problems and shortcomings in the nationality sector and in relations between the nationalities.

THE USSR AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Shapiro, Isr 5) discussed internationality relations as being influenced to a great extent by economic factors. The republics' economic dependence on Moscow was discussed. Articles in Sovetskaya Estonia and Literaturnaya Gazeta were cited.

5. Chernobyl. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Henkina, M 6) pointed out that glasnost has not penetrated information pertaining to the Chernobyl accident. The program was pegged to the second anniversary of the tragedy.

6. The Economy. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gendler, NY 2:30) briefly dealt with the joint report on the Soviet economy which was compiled by the CIA and the intelligence section of the US Defense Department upon the request of the joint economic committee of the US Congress. The report came to the basic conclusion that the Soviet economy deteriorated last year and this fact will present great difficulties for the whole reform program introduced by Gorbachev.

7. Agriculture. THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE (Belotserkovsky, M 15) continued reading from Belotserkovsky's book Self-Government. Today's installment dealt with the structures of agriculture in a society with self-government, focusing on the question of collective versus private farming in the USSR.

8. Emigration. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanova, P 20) featured an interview with Soviet scientist Valery Soifer, who emigrated from the Soviet Union on March 13. Soifer, who is a specialist in molecular genetics, talked about his work on Lysenko and the history of the Lysenkovshchina. An article on Lysenko by Soifer was published in the first two issues of Ogonek for 1988, which also published readers' reactions to Soifer's article in a later issue of the journal. Soifer also described his unsuccessful fight with Soviet authorities about receiving permission to keep his Soviet passport.

9. The Press on West Germany. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rahr, M 10) commented on an article in Pravda on West Germany and the German question, putting Pravda's allegations that there is an "outburst of agitation among potential burglars of the post-war structure in Europe" and the question of reunification of the two Germanies into perspective.

10. Literature. AT THE BOOKSHELF (Perouansky, M 29:30), a RERUN from 29 June 1987, presented Part 4 in a series of readings featuring Yuri Galperin's novel The Russian Version.

11. Religion. RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Fotiyev, M 7:30) featured an item dealing with the selection of delegates to the Local Council of the Russian Orthodox Church which will take place in June as part of the jubilee celebrations connected with the millennium of the Christianization of Rus. Noting a TASS dispatch of April 21, the program observed that the election of the delegates apparently was open and said that the Church is still not separated from the state.

RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Aksenov-Meyerson, NY 7) reviewed the first issue of the unofficial journal Bulletin of the Christian Community which is edited by Alexander Ogorodnikov. The goal of the journal is to include materials depicting diverse religious processes taking place in the Soviet Union among various creeds.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Rahr, M 5:30 and Gordin, M 1) drew attention to and corrected various inaccuracies in an article in Sovetskaya Kirghizia of April 5 entitled "From the History of Christian Easter."

RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Nazarov, M 9) described a Russian emigre calendar published by Possev, the theme of which is the persecution of the Russian Orthodox Church from 1917 to the present day. The program read some of the calendar's entries.

12. History. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 2:30) excerpted an article published in Pravda 60 years ago concerning the celebration of May 1 and 2 and an article in Pravda of 24 April 1938 about the holding of an anti-Easter ball at the Stalin Car Factory in Moscow.

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

1. Hungary. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fistejn, M 5 and Gordin, M 1) first commented on a statement made by Hungarian Central Committee member Gyula Horn in Magyar Hirlap that the Soviet leadership did not prescribe a compulsory political example to the socialist countries in the past and the present time. The program then assessed the political climate in Hungary before the upcoming party plenum scheduled to begin May 20.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. France. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanov, P 5:30) reported on the results of the first round of voting in the presidential elections.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Salkazanov, P 4:30 and Gordin, M 1) explained the French voting system, assessed the chances of Mitterrand and Chirac in the second round, gave reasons for the success of National Front candidate Le Pen, and noted the French CP's continuing decline.

2. Israel. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nudelamn, Isr 4:30 and Gordin, 1) reported on the death sentence handed down in the Demjanjuk trial, highlighting the court's verdict and describing reaction in Israel to the sentence.

3. The US Commerce Department's Annual Report on Trade with the USSR and Eastern Europe was highlighted by EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Polishchuk, W 4:30). The volume of trade between the US and Eastern Europe and the USSR continued to grow in 1987. The program used a CND report from Washington and a UPI dispatch of April 25.

4. The West German "Greens" Party on Romania. THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE (Belotserkovsky, M 1) noted that the "Greens" called on the West German government to take part in the international isolation of Romanian President Ceausescu for depriving Romanians of their basic political and civil rights.

5. The US. THE US TODAY (Rubin, Paramonov, and Gendler, NY 27:30) featured an item on the outcome of the primaries in NY; gave facts and figures on the average age of Americans, explaining how it is directly influenced by the baby boom generation; gave the substance of an article in The New York Times, entitled "Saigon and Kabul," which discussed the parallels between the Soviet occupation in Afghanistan and the American war in Vietnam; reviewed a book by American Prof. Paul Kennedy on the rise and fall of great nations; discussed emigration trends in the US; and briefly reported on the new law banning smoking on the majority of US domestic flights as the latest measure in the antismoking campaign in the US.

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

1. Religion. RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Szydlowski, NY 6:30) reported on a telephone information service in Massachusetts which answers questions on Orthodoxy. It is run by a Greek Orthodox seminary.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Tuesday, 26 April 1988
D. Felton

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

1. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fistejn and Shuster, M 7:30) featured a talk with RL's special correspondent Savik Shuster on Najibullah's offer to set up demilitarized zones along the border with Pakistan in order to facilitate the return of Afghan refugees, and to give up Soviet aid provided the US stops military aid to Pakistan. As regards the first proposal, Shuster spoke of the Mujahidin's refusal to even discuss the matter with Najibullah, citing a statement by resistance leader Zibhetullah Mujadedi (voice cut), and pointed out that the Afghan army either never had any control over the areas concerned anyway, or is leaving under pressure from the Mujahidin. As regards the second proposal, the program gave a voice cut of US State Department spokeswoman Phyllis Oakley describing it as ridiculous. In addition, a voice cut was given of President Reagan's statement in which he spoke of the US defense commitments to Pakistan in view of the continued Soviet threat to that country. Audio Section material was used.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Perouansky, M 8) took issue with Najibullah's speech on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the so-called April revolution in Afghanistan. The program contrasted Najibullah's references to the changes and alleged benefits, which the revolution had brought to the Afghan people, with the grim reality of the suffering it has caused. His praise for the ruling communist party was contrasted with sharp criticism of the party even in the Soviet press. The program also noted Najibullah's attempt to present the Afghan army's withdrawal from certain areas as purely voluntary.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 7:30), citing Le Monde of April 26, noted that Afghan resistance forces are moving into areas vacated by the withdrawing Soviet troops. Varying views by Afghan resistance leaders were quoted on what military tactics to adopt in connection with the Soviet withdrawal, and what will happen in Afghanistan in general.

2. Dissidents and Human Rights. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Malinkovich, M 6:30) reported on a meeting in Vienna on April 25 between the International Helsinki Federation and the Soviet Commission for Humanitarian Cooperation and Human Rights. The program noted Yuri Orlov's participation in the talks, and highlighted press conference statements by the chairman of the Soviet commission, Fedor Burlatsky, and by Yelena Lukasheva of the Moscow Institute for State and Law, in which they talked about laws on the press and on glasnost which are soon to be passed in the USSR, and the drafting of a new criminal code in which there will be no longer paragraphs on anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda, etc. However, Burlatsky and Lukasheva failed to give a precise answer to a question on when the new code will be adopted which journalists asked in connection with the continued imprisonment of persons convicted on such charges. The program cited commission member Nazarov as having spoken of a lack of substantial progress in the human rights field in the USSR in a recent interview with Komsomolskaya Pravda.

FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 29:30) featured the ninth installment of the third part of Solzhenitsyn's The Gulag Archipelago.

3. The Emigration. RUSSIA YESTERDAY, TODAY, TOMORROW (Tolz, Malinkovich, Geller, Khazanov and Corti, M 49:30), a RERUN from April 24, 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. This was followed by a discussion of the document by RL analysts who in part also gave a negative appraisal of it.

4. Restructuring. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, M 5) gave the contents of an editorial in The Times (London) of April 25 on the appearance of Ligachev at the celebration of Lenin's birthday, and the difficulties confronting restructuring, in particular opposition from various sections of the population, and ideological arguments against restructuring.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 4:30), in a review of the Soviet press, first of all drew attention to a reference made by Pravda editor Kozhemyako, in a round-table discussion in the columns of Moskovskiye Novosti, No. 17, 1988, prompted by Nina Andreyeva's anti-restructuring article in Sovetskaya

Rossiia, to the frustration felt by the Pravda staff over their inability to help a reader persecuted during the Brezhnev era. The program pointed to the significance of the admission that citizens were subjected to psychiatric repression. After this, the program cited from a letter to Moskovskiye Novosti by a party member from Krasnodar, Bochkov, in which he blamed the Stalin cult on the principle of one-man rule unrestricted by the law. The program said that the real question is why the party organs have the power in the first place.

5. Glasnost. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Mihajlov, W 5) reflected on the uninformedness of the Soviet public despite glasnost. The program cited from a report by a correspondent of Sovetskaya Estonia quoting an official in a passport office suggesting that unrestricted travel abroad is something only to be found in adventure stories. The program commented that while the shortage of information, unlike the shortage of goods, could be overcome quickly, there is a long way to go before the party surrenders its information monopoly. However, without the restructuring of the information sphere, there can be no successful economic restructuring.

6. The Economy. ROUND TABLE TALK (Roitman, Malinkovich and Belotserkovsky, M 19) discussed the USSR State Statistical Committee's report on the country's economic performance in the first quarter of this year indicating shortages of foodstuffs and consumer goods, and an article by writer Nikolay Shmelev in the April issue of Novy Mir recommending that priority be given to providing adequate supplies of consumer goods in order to win public confidence in restructuring. This, he proposes, should be achieved above all by means of Western credits. The discussants mentioned a report issued by the CIA and the DIA which also says that the Soviet consumer has been the principal sufferer from the deterioration in the USSR's economic situation. The discussants found Shmelev's recommendations sensible, but differed on the significance of his failure to mention such things as self-management and the need for a change in the USSR's political structure.

ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Simis, W 8) discussed the draft of a new law on cooperatives. The program said that while the law has certain positive features, such as greater precision compared with the recently passed laws on the state enterprise and individual labor activity, it still does not adequately protect cooperatives from state interference, particularly in the form of state delivery orders, for which in addition prices will be centrally fixed. The main threat to cooperatives' independence, however, lies in the party's continued monopoly of power over the national economy.

ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Vail, NY 8:30), a RERUN from April 12, excerpted an article by Hedrick Smith in The New York Times Magazine on the recent visit to the US by prominent Soviet economist Abel Aganbegyan, Gorbachev's chief economic adviser, during which he spoke of the USSR's economic reform program and the problems it faces. Hedrick Smith commented that Aganbegyan left many questions unanswered.

7. Education. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Henkina, M 5:30) discussed an article in Izvestia of April 21 dealing with the problem of the adverse effect on the standard of higher education resulting from the interruption of studies by compulsory military service. The program found the article hesitant and inconclusive.

8. Religion. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fotiyev, M 4) discussed Patriarch Pimen's letter to the pope inviting him to send a delegation of the Roman Catholic Church to the USSR for the celebrations of the millennium of the Christianization of Russia. The program wondered who will be on the Vatican delegation, and noted that the pope himself has made it clear that he would only agree to visit the USSR if he was allowed to meet with the Christians living there (Lithuanians, Latvians, and Ukrainians). The program said the Lithuanians would certainly give the pope an enthusiastic reception, but it would doubtlessly reflect their protest against the forcible annexation by the USSR, which the Vatican has refused to legally recognize.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Rahr, M 4:30) also discussed Patriarch Pimen's invitation to the pope to send a delegation of the Roman Catholic Church to the USSR for the celebrations of the millennium of the Christianization of Russia. The program remarked that the Soviet regime is interested in a rapprochement between the Catholic Church and the Moscow Patriarchate since this could soften the former's open opposition to the regime. The program pointed to the ecclesiastical obstacles to a visit to the USSR by the pope himself (the Catholic Church sees the pope as the head of the entire Christian Church) as well as political ones (the pope would insist on visiting Catholic Lithuania and giving moral support to the Catholics of the Western Ukraine).

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Rahr, M 2:30) reported on a petition to Gorbachev from 225 prominent US church, public, and political figures calling for religious freedom in the USSR. The petition was handed to President Reagan by representatives of the James Madison Foundation. Voice cuts of Foundation President Waigel were given. Audio Section material was used.

9. History. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 2:30), continuing to leaf through old Soviet newspapers, cited from a speech by Khrushchev in Izvestia of 26 April 1958 in which he criticized those who -- as it subsequently transpired, correctly -- felt that potatoes were a more suitable crop for growing in the Kursk Oblast than maize.

10. Nabokov. In OVER THE BARRIERS (Dovlatov, NY 7), Soviet emigre writer Sergey Dovlatov described a search for the places frequented by the late Russian-born writer Vladimir Nabokov while lecturing at Cornell University in Ithaca. Dovlatov also mentioned the lecture which he, Dovlatov, delivered at the university in which he spoke of the serious choice which would face Russian literature should the glasnost and democratization process continue.

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

1. Eastern Europe. ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Silnitskaya, W 7), a RERUN from April 13, gave the contents of an article by William Smith in Time magazine of April 18 on the influence of the Prague Spring and of restructuring on the economies of the East European countries.

2. Czechoslovakia. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 3), continuing to leaf through old Soviet newspapers, cited a report in Pravda of 26 April 1968 on a speech by Czech Prime Minister Cernik which includes his references to Czechoslovakia's economic successes but not the passages concerning the government's program of democratic changes.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. France. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanov, P 7), commenting on the results of the first round of the French presidential elections, drew attention to the general decline of the French CP and the increased popularity of the rightist-extremist National Front. The program observed that both parties draw on a common reservoir of anti-democratic voters.

2. US-Bulgaria. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 4:30) commented on Bulgarian Foreign Economic Relations Minister Lukanov's visit to the US, noting that he is the highest-ranking Bulgarian to pay such a visit since World War II. The program cited Lukanov and an American government official on Bulgaria's interest in importing modern American technology, Bulgaria's economic reforms eventually leading to market socialism, and the improvement in US-Bulgarian relations against the background of a better international climate in general and US-Soviet relations in particular.

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

1. Science and Technology. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY TODAY (Muslin, NY 27:30) included items on the narrowing time gap between scientific discoveries and their commercial application; 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 psychological disorder; 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. The program was a partial RERUN from March 8.

2. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Vail, NY 12:30) gave a profile of jazz violinist Stefan Grappelli and reported on the celebration of his 80th birthday in New York's Carnegie Hall. Recordings of Grappelli's playing were included.

3. Nostalgic Reflections on London, Paris, and Foreign Travel were included in OVER THE BARRIERS (Gendler, NY 7).

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Wednesday, 27 April 1988
N. Petroff

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

1. Afghanistan. ROUND TABLE TALK (Roitman, Fistein, and Shuster M 18) discussed the 10th anniversary of the Afghan War. The program underscored the terrible suffering the so-called April Revolution inflicted on the people of Afghanistan. The discussants speculated on the make-up of the future Afghan government once the Soviet pull-out is completed. However, the program warned that no matter who takes control of the Kabul government, that rule will almost certainly be a provisional one. An ironic result of this war is that, for the first time in recent history, it united the separate, often mutually hostile, Afghan tribes into a nation with a common purpose. The discussants agreed that the future heads of government in this new nation, will be those very same warrior leaders who won the struggle against Soviet occupation on the battlefield.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Polishchuk, NY 5) reported on a trip to Afghanistan by a privately-funded group of US citizens called, "The International Center for Political Development." The program said that although the 12-member US delegation is considered to be politically left of center, its members did not refrain from openly telling their official hosts that the present rulers represent only one of several legitimate parties that exist on the political landscape of Afghanistan. The group stated that any future normalization of relations between the US and Afghanistan will first require the inclusion of the other Afghan parties in the political process.

2. The US, the USSR, and Cambodia. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, F 5) reported on the conclusion of the latest round of US-Soviet talks on the situation in Kampuchea, which has been under Vietnamese occupation for the last 10 years. A joint communique was issued which said that both sides have agreed to work on reducing tension in Southeast Asia.

3. Nationalities. SPECIAL FEATURE (Gregory, Tolz, Malinkovich, and Perouansky, M 48) was devoted to the recent events in Nagorno-Karabakh and Sumgait. The program began with a critical

appraisal of a recent Soviet TV documentary on the disturbances in Armenia and Azerbaijan. The discussants agreed that the film was, in part, an attempt at whitewashing the underlying Soviet nationalities problem. They viewed the official Soviet policy toward national minorities as the root cause of the disturbances. Soviet media coverage of the demonstrations, said the program, was a repetition of the kind of delayed reporting in evidence during the Chernobyl disaster. It was a setback for glasnost. Two samizdat appeals by the Armenian activist, Paruyr Hayrikian, were also included in the broadcast.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Nadirashvili and Narsia, M 8) discussed the recent removal of the first secretary of the southern Ossete region of Soviet Georgia. The program participants said that Felix Sanakoev was fired because of a serious outbreak of typhoid fever in the regional capital of Tsinkhvali. The program pointed out the severe shortcomings in sanitation and health care throughout the Georgian Republic. A severe shortage of potable water was viewed as one of the major causes of recent outbreaks of typhoid fever as well as for the rise of other infectious diseases.

4. Restructuring. RUSSIA YESTERDAY, TODAY, TOMORROW (Tolz, M 10) featured a discussion with RL staffer Boris Paramonov who took issue with the "Cologne Appeal" written by 16 prominent Soviet emigre authors. The program questioned the Appeal's skepticism of Perestroika and those forces behind Gorbachev's drive for democratization of Soviet society. The program commented that the Appeal lacked any constructive proposal or plan for reform as an alternative to glasnost and perestroika. The discussion concluded with brief remarks by Professor Strada on the meaning of glasnost.

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Shragin and Morozov, NY 27:30) speculated on the feasibility of democracy developing in a single-party system such as in the Soviet Union. The commentator's conclusion left room for doubt. The program ended with a look at an example of grass-roots democracy at its best: the interborough discussion group, where all are welcome to attend and to freely participate in discussing any local, national or international issue that is of interest to the community members.

5. Soviet Government. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Malinkovich, M 5:30) discussed an article in Moskovske Novosti by Soviet historian Ambartsumov who wrote about the need for reform of the Soviet government. He stated that the government must be above the party and not vice versa.

6. Joint Ventures. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Handler, NY 4:30) reported on the recent signing of an agreement by representatives of a US technical publishing firm and the Soviet Union for a joint effort in the publication of a computer magazine that will be sold in both countries. The first issue

of 50 thousand copies will be made available for purchase in Moscow kiosks this June.

7. Chernobyl. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Paramonov, NY 4) provided a US press review on the occasion of the second anniversary of the Chernobyl nuclear accident.

8. Religion. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fotiev, M 6:30) reported on the case Father Sergey Koshel, an Russian Orthodox priest, who in his letter to the journal Kommunist complained how after a lengthy period of harassment by local provincial authorities he was unjustly accused of using narcotics. He asks why the new policy of perestroika and glasnost has not found its way down to the local level, and why, to this day, are believers rights not defended.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Polishchuk, W 3:30) reported that Richard Schifter, the Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, recently underscored the importance of religion in Soviet society. He made these comments to journalists after his return from the Soviet Union where he met with several religious leaders.

9. History. RUSSIA YESTERDAY, TODAY, TOMORROW (Heller, P 11:30) presented the first part of a series reexamining the life and times of Vladimir Lenin.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Mihailov, W 4) noted that the recent open discussions in the Soviet press of the Katyn Massacre of Polish officers may signal the beginning of other revelations concerning Stalin's private deals with Hitler.

10. The Media. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 4:30) presented some of the more salient comments from the Soviet press on the rehabilitation of Bukharin.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 6) presented an excerpt from a 27 April 1918 issue of Pravda which announced the strange disappearance of a widely venerated icon known as The Madonna of Kursk. The icon is now located in a Russian Orthodox Cathedral in New York City. Another excerpt from Pravda of 20 years ago discussed how a meeting of the Party Committee of the Academy of Sciences was convened to criticize the activities of three of its members who openly defended five unjustly prosecuted dissidents.

11. Nabokov. On OVER THE BARRIERS (Dovlatov, NY 7), Soviet emigre writer Sergey Dovlatov described a search for the places frequented by the late Russian-born writer Vladimir Nabokov while lecturing at Cornell University in Ithaca. The program was a RERUN from April 26.

AT THE BOOKSHELF (Perouansky M 27:30) a RERUN from 1 July 1987, featured the fifth installment of Yury Galperin's novel The Russian Version.

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

1. Poland. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Rahr and Fistein, M 4:30) discussed the recent labor unrest in Poland. The program focused on the sharp price rise in energy and food supplies as the root cause of the strikes. It described the attempts made by the Polish media to shift blame for the disturbances on Western intelligence services.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. Ethiopia. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 6) explored the historical background of the present economic catastrophe and tragic famine in Ethiopia. Much of the blame is placed on the inefficient and wasteful one-party rule of Mengistu's Marxist government.

2. The US and Canada. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 4) reported the arrival of Prime Minister Mulroney in Washington for an official state visit.

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

1. Nostalgic Reflections on London, Paris, and Foreign Travel were included in OVER THE BARRIERS (Gendler, NY 7). The program was a RERUN from April 26.

2. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Vail, NY 12:30) gave a profile of jazz violinist Stefan Grappelli and reported on the celebration of his 80th birthday in New York's Carnegie Hall. Recordings by Grappelli were broadcast. The program was a RERUN from April 4.

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Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Thursday, 28 April 1988
M. Rudin

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

1. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Shuster, M 6:30) featured a telephone interview with an American TV correspondent from CBS who entered Barikot with Afghan resistance forces. The Afghan resistance took control of the city, the location of an Afghan Army base, soon after Soviet and Afghan troops were evacuated from the area by helicopter. The correspondent described the reaction of the Mujahidin to the first liberation of an Afghan town, noting that the situation in the area remains very dangerous because the area is full of mines laid by Afghan troops. The correspondent noted that the resistance parties cooperated fully in the fighting and declared the captured zone open to all resistance movements.

Drawing on a CND report from Washington of April 27, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 5) highlighted a draft resolution drawn up by US congressmen John Porter and Charles Wilson which proposes a five-year multinational relief effort to rebuild Afghanistan's economy and to help returning Afghan refugees.

2. Restructuring. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Malinkovich, M 7) commented on an article by Prof. Fedor Burlatsky in Literaturnaya Gazeta of April 20 condemning Stalin's system of socialism which was defended by Nina Andreyeva in a letter she wrote to Sovetskaya Rossiya which was published on March 13. Burlatsky calls for a new model of socialism, democratic rather than state socialism, and says that it must be able to secure the well-being of all workers. In addition, the new model must dispose of the pyramidal system of power, creating instead a system whereby the state would be subordinated to a "civil society." The program observed that it would be very difficult to restructure socialism in the USSR from the present state form to a democratic one.

ROUNDTABLE (Perouansky, Tolz, and Malinkovich, M 20) featured a discussion assessing the rumors of a split in the leadership of the CPSU over the question of Gorbachev's reforms. Politburo member Ligachev, if not an initiator then at least a supporter

of Leningrad teacher Nina Andreyeva's controversial letter to Sovetskaya Rossiya of March 13 on restructuring, reportedly received a reprimand from the Politburo and was relieved of his duties in the ideological sphere which were transferred to CC Secretary Alexander Yakovlev. The participants in the discussion made reference to articles in Moscow News by Anatoly Strelyany, The New York Times (Taubman), The Washington Post, The Christian Science Monitor, Sovetskaya Kultura, Literaturnaya Gazeta (Burlatsky), and a UPI dispatch.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 3:30) drew attention to articles dealing with glasnost and restructuring. An article in Moscow News was cited which referred to the violation of religious rights in Brest and a letter to Pravda from a reader, who, the program observed, incorrectly implies that the fight for freedom and democracy was begun by the party. Restructuring, the program observed, is the result of the human rights movement which has existed for the past 20 years.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Mihajlov, M 3:30) said that there are signs that there is a new and important trend in assessing ideological discussions and literary matters in the Soviet Union. Ideological and spiritual preferences and divisions are not made on the basis of party decisions or Soviet versus Western thought but according to similar ideological inclinations. The program noted this development in Soviet assessment of Soviet emigre writers Joseph Brodsky and Sasha Sokolov and singer Willi Tokarev. The program made reference to articles in Komsomolskaya Pravda, Veche, and Neva.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Paramonov, NY 10) commented on an article by Lev Voskre in the 14th issue of Moscow News of April 3 which calls for the publication of works of Russian idealist philosophers from the beginning of the century, such as Berdyaev, Bulgakov, and Trubetskoy. The program discussed the reasons why the publication of these philosophers at the present time would not really bring any positive results, noting that for one, the works of Berdyaev could not be published due to the content matter which cannot be incorporated into the present conditions of glasnost and restructuring. The program observed that under present Soviet conditions, a different orientation is needed which will emphasize not high truths of direction but immediate needs and said that what Soviet society needs for real restructuring is a pragmatic direction of consciousness.

3. Human Rights. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Polishchuk, W 6) reported on an appeal addressed to Gorbachev in which almost 250 well-known Americans call on the Soviet leader to grant religious freedom to the people of the Soviet Union. The appeal was written in connection with the millennium of the Christianization of Kievan Rus. The program read excerpts from the appeal calling on Soviet leaders to grant believers the same rights as nonbelievers, to release all believers incarcerated for their faith, and to rescind repressive legislation

regulating the activity of churches and prayer houses of other creeds.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyev, M 6) and THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 3:30 and Gordin, M 0:30) noted that at a press briefing in Vienna Fedor Burlatsky said that the nationality minorities in the USSR should be settled on the basis of cultural autonomy. The program interpreted Burlatsky's statement to mean that minorities living in republics other than their own should be allowed to use their language, practice their traditions, and study their history. The program discussed the functions of the Commission on Humanitarian Cooperation and Human Rights, of which Burlatsky is chairman, noting that it is not a government commission but a public one. The commission supports glasnost and restructuring and is well treated by the government, the program noted. Burlatsky also noted at the briefing that there is no need to rush with the possibility of holding a human rights conference in Moscow in 1991.

DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 19:30 and Alexeyeva, NY 8) marked the 20th anniversary of the existence of The Chronicle of Current Events, an informative publication on the violation of human rights in the USSR, which was put out by the dissident movement from 30 April 1968 to 30 June 1982. The program reviewed various issues of the Chronicle and assessed the significance of the publication with respect to its role in the dissident movement as a whole in the Soviet Union. The program then highlighted the case of Russian Orthodox deacon Vladimir Rusak who was sentenced in 1986 to a 12-year prison and exile term. The program read excerpts from an open letter written by Rusak to delegates of the sixth general assembly of the World Council of Churches and parts of Rusak's sermon which he delivered in 1982 for which he was subsequently tried. It was noted that unofficial sources from Moscow report that Rusak was recently moved from a Perm prison to the Lefortovo Prison in Moscow.

FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 29:30) presented part 8 of Oleg Volkov's autobiographical book Descent Into Darkness which describes Volkov's many years in Soviet prison, beginning in 1928. Volkov wrote his book in Moscow in the 1970s and it was published in Paris in 1982.

4. Estonia. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rahr, M 9) highlighted an interview with Vladimir Beekman, chairman of the Estonian Writers' Union in Sovetskaya Estonia and an interview with Kalju Komissarov, Chairman of the Estonian Union of Theater Artists in Molodezh Estonii, both of which criticize the fact that the work of the united plenum of creative unions of Estonia which was held recently and the two documents adopted at the plenum were not fully discussed by the Russian-language press in Estonia. The program gave excerpts from one of the above-mentioned documents: an appeal to the upcoming 19th party

conference, which was published in full by the Estonian newspaper Sirp ja Vasar.

5. Tourism. MAN AND SOCIETY (Gordin, M 5:30) a RERUN from April 19, noted that Intourist raised the prices for trips abroad and talked about the rules pertaining to the amount of money Soviet tourists may take with them when they travel abroad and the official permission they must receive before they can go.

6. Society. MAN AND SOCIETY (Simens, W 6:30) discussed the legal rights of the homeless in the USSR, noting that in official documents they are known as tramps or as persons who have no residence and not only possess no rights under Soviet law but are considered criminals. It was noted that the Soviet press has started to write about this problem in the Soviet Union. The program used articles in the Moscow News and Izvestia.

7. Society. MAN AND SOCIETY (Shapiro, Isr 6:30), noting the numerous materials on crime in the USSR which have been published in the Soviet press since the inception of glasnost, analyzed the roots of this problem in the Soviet Union. Reference was made to the existence of a command administrative management system in the USSR. The program cited an article in the Moscow News of March and an article in Literaturnaya Gazeta.

8. Music. OVER THE BARRIERS (Dovlatov, NY 8:30) talked about the songs and life of songwriter Peter Leshchenko whose songs remain popular to this day.

9. History. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 4:30) excerpted and commented on an article in Pravda of 28 April 1938 about the building of the Palace of Soviets in Moscow and articles in Izvestia and the Bulgarian Rabotnichesko Delo of April 1968 which reported on the treaty signed between Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia.

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

1. Poland. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 6:30) and the THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Bensi, M 5 and Gordin, M 1), assessing the latest wave of strikes in Poland, said the reasons are the same which led to previous workers' unrest and pointed out that the only way to improve the ailing Polish economy is to introduce radical economic reform and that the half-measures being taken by the Polish authorities will lead to nothing. The program agreed with a statement made by Archbishop Bronislaw Dabrowski that Poland cannot use the same reforms as those introduced in the USSR, noting Poland's different historical and political experience. The program referred to an article in Trybuna Ludu which listed the regulations pertaining to the holding of strikes and noted that the striking committee at Nowa

Huta ignored the procurator's orders to have workers announce whether they are on strike or not.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirksy, P 6:30) cited comment on the current strikes in Poland in Le Figaro, Le Monde, and Liberation which analyzed the economic and political reasons for the strikes.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 4) also carried comments on the significance and consequences of the labor unrest in Poland, highlighting articles in The Washington Post (Diehl), The New York Times (Tagliabue), and The Chicago Tribune (Butturini).

2. The French and British CPs. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, M 4:30) and THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Gregory, M 3:30 and Gordin, M 0:30) briefly noted the reasons for the decline of the French CP in the first round of presidential elections. The program then observed that the British CP has been losing membership for the past nine years during Thatcher's years in power and then briefly discussed the reasons for the growing popularity of the journal Marxism Today.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. Ethiopia. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Genis, NY 4:30) highlighted an article by Robert McCloskey, Director of the Washington office of Catholic Relief Services, in The New York Times, which observes that if Moscow does not intervene in Ethiopia and influence the pro-Soviet government to stop hampering international relief efforts, the famine in Ethiopia will become even worse than it now is.

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

1. Religion. JUDAISM (Lvov, Taratuta, and Khaskelevich, NY 27:30) discussed the life and work of Italian thinker, scholar, and mystic Cesare Lombroso; told the story about the magician Valaam; and featured a talk by a rabbi on the history and meaning of sacrifice.

2. The System of Secondary Schools in France was described by MAN AND SOCIETY (Salkazanov, P 8).

3. The US. OVER THE BARRIERS (Vail and Genis, NY 9) included an item on skyscrapers in Manhattan.



RADIO FREE EUROPE
RADIO LIBERTY

RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Friday, 29 April 1988

J. Benson

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

1. Soviet Union-Romania. OVER THE BARRIERS (Krimerman, M 5:30), based on articles in Literatura Shi Arta from March 25, February 12 and January 14, described the warm reception given contemporary Romanian writers in Kishinev, Moldavia, and noted plans to publish an anthology of Romanian poets there shortly. The program remarked that contrary to political academic disputes about the two countries' differences, they all spoke the same language. Then the program wondered if the meeting signals a change in the enforced separation of Moldavians and Romanians, since rules for visits between relatives have relaxed, although numerous bans are still in force.
2. Afghanistan. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 1:30) read passages from an article published in Pravda 60 years ago on the occasion of an official visit of the Afghan monarch to the Soviet Union which eulogized Soviet-Afghan friendship said to be based on the common enemy of English capitalism. Commenting ironically that everyone knows how this friendship developed, the program mentioned the upcoming withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.
3. Dissidents and Human Rights. EVENTS AND PEOPLE and THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 5:30 and Gordin and Fedoseyev, M 7) discussed a statement by Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vadim Perfilev expressing concern about the human rights situation in the USSR. The program welcomed Perfilev's reference to a "humanitarian dialogue" with the US, describing this as an example of Gorbachev's "new thinking," and observed that human rights is now the obligation of all countries, and can no longer be regarded as an internal matter. It was suggested that it would be a good thing if the US ratified the international conventions on civil and political, and social and economic rights the non-ratification of which by the US was referred to by Perfilev. The Americans too (Shultz, for example) are concerned about human rights in their country.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Gordin and Fedoseyeva, M 3:30) marked the 20th anniversary of the samizdat Chronicle of Current

Events. The program recalled the circumstances under which the journal was founded, its objectives and contents, and the persecution to which those involved in its publication and distribution were subjected, resulting in the Chronicle's ceasing operations after 15 years. Even under the present conditions of glasnost such publications are still needed in the USSR.

DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedorov, NY 5) broadcast an obituary on the Latvian political prisoner Gunnar Astra which was written by a fellow prisoner in the hard labor camps of Perm and Mordovia. The program remarked that Astra's death was not reported in the official media.

4. Jewish Affairs. JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (S. Marksih, Geneva 12:30) featured the 29th installment of readings from the Jewish monthly journal Voskhod, which appeared in Saint Petersburg from 1881 to 1906. This time the program retold the plot of a shortstory entitled Makarka from the April 1889 issue of the journal about the tragic life and suicide of a young Jewish boy.

5. The Emigration. OVER THE BARRIERS (Suslov, W 4:30) profiled the Ukrainian poetess Irina Ratushinskaya now living in Chicago, on the occasion of a poetry reading of her work at the prestigious Folger Library in Washington DC recently. The program expressed amazement that Ratushinskaya's poetry caused her imprisonment in the Soviet Union, for it was said to not even hint at political protest but simply reflect the joys and sorrows of her life. The poetess read one poem and discussed her future plans in a following interview.

AT THE BOOKSHELF (Perouansky, M 27:30), a RERUN from 3 July 1987, featured the sixth installment of Soviet emigre writer Yury Galperin's novel The Russian Version, published by the Russian publishing house Cherdak founded by him in Berne. The hero of the novel is an engineer by the name of Leshakov whom fate does not treat kindly.

6. Restructuring. ROUND TABLE TALK (Roitman, Malinkovich, and Fistejn, M 20) approved of Fyodor Burlatsky's call in Literaturnaya Gazeta of April 20 and an RL interview in Vienna on April 25 for a transition from Stalin's state socialism to a civil socialism based on a division of powers and functions between social and political institutions, but regretted he did not mention a separation of state and party. The discussants found Burlatsky's comparison of the Soviet Union with Czechoslovakia inappropriate, but indicative of an upcoming reevaluation of the invasion; doubted that decades would be necessary for such a transition; and were of the opinion that Burlatsky's references to Lenin were significant, for the Leninist allocation of power to the councils was just what was needed to break the party's power monopoly.

Quoting passages from Nikolay Popov's article in Sovetskaya Kultura of April 26 and an AP dispatch, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Malinkovich, M 8) agreed completely that a change in the ossified political system of the Soviet Union presupposes that the party renounce its leadership role and submit to control by elected councils whose members include also representatives of independent organizations. The program stressed in addition that the election system must be changed and the councils must receive broader functions, the rights of independent organizations and citizens must be guaranteed, and the Soviet Union must ultimately be transformed into a union of sovereign republics.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Genis, NY 5:30) summarized three articles in the American press about the forces of opposition to Gorbachev's restructuring. In The New York Times from April 28 Michel Tatu presented Ligachev as the head of the conservative opposition in the upper echelons of power whose main point of disagreement with Gorbachev is glasnost, and Bill Keller drew attention to the calls for more power for the councils, around which the supporters appeared to be rallying. In contrast, an article in The Washington Post from April 29 (David Remnik) said the passive mentality of the Soviet people is the main source of resistance and that can be changed only over generations.

7. Glasnost. In DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Alekseyeva, W 8) one of the first editors and contributors of The Chronical of Current Events recalled the 14-year-long history of this first independent journal on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of its first issue. While the program acknowledged that the current Soviet press has begun to treat taboo topics, the boundaries are dictated by the party and certain topics such as the KGB, the suppression of religious beliefs, the conditions of political prisoners and the use of psychiatry for political reprisals are still off limits. The new independent journals, such as Glasnost, Referendum, Express-Chronical, etc., were said to be the true successors of The Chronical of Current Events because they are concerned with freedom of speech, not just glasnost.

8. The Economy. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 2) cited a letter published in Sovetskaya Kultura of April 26 which attributed the much maligned rise in prices to mismanagement of natural resources and the costs of an excessive bureaucracy.

9. The Nationalities. DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Seytmuratova, NY 12) featured passages from a public statement addressing the CC of the CPSU in which Crimean Tatars born in Tashkent criticized the government's procrastination in returning them to their homeland and continued repression of Tatar activists, and expressed their indignation at the calumny against their people in TASS from 23 July 1987.

10. Society. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Henkina, M 5:30) described how the article by Daniil Granin in Literaturnaya Gazeta from 18 March 1987, in which he exposed and explained the atrophy of charity in Soviet society, caused a surge of individual charitable acts which culminated in a draft of regulations for a Soviet health and charity foundation by the state. The program suspected that while this development may provide positions for those officials threatened by restructuring, in the last analysis it will probably lead to the neglect of the needy.

11. Espionage. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 5:30), based on articles in Le Point from April 25 and May 1, reported on the latest Soviet industrial espionage affair involving four managers of a French machine construction plant who exported high tech products or plans thereof to the Soviet Union. The program agreed with Russkaya Mysl from April 29 that the false nostalgia of a Russian emigre had been manipulated by the KGB in the affair, and drew attention to new features of this type of espionage, such as the aid of intelligence agencies of other socialist countries. The exploitation of the new joint enterprises was said to have had only minor successes so far.

12. Culture. ON OVER THE BARRIERS (Dovlatov, NY 6:30) emigre writer Sergey Dovlatov marked the 100th anniversary since the birth of the Soviet writer Marietta Shaginyan whose literary, publicistic, and scientific works spanned almost 90 years. Dovlatov sketched the Renaissance breadth of Shaginyan's interests, praised her energy and capacity for work, and cited a few personal anecdotes bearing witness to a lively, energetic individual with the charming and intelligent eccentricity of becoming deaf when it suited her.

13. Religion. THE MILLENNIUM OF THE CHRISTIANIZATION OF RUSSIA (Rahr, M 29:30) took the occasion of the recent International Congress of Historians meeting in Ravenna on April 18 to review the continuing controversy surrounding the canonization of Prince Vladimir. The program agreed with Prof. Vladimir Vodov of Paris University who suggested that official evidence of Prince Vladimir's canonization was lacking.

14. History. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Mihajlov, W 6) greeted the open discussion about collectivization in the Soviet press and in this connection agreed with the English historian Robert Conquest that hunger was used as an instrument of terror to force the peasants into the kholhozes, citing a reader's letter from issue 12 of Ogonek supporting this view, and also that the tragedy of collectivization was a result of putting the communist ideology into practice. However, it disagreed that genocide of the Ukrainian people was intended.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 2) read a letter printed in Komsomolskaya Pravda from April 24 on the subject of

reevaluation of the past which recommended that attention also be paid to those who opposed the executioners of the past.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 4) continued leafing through old newspapers, this time juxtaposing an excerpt from Pravda published 20 years ago about the nonsocialistic, and even anticommunist features of the mass media in Czechoslovakia during the Prague Spring, with a passage from Zdenek Mlinar's book A Cold Breeze Blows from the Kremlin, in which he explained the situation of the media then.

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

1. Poland. JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Urbanskaya, M 8:30) broadcast a shortened version of a letter from Poland, sent earlier to the Polish section of RL, about the first public showing of the Polish documentary film The Witnesses by Martsely Lozinski. The film was said to be an interview of eyewitnesses of a post-World War II pogrom in the town of Keltse who in presenting evidence against the past evildoers expose their own latent anti-Semitism.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. NATO. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 4:30) noted that the concluding communique of NATO's nuclear planning group contains no concrete details about the modernization of its operative-tactical missiles, which was said to depend on the conditions of a future agreement on strategic nuclear arms.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 4), based on an article from The Los Angeles Times (Broder) from April 28, summarized the US Defense annual report to congress on Soviet military power. In addition to warning about Soviet superiority in armed forces and conventional weapons, and their access to high technology, the report advocated a reevaluation of NATO and Warsaw Pact arsenals to determine whether they should be reduced or strengthened.

2. Israel. JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 8:30) reviewed the events of the past week in Israel, concentrating on the two major happenings, both of which involved moral issues: the conviction of Ivan Demjaniuk of war crimes in Treblinka and the new rules requiring Soviet Jews to obtain their entry visas in Bucharest instead of Vienna so as to ensure their arrival in Israel.

3. South Korea. PRESS REVIEW (EVENTS AND PEOPLE) (Gregory, M 4:30) summed up the basically positive reactions of the newspapers El Pais and The Washington Post to the majority unexpectedly obtained by the oppositional party in the

parliamentary elections held in South Korea on April 26 and also quoted Le Monde's fears that these results show that the South Korean democracy is very vulnerable.

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

1. Art. On OVER THE BARRIERS (Barsky, M 7) the artist Vilen Barsky reviewed the artistic development of Mark Rothko, an American abstract artist of Russian origin, and gave his impressions of the silent, meditative, and abstract icon-like nature of Rothko's best works on view in the retrospective exhibition of his works at the Ludwig Museum of Modern art in Cologne, FRG.

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RADIO FREE EUROPE
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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Saturday, 30 April 1988
J. Benson

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

1. Soviet-American Relations. In a review of the major events of the week in Washington, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Polishchuk, W 5) mentioned President Reagan's plans to discuss strategic arms limitations and human rights at the upcoming summit; the problems connected with the Senate ratification of the INF treaty; and Secretary of Defense Calucci's speech on Soviet military might, in which he stressed that the USSR is still striving for military superiority over the West, continuing its aggressive military doctrine, and spending three times as much of its annual GNP on military expenses as the US.

SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, M 4) highlighted the main topics of the recent talks between Shultz and Shevardnadze, noting that due to major problems in the area of strategic arms reductions, a treaty will probably not be signed at the summit. Political observers were cited who said the last-minute Soviet delay tactics were aimed at obtaining favorable concessions.

SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, M 9:30) summed up the article in the West German newspaper Die Welt am Sonntag by former US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger in which he criticized the strategic arms treaty, called for more public discussion and information about it, pointed to the difficulties of verification and inspection, and recommended a meeting of the executive with the Congress to clarify the goals of the treaty and its consequences for future NATO strategy.

2. USSR-UK. SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, M 6) broadcast parts of a press interview with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher who remarked that Gorbachev had not changed his views since becoming General Secretary, expressed the opinion that Gorbachev was sincerely interested in reducing armaments, but stressed the necessity of a balance of power and modernization of NATO arms nevertheless. The program added that the Soviet Union is not only modernizing its remaining strategic arms but reorienting their positions in the direction of Western Europe.

3. Afghanistan. On the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the communist takeover in Afghanistan, OUR PLANET (Perouansky, M 2:30) described the different moods in Kabul: the joy of some local inhabitants at imminent peace; the anxiety of some government officials at the prospect of revenge by the Muhajidin; the trepidation of women at the prospect of a fundamentalist takeover; and the anticipation of Soviet soldiers returning home, some believing they had done their duty, others remarking the war had been a bad mistake that would lead to continued bloodshed.

4. Restructuring. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Tolz, M 7:30) wondered whether the current discussions in the Soviet press (the articles by Popov in Sovetskaya Kultura of April 26 and by Burlatsky in Literaturnaya Gazeta of April 20 about the system of management of the country and society) might not be an indirect renunciation of the party's alleged ultimate goal, to build communism. Burlatsky's description of the "correct" type of socialism, according to the program, suggests that the FRG is the best example of socialism, a country by no means heading toward communism. The program ironically remarked that actually communism does exist in the Soviet Union, but only for small groups who meet their own needs using any and all possibilities, including organized crime.

HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE SOVIET UNION (Malinkovich, M 12:30), a RERUN from April 29, agreed with Nikolay Popov's article in Sovetskaya Kultura of April 26 that a change in the ossified political system of the Soviet Union presupposes that the party renounce its leadership role and submit to control by elected councils. The program stressed in addition that the election system must be changed and the councils must receive broader functions, the rights of independent organizations and citizens must be guaranteed, and the Soviet Union must ultimately be transformed into a union of sovereign republics.

HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE SOVIET UNION (Chilidze, M 7) read an abridged article from issue 18 of the journal The USSR: Inner Contradictions by Valery Chalidze, one of the founders of the human rights movement in the Soviet Union, in which he stressed that Gorbachev is the first Soviet leader to want to change the Stalinist structure of government which has led to the current problems. Chalidze said that Gorbachev's introduction of glasnost, no matter how limited, was an important step in the right direction and would ensure him a place in history. While stressing the importance of the people's will for democracy, the author opined that Gorbachev's actions so far have proven the sincerity of his intentions.

Recalling earlier adaptations of Soviet history to the political exigencies, SIGNAL (Predtechesky, M 9) greeted with restraint the announcement at a Moscow press conference that new editions of The Soviet Military Encyclopedia and The History of World War

11 -- 1941 - 1945 were being prepared in the spirit of restructuring. The program cited a long list of blank spots in connection with the military-political adventures of Stalin and his successors which need to be filled in if, the program said, the editors truly want to reveal the whole grim truth.

5. The Legal System. HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE SOVIET UNION (Kaminskaya, W 8) advocated the creation of a constitutional court in the Soviet Union, independent of the authorities, which would ensure that the laws themselves do not violate the constitutional rights of the citizens. The program did not agree with a proposal that the Supreme Court take over this responsibility, pointing to its dependence on the party and the improbability that its members would oppose the decision of the CPSU Central Committee who first decides on a bill. A Moskovske Novosti article from March 20 was cited.

6. Stalin. OUR PLANET (Gordin, M 1) broadcast the contents of a police circular from 1904, which was recently published in the Munich-based emigre journal Strana i Mir, giving Stalin's personal data. The program ironically remarked that 162 cm was the size of a tyrant.

On WRITERS AT THE MICROPHONE (Voinovich, M 9:30) the emigre author Vladimir Voinovich suggested that the "illness" of so-called "simple people" now objecting to exposes of Stalin in letters published in the Soviet press is caused by their being brainwashed by the past idolization of Stalin and by a gullibility verging on stupidity. He then related a personal anecdote in which his own laziness led to his enlightenment about Stalin.

7. The Emigration. On WRITERS AT THE MICROPHONE (Yurenin, M 7:30) the emigre writer Sergey Yurenin told how he met Viktor Nekrasov in Paris and gave his impressions of him as a writer and a man.

On WRITERS AT THE MICROPHONE (Nekrasov, P 8:30), a RERUN from 4 March 1986, broadcast the last recording made by the emigre writer Viktor Nekrasov in which he argued the importance of not being earnest and reviewed what he considered a positive example of this philosophy, the book of photo montage-prose-poems entitled The Demarche of the Enthusiasts by the three emigres Vagrich Bakhchanyan, Sergey Dovlatov, and Naum Sagalovsky, which was published by Sintaksis, Paris.

8. History. As an example of glasnost in 1918, OUR PLANET (Nikolayev, M 1) read a letter published in Pravda from 16 April 1918 from the head of the Division on Profiteers of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission which encouraged informers to add their names and address to their unanimous denunciations in the interest of the battle against counterrevolutionary forces.

9. Religion. NOT BY BREAD ALONE (Rahr, M 14) tentatively interpreted Gorbachev's recent reception of a delegation of the Russian Orthodox church as the government's attempt to correct its erroneous policy toward the church. However, the program was not very optimistic in view of the past reversals of policy in 1943 and 1961, and demanded full equality of religion with atheism, no oppression of believers and the release of those imprisoned, the complete scrapping of the anti-religious legal system, and formal changes in the constitution, not simply restructuring. The program sharply criticized the Russian Orthodox church for turning into a devilish caricature of a church and challenged it to finally speak up in the era of glasnost.

NOT BY BREAD ALONE (Aksenov-Meyerson, NY 7:30) reviewed the lives of the Saints Yevfimy and Aleksandr Ozhevensky, famous founders of monasteries, whose namedays are currently being celebrated by the church.

10. Sports. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rubin, NY 5:30) avoided directly answering the rhetorical question posed by an editorial in Sovetsky Sport as to whether they (the journalists) had become better by reporting openly, in the spirit of glasnost, the exceedingly low figures on industrial workers and students engaged in gymnastics, but commented that actually the journalists were simply doing as usual what the directives from above demand, in the same exaggerated, enthusiastic tones.

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

1. Poland. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, M 5:30), drawing on a CND item and an AP dispatch from April 29, summed up the stalemate between the government and strikers at the Nova Huta plant. The program called attention to the fact that Poland has the most well-organized labor movement of all east bloc countries, contradicting Soviet claims that strikes are necessary only in capitalist countries.

2. Hungary. OUR PLANET (Gordin, M 1:30) reported favorably on the radio program in the German language now operating in Hungary during the tourist season.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The US. OUR PLANET (Gordin, M 1) announced the world tour of famous rock musicians and an international peace prize, both of which are financed by an American sports shoe firm, to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the UN declaration of human rights.

2. The Middle East. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Miloslavsky, J 10) analyzed the recent rapprochement of Syrian President Assad and PLO leader Arafat, and discussed the aims of an alignment of Jordan, Syria, and the PLO in the context of the tensions in the occupied territories. The Israeli newspaper Haarets was cited.

3. The US. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Polishchuk, W 3) highlighted the main events of the week, in particular the situation in the Persian Gulf and American dissatisfaction with lack of support for its NATO partners, the continuing pressure on General Noriega to leave Panama, the talks with the Canadian Prime Minister on bilateral free trade regulations, and a march of Protestants to win over Washington DC for Christ.

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

1. Religion. Following a reading the the New Testament, NOT BY BREAD ALONE (Benigsen, NY 8) broadcast a sermon on the relationship between life and freedom, the responsibility and restrictions of freedom, and the church's role in the service of others.

2. England. In light of the Soviet appeal to Sotheby's Auction House to organize an upcoming auction of contemporary Soviet art, OUR PLANET (Gregory, M 3) briefly sketched this proto-English activity, mentioning its advantages and pitfalls.

3. Rehabilitation of Criminals. OUR PLANET (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 3) described an experiment in Israel to prepare criminals to reenter society after completing their prison term.

4. May Day Celebrations. OUR PLANET (Gordin, M 1) recounted memories of regularly catching a cold during the organized preparations for celebrating the first of May.

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RADIO FREE EUROPE
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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Sunday, 1 May 1988
R. Moroe

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

1. Afghanistan After Geneva. AFGHANISTAN (Fistein, M 13) contained parts of UN Secretary General de Cuellar's speech on the occasion of the signing of the Geneva agreement on April 14 and RFE-RL correspondent Shuster's commentaries on the general atmosphere during the signing process and its possible effect on the future of Afghanistan. The first part of the program discussed difficulties in the course of the agreement signing process including the Wakil-Noorani clash over the Afghan-Pakistani border issue.

The second part of the "After Geneva" special on AFGHANISTAN (Fistein, M 16:30) was devoted to the ways out of the Geneva impasse. The Shultz-Shevardnadze meeting of March 23 failed. The USSR rejected the US idea of stopping help to both fighting sides and both the superpowers will continue providing military assistance.

THE USSR IN THE WESTERN PRESS (Fredtechevsky, M 5), based on April issues of the Neue Zuercher Zeitung and The Chicago Tribune, analyzed the Soviet reasons and those of Soviet leader Gorbachev, in particular, for the decision to leave Afghanistan.

2. Soviet-Polish Relations. COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Gorbanevskaya, P 11:30), based on Litynski's article in Tygodnik Mazowsze of March 16 entitled "Around the Katyn Tragedy" presented a review of the Polish clandestine press on the issue of filling the blank spots in the history of Soviet-Polish relations, particularly, in uncovering the truth about the Katyn Forest massacre and Soviet involvement in it. Some 59 representatives of the Polish intelligentsia were reported to have addressed an appeal to 55 representatives of the Soviet intelligentsia in February to try to square the circle in uncovering the truth in the mass murder of the Polish officers.

3. Restructuring and Changes in Eastern Europe. COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Simis, W 6:30), based on Washington Post articles of

April 1 and 3 argued that although the East European socialist countries dependence on the USSR -- Yugoslavia not included -- has always been an undeniable fact, the nature of these relations started undergoing changes since Soviet leader Gorbachev came to power. The program analyzed the process of liberalization presently taking place in East European countries, using the unprecedented Romanian-Hungarian conflict over ethnic Hungarians in Romania as an example. Gorbachev's liberalization policy has been gaining strength, and it is believed that it might cause a chain reaction and lead to a considerable weakening of ties inside the Socialist bloc, as well as in the Soviet dominance there.

4. The Leadership: Gorbachev vs. Ligachev. THE USSR IN THE WESTERN PRESS (Predtechevsky, M 8), based on The Washington Post, La Stampa Sera, El Pais, and the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, discussed the continued jousting between Gorbachev and Ligachev over Gorbachev's economic restructuring. The Los Angeles Times sees in their confrontation a struggle for real power rather than a clash of political interests, the outcome of which might determine Soviet policy in the near future. The Times (London) editorial of April 25 analyzed open discussion in the Soviet media around the issue of perestroika referring to Andreyeva's article in Sovetskaya Rossia entitled "I Can't Forego My Principles" which evidences the fact that reforms will continue to be opposed unless they bring noticeable changes.

5. The System and Restructuring. SOVIETOLOGISTS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Shragin, NY 20) discussed Frederic Starra's article in the weekly magazine Foreign Policy entitled "The Soviet Union -- the Civic State" in which the author skillfully analyzes the present situation in the country, changes which took place during the Brezhnev era, draws the new Soviet leader's ability profile, offers his own key to understanding Gorbachev's position as a political figure, and points out Western sovietologists' misconceptions.

6. Interrelation of Ecology and the Nationality Issue was the focus of a roundtable discussion on NATIONAL FORUM (Nadirashvili, Oganessian, Kushev, and Sultan, M 29:30). The nationality issue in the context of recent events in the Caucasus could serve as a factor determining the development of the situation in the USSR -- a catalyst for the perestroika process. Using the Nagorno-Karabach events as an example, the program debated whether the ecological problem in Armenia has been moved aside giving the way to the national issue. It was agreed that the ecological issue represents national concern for every nation and thus becomes the national issue in itself.

7. Glasnost and Chernobyl. THE USSR IN THE WESTERN PRESS (Predtechevsky, M 7) marked the anniversary of the Chernobyl nuclear catastrophe in the USSR two years ago and discussed the issue of glasnost in media coverage and discussion of the event, based on April issues of The Daily Telegraph and the Stuttgarter

Zeitung, according to which Soviet openness in this respect still leaves much to be desired. Although obvious progress in disclosing facts about the nuclear tragedy has been observed there are still blank spots in Soviet coverage of major issues such as Chernobyl, Afghanistan, Armenia, and the death camps during the Stalin era which are not being filled yet for fear that it might undermine party authority. Smiley's article in The Daily Telegraph was also cited on the subject.

8. Soviet Youth and Its Problems, as discussed by American historian and sociologist Prof. Richard Dobson in his recent lecture at the Kennan Institute in Washington, was the focus of COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Alekseyeva, W 6:30). His lecture was devoted to the problems of ideological adaptation of Soviet youth. According to Dobson, these difficulties are of two kinds -- general which are typical of the whole world and specific, those of a Soviet nature. The program analyzed the Soviet-type difficulties in the ideological adaptation of Soviet youth.

9. The Soviet Propaganda Machine never sleeps and Gusev's article in Sovetsky Sport is proof of the saying that "strength in habits is powerful." WORLD OF SPORT (Rubin, NY 4) commented on the article where the author deliberately draws a parallel between American sport and American politics. At this time of the US presidential campaign his article entitled "Voice-Hunting" states that the results in both fields are achieved at any cost.

10. Emigration. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanova, P 20), a RERUN from April 25, featured an interview with Soviet scientist Valery Soifer, who emigrated from the Soviet Union on March 13. Soifer, who is a specialist in molecular genetics, talked about his work on Lysenko and the history of the Lysenkovshchina.

11. US-Soviet Differences over the Recruiting System in American Professional Sport. THE WORLD OF SPORT (Rubin, NY 11) explained the recruiting system of young players by American professional hockey teams and focused on Soviet objections to its principles. President of Soviet Football and Hockey State Committee Koloskov was quoted saying that they "did not like the fact that this league (the NHL), without agreements with other countries' federations and prior to the contract signing, enters this or that hockey player's name on its club's negotiating roster. If he does not want to play with this team another one can get him only by paying off the team with his playing rights." There have been no difficulties in inviting foreign players, so far, including those from Czechoslovakia, but the long negotiations with the Soviets have not yet produced any agreements.

12. Chess. WORLD OF SPORT (Rubin, NY 5) commented on the results of the First World Cup Chess Tournament in Brussels. The program focused on the pros and cons of a unofficial system of bringing two world cup tournaments into one by including the

world cup in the decisive stage of the next cycle, i.e. in 1992-93. The program discussed ex-world champion and currently President of Soviet Chess Masters' Association Botvinnik's critical views on the issue.

13. The Movie Industry. OVER THE BARRIERS (Lemkhin, NY 5) highlighted the 31st San-Fransisco Film Festival, reported French film-maker Robert Bresson's award for his valuable contribution to cinematography and focused on Soviet producer Askoldov's success for his once taboo film Commissar shown after 22 years of sitting on shelves. Askoldov's abridged speech at a press conference was featured along with a report that the movie will soon be shown in 10 US cities -- an unprecedented event as far as Soviet films being shown in the US.

14. Poetry. FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 29:30) featured Losev's literary research published in the 55th edition of the Paris journal Kontinent entitled "Who is the Hero of the Poem without a Hero?" Akhmatova's poem and its dedication, according to most critics, is an attempt to merge several real individuals into one. Although Akhmatova's dedication is addressed to a certain multi-faced entity rather than just one particular individual, according to Mandelshtam, there was no doubt that it was her late husband with whom Akhmatova shared a long friendship. Losev's indication of the dedication date -- 27 December 1940 -- the date of the second anniversary of Mandelshtam's death in a concentration camp could serve as one of the proofs to the identity of the model for the hero of the poem.

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

1. China. OVER THE BARRIERS (Paramonov, NY 22:30) featured an interview with RFE-RL correspondent Genis about his impressions of a recent trip to Peking.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

None

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

1. Music. HIT PARADE (Berukshtis, M 20) presented the second part of its program devoted to the 70th anniversary of Ella Fitzgerald's birth.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Monday, 2 May 1988
D. Felton

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

1. Soviet-US Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 9) gave the abridged text of an interview given to Der Spiegel by US Defense Secretary Carlucci in which he spoke of the difficulties of verifying compliance with a strategic arms reduction treaty.

THE USA TODAY (Gendler, NY 4) reported on the signing in Boston of an agreement on the publication of a joint US-Soviet journal called PC World -- USSR. In connection with such joint ventures, the program mentioned the obstacle of the nonconvertible ruble.

2. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Perouansky, M 7) cited mixed opinions in the West as to what will happen in Afghanistan following the Soviet troop withdrawal. The program spoke of Najibullah's outward display of confidence, quoted former US Ambassadors to Iran and Laos, Sullivan, and El Salvador, White, on the nervousness and false confidence in Kabul, and The Washington Post's correspondent Ottaway on Kabul being in a state of virtual siege. Most East European diplomats in Kabul, said the program, feel that strife among the mujahedin could give the Kabul regime a chance.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Pistejn and Shuster, M 20) exposed the falseness of Soviet claims (e.g., by Iona Andronov in Literaturnaya Gazeta, and APN) on how Soviet soldiers captured in Afghanistan are tortured and intimidated by Western secret services into divulging valuable information about the Soviet forces and taking part in various anti-Soviet actions. They are warned that if they return to the USSR, the death penalty awaits them. In refutation of these claims, the program presented a telephone interview given to RL's special correspondent Savik Shuster by one of the soldiers concerned, Vladislav Naumov, as well as a samizdat account by Georgian human rights activist and former political prisoner Zakhary Lashkarashvili (AS-6144) of his acquaintance with a former fellow prisoner and Soviet soldier in Afghanistan, Kolya Ryzhkov, who told him how he

returned to the USSR from the US after having been assured by Soviet Ambassador Dobrynin that he would not be punished.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Gordin, M 5:30) discussed a book of drawings by Afghan children in exile published by an institute for the study of Central Asia. The program said the drawings present a chronicle of the war, and in fact reveal what the adults feel about it. The program saw the motive for publishing the book as being to ensure that such suffering does not occur again.

3. Dissidents and Human Rights. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyeva, M 5) remarked that while Soviet sources are now admitting the existence of political prisoners in the USSR, the numbers of prisoners given vary, and are several times lower than Western estimates of over 300.

4. Emigration. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 3:30), in a review of the Soviet press, cited an interview statement by USSR Deputy Civil Aviation Minister Vasin in Sovetskaya Rossiya of April 24 asking why seven musicians from Irkutsk who failed in a bloody attempt to hijack an aircraft in order to leave the country did not simply apply for permission to live abroad under the normal procedure. Also cited was a reader's letter in Argumenty i Fakty, No. 17, saying that "scum" who wanted to live in the West should be allowed to do so. The program commented that the people referred to are not so much anxious to go to the West as to get out of a country where they are called "scum."

5. Emigres. AT THE BOOKSHELF (Perouansky, M 29:30), a RERUN from 6 July 1987, featured the seventh installment of Soviet emigre writer Yuri Galperin's novel The Russian Version, published in Berne by the author's publishing house "Cherdak."

6. May Day. ROUND TABLE TALK (Roitman and Malinkovich, M 13) and THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Roitman, M 3) reported on the situation in the USSR on May Day. The program noted the reappearance of Western Ambassadors at the May Day celebrations as a result of the upcoming Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan, and the slogans for glasnost, restructuring, etc. Especial reference was made to the publication of various letters in the Soviet press expressing concern for the political fate of Gorbachev and restructuring, and calling for the democratization of the party and state structure, in particular on the lines advocated by Lenin. Now, said the program, Gorbachev seems to be staking everything on democratization since he sees no other alternative. While at the May Day parade the party leadership put on a show of unity, the letters in the press indicate dissent and weakness.

7. Restructuring. FACED WITH A CHOICE (Belotserkovsky, M 29:30) gave the abridged texts of an article by Grigory Pomerants in the 7th issue of the unofficial Soviet journal Glasnost in which he argues the case for a reinterpretation of

Marxism-Leninism (as opposed to Stalinism) in restructuring in the USSR, and an article by Soviet emigre writer Arkady Rovner published in the April 1 issue of Russkaya Mysl which sharply attacks Pomerants's viewpoint. The program author, in turn, took issue with Rovner's claim that the West was spiritually bankrupt, and that as a result, Russia should not choose the Western road but return to prerevolutionary forms of Russian statehood. The program concluded with the 8th installment of a book by the program author, Vadim Belotserkovsky, entitled Self-Management, to be published by Herder in Western Germany. The present installment outlines the political structure of a self-managing society in which traditional political parties could one day die out.

8. The Nationalities. THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Malinkovich, M 17; Krimerman, M 4; and Shapiro, Isr. 9) began with the text of an article by sociologist Sergey Maksudov entitled "Prospects for National Development in the USSR" which focuses on two major reasons for the Russification of Ukrainians, Belorussians and Moldavians, namely migration to another republic, and mixed marriages. After this, the program contrasted an article in the March issue of the Moldavian newspaper Komunistul Moldovey claiming that "the new social order has opened before the Moldavian language the possibility of all-round development and constant perfection," with the real situation, which is that Russian is the public language in Moldavia. Izvestia and the Moldavian press were quoted in this connection. The program then gave examples of how the nationalities are now speaking openly of the disadvantages, not only cultural but economic and ecological as well, which Moscow's nationality policy has brought them. The program concluded with the text of an introduction to a collection of articles by Tatar Bolshevik revolutionary Sultan-Galiyev published by a Central Asian studies society in Oxford (UK). The article notes that Sultan-Galiyev's concept of a nationalist Muslim Marxism is even today one of the most reviled forms of "deviationism" in the USSR.

9. Religion. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fotiyev, M 5) commented on Gorbachev's meeting with Patriarch Pimen and members of the Russian Orthodox Church's Holy Synod, during which he said that state policy toward the church should revert to "Leninist norms" under which the church had been guaranteed internal freedom. The program said Gorbachev thus implied that there was no persecution of the church under Lenin. The program suggested some of the "concrete questions" concerning the church's normal activities which TASS said the church leaders raised with Gorbachev, and in connection with Archimandrite Innokenty's reference to the church's charity work in an interview to TASS, pointed out that under Lenin the church was forbidden to do such work. The program also remarked that Gorbachev needs the church for his restructuring and glasnost campaign.

RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Fotiyev, M 13:30; Aksenov-Meyerson, NY 7; and Nazarov, M 9), after citing an article in Komsomolskaya Pravda by Soviet jurist Nazarov on the need for Soviet laws to contain guarantees of the rights laid down by them, highlighted an article in Moskovske Novosti of April 24 by Alexander Nezhny on how the rights of believers have been violated by the authorities, who for example close down or refuse to open churches against the believers' wishes, and refuse to register religious communities. The program wondered whether the leadership of the Russian Orthodox Church will dare to raise its voice in support of Nazarov's sensible proposal to establish a special commission to settle such problems. A hopeful sign, said the program, is the fact that Gorbachev received Patriarch Pimen and on this occasion praised the church's role in Russian history and culture, although he called for a return to Leninist norms as if there had been no persecution of the church under Lenin, and he also failed to mention the repressions against the church under Khrushchev. The program suggested what some of the "concrete questions" concerning guarantees of normal church activities may have been which TASS said were discussed by church leaders with Gorbachev. After this, the program reviewed the first issue of the new literary-philosophical Christian journal Vybor (The Choice), which among other things speaks of the spiritual choice now facing Soviet society. In connection with the present debate in the USSR on more freedom and democracy, the program then pointed to the Christian roots of individual freedom.

10. History. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Tolz, M 9:30) observed that while a lot of worthwhile material is now being published about Khrushchev in the USSR, and there are demands for the publication of his "secret" report at the party's 20th Congress, there is silence over his taped reminiscences. The program suggested as a likely reason the KGB's involvement in making Khrushchev's memoirs available in the West.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 2:30), continuing to leaf through old Soviet newspapers, cited the text, published in Pravda of 1 May 1948, of a Soviet draft of a UN convention on genocide. The program said that while the draft deserves praise, the Soviet delegation subsequently abstained from voting on the convention.

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

1. Poland. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 4) reported on the latest developments in the strike at the Nowa Huta steel works, and the unofficial May Day demonstrations and the arrests and mishandling of demonstrators by the militia. As regards Jaruzelski's statement, in his May Day speech in Warsaw, that "in order to be able to give someone more, you either have to take something from someone else, or produce more," the program

said that increasing production does not depend on the workers alone but on a number of technical and economic factors. If the economic reform is to be successful, it must be accompanied by a genuine democratization of both political and economic life. The program also mentioned Walesa's appeal to Polish workers to show solidarity with the strikers.

ROUND TABLE TALK (Roitman and Fistejn, M 3:30) and THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Roitman, M 3) reported on May Day in Poland, citing from Jaruzelski's speech and mentioning the strikes, unofficial demonstrations, and clashes between demonstrators and security forces.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 3:30) reported on the extensive French press coverage of the Polish militia's actions against unofficial May Day demonstrations in Poland, and the strikes in Nowa Huta and elsewhere, and Walesa's May Day appeal. Polish opposition activist Adam Michnik was quoted in Liberation on the reasons for Solidarity's hesitation in the matter of a general strike, and reference was made to the French government's special communique on the Polish developments.

2. The GDR. ROUND TABLE TALK (Roitman and Fistejn, M 3:30) and THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Roitman, M 3) reported on the May Day celebrations in the GDR, noting the heavy turnout of security forces designed to prevent a recurrence of manifestations of dissidence. Arrests of dissidents were mentioned.

3. Czechoslovakia. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Belotserkovsky, M 9:30) reported on an international conference in Cortona, Italy, on the 20th anniversary of the Prague Spring which included many prominent Prague Spring activists. The discussants spoke in particular of the valuable experience which the Czech experiment could have provided for reforms in the USSR. Unlike restructuring in the USSR, it enjoyed the active support of society.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 3), continuing to leaf through old Soviet newspapers, cited from a May Day speech from 1968, published in Izvestia of May 2 of that year, delivered by Soviet Defense Minister Grechko in which he spoke of the strengthening of the unity of the Warsaw Pact. The program then illustrated how the USSR went about doing this by quoting a passage from Prague Spring activist Zdenek Mlynar on how Czech Prime Minister Cernik was informed of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The US. THE USA TODAY (Rubin, NY 14) included items on presidential contender Michael Dukakis; the Senate's approval of a bill awarding compensation to Japanese Americans interred

during World War II; and an article in The New York Times of April 26 giving examples of how in the US, state enterprises have been performing better when faced with private competition.

2. Nicaragua. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Weinstein, W 5:30) reported on the failure of the second round of talks between the Nicaraguan government and the Contras to produce any tangible results.

3. France. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 2:30) said this year's May Day celebrations in France were dominated by the presidential elections. The Jeanne d'Arc festival put on by Le Pen's National Front was highlighted.

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

1. The US. THE USA TODAY (Paramonov, NY 3 and Dovlatov, NY 3) cited an article of Newsweek on the positive development of the American school system in the five years that have passed since a critical report by a national committee; and talked about pizzerias and other fast food restaurants in the US.

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RADIO FREE EUROPE
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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Tuesday, 3 May 1988

L. Mardirossian

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

1. Soviet-US Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 4:30) featured an article in The Wall Street Journal (Seib) of May 2 dealing with US officials' debating how hard they should push in negotiations for a strategic nuclear arms reduction treaty before President Reagan leaves office.

HUMAN RIGHTS (Fedoseyev, M 8:30), a RERUN from April 29, discussed the issue of human rights as a major factor in Soviet-US relations.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gendler, NY 4) reported that Alaska Governor Steve Cowper and State Senator Willie Hensley requested visiting Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gerasimov that Alaskan Eskimos be permitted to visit their relatives on the Chukotsk peninsula. Gerasimov said that he would take the request back to Moscow for serious discussion. Until the 1920s Siberian Eskimos routinely emigrated to Alaska. Until 1948 Alaskan Eskimos crossed the Bering Strait in motorboats to visit relatives in Siberia. The cold war put an end to the practice.

2. The Soviet Union and the Third World. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Vail, NY 7:30) featured an article in US News and World Report of May 9 on Gorbachev's current policy toward the Third World which is likely to be a reflection of his "new thinking."

3. Afghanistan. Pegged to the Geneva agreement on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, EVENTS AND PEOPLE and AT HOME AND ABROAD (Levin, M 8) cited Pravda's special correspondent, Col. Studenikin, who expected that Soviet soldiers will return safe and sound home from Afghanistan, as

expected in the April 28 issue of this newspaper, and discussed the Kabul forces' retreat from their positions near the Pakistani border and the intensified Mujahidin rocket attacks against Kabul. The program also included a comment on the upcoming visit to New Delhi by Afghanistan's President Najibullah.

4. Dissidents and Human Rights. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 5) dealt with various figures on political prisoners in the Soviet Union, citing, among others, Chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Court Smolentsev, who said, during a discussion in Copenhagen on March 23 on the theme of human rights, that currently the number of Soviet political prisoners both in forced labor camps and internal exile amounted to 41 and editor of the emigre journal Vesti iz SSSR Lyubarsky and head of the British delegation at the Helsinki follow-up conference in Vienna O'Keeffe, who both gave higher figures, 340 and 350 respectively.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Polishchuk, W 5) reported that a group of American Jewish leaders planned to hold a vigil in Helsinki from May 25 to 29 on the eve of the Reagan-Gorbachev summit conference in Moscow to draw attention to the plight of Jews in the Soviet Union. At a Washington press conference on May 2 Morris Abram, Chairman of the national Conference on Soviet Jewry; Richard Maass, Chairman of a newly created Special Jewry Committee in connection with the upcoming Moscow summit; and emigre Jewish activist Iosif Begun were cited on the unchanged treatment of the Jews in the Soviet Union. The action in Helsinki is timed to coincide with Reagan's stopover there en route to Moscow.

5. The Right of Asylum. Pegged to the recent emigration of some US people to the Soviet Union, namely, the Lokshin family, US serviceman Robert, and the US married couple Brang, HUMAN RIGHTS (Kaminskaya, W 7:30) wondered whether all of them can be described as political refugees because they were free to leave the US. The Soviet decision to grant them asylum was groundless.

6. Restructuring. AT HOME AND ABROAD (Fedoseyev and Malinkovich, M 7) reviewed and commented on an article by historian Shevtsova in Literaturnaya Gazeta of April 27 entitled "The Pledge of Democracy" dealing with possible ways and means to restructure the Soviet political system with the aim of implementing a self-governing social system through the disestablishment of the CPSU.

AT HOME AND ABROAD (Mihajlov, W 6:30) took issue with an April 5 Pravda editorial critical of opponents of restructuring, especially Leningrad teacher Nina Andreyeva who published an antirestructuring article in Sovetskaya Rossiya of March 13,

discussing the so-called "ABCs" of Marxism, identified as the correlation between ideology and interests. The program drew a parallel between Pravda's pointing out that opposition to restructuring is nothing but the expression of selfish interests and Andreyeva's similar reflection on the reasons behind anti-Stalinist campaign. Both advocates and opponents of restructuring have the mastery of the "ABCs" of Marxism.

In a review of the Soviet press on perestroika, AT HOME AND ABROAD (Nikolayev, M 3:30) excerpted from and commented on an article by engineer Zinoveva in Komsomolets Uzbekistana of April 20, including a condemnation of Stalinism, the Brezhnev era's stagnation, and the continuing tolerance toward social injustice and moral turpitude in connection with Leningrad teacher Nina Andreyeva's antirestructuring article in Sovetskaya Rossiya of March 13. In Sovetskaya Kultura of April 26 Soviet poet Andrey Voznesensky praised those people in the Soviet Union who protested against Sakharov's forced exile to Gorky under Brezhnev. The program lamented that unfortunately arbitrary and illegal persecutions have not yet been banned under openness.

HUMAN RIGHTS (Shragin, NY 11:30) wondered why the Soviet leadership has used the word glasnost while neither freedom of expression nor freedom of the press are mentioned. After discussing freedom through the centuries in Russia and elsewhere and its neglect by Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Mao Tsetung, the program took issue with Soviet Deputy Prosecutor General Katusev's warning against anarchy and unrestrained freedom. In fact he is opposing fundamental liberties and human rights, as contrasted with "socialist democracy."

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Henkina, M 6:30) dealt with an article by Soviet literary critic Vadim Kozhinov in the April issue of Nash Sovremennik under the title "Truth and Genuineness" critical of Anatoly Rybakov's novel The Children of Arbat for oversimplifying the personality cult. Kozhinov traced political terror back to the October Revolution and gave figures on human losses in Soviet Russia from 1917 to 1923 due to political repression and related developments, focusing on the 1933 famine which was worse than political purges in 1937-1938.

7. Is the Soviet Union Still a Police State? After reading a report in Argumenty i Fakty, No 17, that allegedly US, West German, and French intelligence agencies are currently being tried to destabilize the Soviet Union, ROUND-TABLE TALK (Roitman, Matusevich, and Malinkovich, M 20) said that undoubtedly the police state continues to exist despite restructuring and openness because the KGB has remained untouchable.

8. The Law. Calls for consolidating the law have become a leitmotiv in party documents and other studies by Soviet jurists, sociologists, and economists advocating restructuring. AT HOME AND ABROAD (Kaminskaya, W 6) noted that disrespect of the laws is a longstanding tradition in the Soviet Union because the party directives have taken the place of laws and have increased arbitrary decisions. Currently the Soviet leadership is aware of the catastrophic situation in the matter.

9. The Economy. Discussing the reasons why Gorbachev's industrial reforms have been inefficient, ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Shapiro, M 8) contrasted the law on state enterprises assuring them of considerable economic independence to the fact that Gosplan, the ministries, and other administrative bodies continue to be in full possession of their decision-making powers. References were made to the differences between ministries and enterprises, as reported in the Soviet press.

ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Shragin, NY 7:30) gave the gist of that chapter in a study by US scholar Ed Hewett entitled Reform in Soviet Economy which dealt with four different economic reform programs or what the author described as cycles in the post-Stalin period, one in 1957, under Khrushchev, and three others in 1965, 1973 and 1979 respectively, under Brezhnev. All of them proved abortive. Hewett viewed the Brezhnev-Kosygin reforms program of 1965 as the most serious and instructive. The Soviet leadership's administrative approach to economic issues has not as yet been revised.

ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Kroncher, M 4:30), in a RERUN from April 11, took issue with readers' letters in the Soviet press calling for administrative measures aimed at consolidating price control.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Polishchuk, W 4) carried an article by US Agriculture Department analyst Foster in the May issue of Agricultural Outlook calling the Soviet Union's grain production target for 1988 "unrealistic," despite the Soviet leadership's "intensive technology program" to boost Soviet agricultural output. The program also reported on current US-Soviet negotiations in London designed to expand Soviet grain purchases in the US.

11. The Nationalities. AT HOME AND ABROAD and EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 4:30), based on foreign press agency reports from Moscow, cited Crimean Tatar activist Reshat Dzhemilev who said in a telephone interview that the representatives of the Crimean Tatar movement for the return to the Crimea held their Fourth All-Union Conference on April 23

and 24 at Pakhta in Uzbekistan. The conference called for the rehabilitation of the Autonomous Crimean Tatar Republic in the Crimea, the rescinding of discriminatory measures aimed at the Crimean Tatars, and the release of those sentenced for their nationalist activities on behalf of the Crimean Tatars there. Two delegations will be sent to Moscow, one on May 18 to mark the Crimean Tatars' deportation day and another on June 20. Dzhemilev also said that the Crimean Tatars will seek international support for their cause. The program then discussed the continued Crimean-Tatar demonstrations and noted that various official commissions designed to settle the Crimean Tatar issue proved inoperative. Excerpts were read from a letter on the subject by Sakharov to Gorbachev.

AT HOME AND ABROAD (Fedoseyev and Bensi, M 11) presented a study by RL's Russian BD staffer Bensi (Sartori) under the title Allah Against Gorbachev, devoted to the Muslim republics in Soviet Central Asia, which was recently published in Italy, including an historical survey from ancient times to the present day with a focus on opposition to communism and the impact of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

12. Stalinism. OVER THE BARRIERS (Gladilin, P 9) said that victims of Stalinism are perfectly entitled to recall their misfortunes but wondered why some conformist writers of the Stalin, Khrushchev, and Brezhnev eras claimed that they suffered a great deal too. For instance Sergey Mikhalkov, the author of the Soviet national anthem and other hack-works, as stated in Ogonek. Other Soviet journals, such as Moskva, Molodaya Gvardia, and Nash Sovremennik continue with Stalinism.

13. Literature. OVER THE BARRIERS (Gladilin and Salkazanova, P 10) presented a novel by Yugoslav writer and professor of literature at Belgrade University Milorad Pavic entitled The Khazar Dictionary which was recently published in France and became a best-seller. This book is devoted to the Khazars, a vanished people who consisted of Turkic and Iranian tribes that established an empire in the second half of the sixth century. They covered the southeast sector of modern European Russia, and were crushed in 965.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Betaki, P 7) discussed revolutionary romanticism in Soviet literature in the 1920s and 1930s, focusing on its representative Mikhail Svetlov.

14. History. Continuing to leaf through old Soviet newspapers, AT HOME AND ABROAD (Nikolayev, M 3) read various reports on May-day celebrations in Moscow and the region, as published in the 3 May 1918 issue of Pravda. The same newspaper of 3 May 1948 included a report by its New York correspondent on the reasons why the Soviet Union voted against the draft Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide at the UN General Assembly in 1948.

FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 29:30) read the 10th installment of Solzhenitsyn's Gulag Archipelago.

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

1. Eastern Europe. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Perouansky, M 6:30), based on an article by Butturini in The Chicago Tribune of May 1 pointed out that only rhetoric, not reality, has changed in East European countries, especially Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Bulgaria. Human rights abuses and other forms of repression continue to be a commonplace, despite lip service paid to restructuring and openness.

2. Poland. EVENTS AND PEOPLE and AT HOME AND ABROAD (Gregory, M 4) reported that the workers' strike at the Nowa Huta steel mills is still continuing while that at the Stalowa Wola steel and heavy machinery plant collapsed. On May 2 a work stoppage was proclaimed at a shipyard in Gdansk. It was noted that the Polish authorities have appeared unwilling to use violence against strikers.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanov, P 5:30) highlighted a May 2 interview given to Libération by prominent Solidarity leader Adam Michnik, who discussed the reasons behind the moderation observed by Solidarity as the strikes in Poland were spreading. He said that one of the major reasons was the situation in the Soviet Union, namely, Gorbachev's restructuring and openness policy, which implies the possibility of changes throughout the Soviet bloc. Michnik excluded Solidarity's staging a revolution when chances exist for an evolution and praised "the dynamic of social transformation in the Soviet Union," which, he pointed out, is more important than Gorbachev's sincerity. As for the strikes, Michnik noted that they were the beginning of a revolt, the most important wave of discontent since that of August 1980, and were proof of the survival of Solidarity.

3. Czechoslovakia. After briefly profiling Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Potiev, M 4) dealt with his interview given to a Western journalist during which he discussed the problems the Catholic Church faces in Czechoslovakia and said that he is preparing a letter to the Czechoslovak government calling for greater freedom for the Church. Many previous letters to the authorities have gone unanswered. This time he has the backing of a 31-point petition for religious freedom signed by 468,000 Czechoslovaks.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. East-West Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE and AT HOME AND ABROAD (Vail, NY 5), a RERUN from April 15, dealt with a survey of the UN Economic Commission for European Affairs reporting a dramatic increase in the number of joint ventures between East and West.

2. Angola. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 5:30) reported that the US, South Africa, and Angola opened talks on conflicts in southwestern Africa on May 3 aimed at arranging the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

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

1. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY TODAY (Muslin, NY 27:30) discussed new tests for measuring intelligence quotients, a housing exhibition in New York, cable TV, oral and electronic post, a telephone device for the deaf and the blind, the manned spacecraft flight to Mars, and computer training in US schools.

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RADIO FREE EUROPE
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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Wednesday, 4 May 1988
M. Frost

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

1. Afghanistan. AFGHANISTAN (Fistejn and Shuster, M 29), continuing the series examining the future of Afghanistan in the wake of the Geneva agreements, looked at the advantages and disadvantages of the agreement for the Afghan people and presented an interview with State Department representative at Geneva, Robert Peck on the US interpretation of the policy of "positive symmetry" which has been agreed with the Soviets with respect to furnishing weapons to either side after the commencement of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the country. Peck's discussion of various aspects of the agreement was followed by an April 28 interview with RFE-RL's special correspondent in Islamabad Dee Smith on the the significance of the Geneva accord for the Afghan rebel groups operating from within Pakistan and concluded with an interview with US State Department official Elie Krakowski on the likely scenario of events in Afghanistan after the May 15 date for the proposed withdrawal of Soviet troops.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanov, P 15:30) covered a May 3 conference in Paris on the destruction of important cultural and historical centers in Afghanistan during the nine year war. The program described the damage inflicted upon the country by Soviet bombing and artillery strikes on the ancient city of Herat which was likened to Kiev in 1945. The program featured translated interviews with the President of the French Senate Alain Pöher and with senator Jaques Golliet on the irreparable harm to Afghan culture caused by the Soviet invasion.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 8) commented on the reasons behind Najibullah's official visit to India and described the complex relations between India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and the USSR. The program suggested that India's regional rivalry with Pakistan and its dependence on Moscow for sophisticated weaponry may have prompted the Indian government to host the current talks with Najibullah even though most experts agree that Najibullah's days as titular leader of Afghanistan are numbered.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Shuster P 5) presented an interview with Moscow correspondent Igor Dudinsky from Paris in which he described the tremendous difficulties faced by Soviet army veterans returning from Afghanistan to the USSR. Soviet society, asserted Dudinsky, is grossly unsympathetic to the needs and suffering of the young war veterans who are ill-fitted to normal working life in the USSR.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyev, M 6:30) examined the most recent Amnesty International report on atrocities perpetrated by Soviet forces against the civilian population of Afghanistan. The program described the Soviet bombing of for the most part peaceful caravans on their way to seek refuge in Pakistan and deplored the routine torture of prisoners in Afghan government prisons referred to in the report.

2. Soviet-US Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 4), based on an article from The Boston Globe and a CND report both of May 3, discussed the difficulties faced by the INF Treaty in the US senate. The program commented that, despite hitches in the ratification process, the treaty is likely to be approved in the near future.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 5:30) summarized President Reagan's speech in Chicago in which he outlined the four areas he intends to address at the upcoming summit meeting in Moscow: arms control, regional conflicts, US-Soviet relations, and human rights.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 3) reported on the visit by a delegation of Soviet economists to business departments at various US universities to study US marketing and management methods. The program used an article from The New York Times of May 2.

3. The Nationalities. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fishbein, 4) presented excerpts from an article published in Literaturnaya Ukraina by Abram Katsnelson who lamented the passing of the pre-war multinational cultural policies in the Ukraine where school instruction was undertaken in the dominant language of the local populace.

4. Emigres. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 13) broadcast a recording of a May 3 press conference in Paris by former political prisoner and leader of the All-Russian Social Christian Union, Igor Ogurtsov, who left the USSR in November 1987 after 20 years of imprisonment and internal exile. In his address Ogurtsov thanked all those individuals who fought for his release and described the current restructuring campaign in the USSR as doomed to failure unless progressive democratic forces are permitted to participate in the democratization process. After three generations of CP rule, Ogurtsov

contended, the people no longer have any faith in the party to bring about substantial democratic reforms in the USSR.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Gladilin, P 6:30) commented on the publication in Semya and Oktyabr of a selection of emigre poet Alexander Galich's poetry. The program profiled Galich's life in emigration and described how keenly the poet felt his separation from his native people.

5. Restructuring. HUMAN RIGHTS (Fedoseyev and Malinkovich, M 7) discussed an April 27 article in Literaturnaya Gazeta on the need to democratize all aspects of Soviet society, including access to information for Soviet citizens and fundamental reforms in the electoral system. The proposals to limit the power of the party and increase the authority of local Soviets would, the program concurred, bring a broader range of citizens into decision processes that affect the whole of Soviet society.

HUMAN RIGHTS (Shragin, NY 12:30) discussed national and international reaction to the Leningrad school-teacher Nina Andreyevna's March 13 letter in Sovetskaya Rossiya defending Stalinist values in current Soviet society. Citing readers' letters from Pravda and Nedelya, the program compared the lack of guarantees for human rights in the USSR during the Krushchev thaw period with the current absence of legal statutes guaranteeing the irrevocability of the present reforms in the area of human rights.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Henkina, M 5:30) reviewed reaction in the Soviet press to Leningrad schoolteacher Nina Andreyeva's letter in Sovetskaya Rossiya lamenting the usurping of Stalinist values in Soviet society by the liberal ideology of Gorbachev and the reform wing of the party. Citing recent readers' letters in Pravda and Sovetskaya Kultura, the program asked if the current leadership of the party is prepared to take the present criticism of Stalin to its logical conclusion and carry out the much needed restructuring of the party machine itself.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Malinkovich, M 5) reviewed articles appearing in Literaturnaya Gazeta and Izvestia calling for genuine democracy in the USSR. The program welcomed the appeal for changes in the regulations affecting the election of deputies to soviets at all levels whereby party candidates would enjoy no advantages over nonparty candidates.

6. The Media. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 3) presented a selection of readers' letters from Sovetskaya Kultura justifying the Stalin repressions of the 1930s.

7. The Judicial System. HUMAN RIGHTS (Kaminskaya, W 7:30), referring to a recent article in Literaturnaya Gazeta, discussed the apparent inability of the organs of justice in the USSR to comply to the letter of the law, especially in cases of corruption within the justice department.

8. History. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Tolz, M 7) reviewed an April 29 article in Pravda on the notorious trial of Tukhachevsky and the "red marshals" in 1937. Using a recently published book on the subject published by Overseas in London, entitled High Treason, the program discussed the possibility that Tukhachevsky and the others were framed by false documents from Nazi Germany in collusion with officers from within the NKVD.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Tolz, M 9:30) observed that while a lot of worthwhile material is now being published about Khrushchev in the USSR, and there are demands for the publication of his "secret" report at the party's 20th Congress, there is silence over his taped reminiscences. The program suggested as a likely reason the KGB's involvement in making Khrushchev's memoirs available in the West. The program was a RERUN from May 2.

RUSSIA YESTERDAY, TODAY, TOMORROW (Geller, P 10:30) presented the second part of a reexamination of the life and thought of Lenin focussing on the early part of his political career.

IN THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 4) presented articles from the Soviet press from 70 and 10 years ago on the location of the tsar and his family and on the success of the second volume of Brezhnev's autobiographical trilogy Renaissance.

RUSSIA YESTERDAY, TODAY, TOMORROW (Alexeyeva, NY 6) reviewed a lecture delivered by historian and former Irish ambassador to Moscow Edward Brennan to the Kennan institute entitled "Four Centuries of Western Reflection on Russia."

9. Literature. OVER THE BARRIERS (Dovlatov, NY 10) referred to an article in Literaturnaya Gazeta on the recently announced right to publish books at one's own cost in the USSR. The program compared the history of "vanity publishing" in the US and the USSR and argued that the main difference lies in the censorship restrictions applied by the Soviet authorities. The program regretted that no mention of the easing of such censorship was made in the February 19 announcement of the new regulation.

AT THE BOOKSHELF (Perouansky, M 29:30) presented the eighth installment of Yuri Galperin's novel The Russian Version.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Paramonov, NY 7) reviewed an article on "the little men" in Russian and Soviet literature published recently in Novy Mir.

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

1. Poland. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 6) reviewed US press reaction to the recent wave of strikes in Poland in The New York Times, The Washington Post, The Los Angeles Times,

The Christian Science Monitor, and The Chicago Tribune of May 4 and 5.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fotiyev, M 3) covered Pope John-Paul II's May Day sermon in Rome in which he called on all concerned parties to improve the living conditions of Polish workers.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. Israel. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Miloslavsky, Jerusalem 6:30) covered the Israeli operation in Southern Lebanon to destroy the bases of Palestinian terrorists in the area. The program stressed the limited nature of the operation which is designed to demonstrate Israel's resolve not to succumb to Palestinian pressure in the occupied territories.

2. China. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 4) summarized the recently published CIA report on developments in the Chinese economy. The program used AP and UPI reports and an article from The Los Angeles Times, all of May 2.

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

1. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Volkov, NY 10) discussed the significance of American pianist Van Cliburn's success at the Moscow International Piano Competition 20 years ago and played selections from his recordings.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dovlatov, Lisbon 5) backgrounded the International Conference on Literature taking place in Lisbon from May 3 to May 8 in which over 80 representatives from 18 countries, including the Soviet Union, are participating.

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RADIO FREE EUROPE
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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Thursday, 5 May 1988
M. Rudin

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

1. Soviet-US Relations. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Vail, W 3:30) highlighted an article in The Wall Street Journal of May 3 which describes the activities of American businessman James Giffen who has worked for many years to expand trade and economic ties between the US and the USSR.

2. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva and Shuster, M 20) featured a talk with Moscow journalist Igor Dudinski about the problems facing returning Afghan war veterans. Dudinski observed that Soviet society does not sympathize with the veterans because the war, fought on foreign territory, was not supported by Soviet citizens. The return of soldiers who have been demoralized by an ugly war, will be a trial for the Soviet government and the restructuring plans, the program noted, adding that the leaders should enter into serious dialogue with the veterans. In conclusion, the program featured a brief telephone interview with an American TV journalist who explained why the Soviet Union didn't show her movie about Soviet veterans, as part of five planned movies scheduled to be shown on Soviet television, in part, because it compared the Soviet Union's experience in Afghanistan with the US one in Vietnam.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Fistejn, M 5) talked about the situation in Afghanistan 10 days before the beginning of the official withdrawal of Soviet troops from the country. Among other things, it was noted that on May 4 a Pakistani official said that the Kabul regime is not taking any measures for the safe return of Afghan refugees from Pakistan, that the Afghan resistance now has five cities under its control, and noted that a large number of Afghan soldiers are going over to the resistance forces.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Matusevich, M 4:30) gave the gist of an interview with Soviet television correspondent Mikhail Leshchinsky in Kabul with Reuter correspondent Helen Womack. Leshchinsky admitted that the Soviet press did not tell the truth about the war in Afghanistan during its first five years

but goes on to say that he became a "new face for the new politics" in Afghanistan when Gorbachev came to power. The program observed that the Soviet press has criticized Leshchinsky's press coverage methods either directly or indirectly.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 3:30), in the series excerpting articles from old issues of Soviet newspapers, cited an article in Pravda of May 1928 about the visit of the Afghan Padishah to Moscow and his speech at a banquet at the Kremlin and an article in Pravda of May 1978 carrying the speech of the then Afghan leader Taraki about the April 27 revolution.

3. Human Rights. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Polishchuk, W 5) reported on a White House seminar on freedom of religion in the Soviet Union which was attended by religious and human rights activists and church leaders, including the head of the Ukrainian Catholic Church Cardinal Lubachivsky, representatives of the Ukrainian and Russian Orthodox churches and the Lithuanian Catholic Church, and recently emigrated priests and dissidents, such as Mykola Rudenko, Josef Begun, and Vladimir Shibayev. President Reagan spoke before members of the seminar assessing the rights of the church in the USSR and later met privately with Cardinal Lubachivsky at which time he told him that he would not cancel plans to visit the Danilov Monastery. The program noted that Gorbachev met with Patriarch Pimen and members of the synod and told them that believers have the right to express their convictions. The program used a CND report from Washington and an article in The Los Angeles Times, both of May 4.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Polishchuk, W 4:30) highlighted a letter sent by a group of US senators to President Reagan urging him to meet with a group of Lithuanian human rights activists during his upcoming visit to the USSR. Members of the House of Representatives also sent a letter to Reagan with the same request. The program also reported on a House subcommittee meeting on the status of civil and political rights in the USSR and noted Reagan's speech in Chicago in which he spoke of the successes attained by Gorbachev in the human rights sector.

FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 29:30) featured part 10 of a reading from Moscow writer Oleg Volkov's autobiographical novel Descent into Darkness dealing with camp life under Stalin. The book was published in 1987 in Paris.

4. The Law. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyev and Malinkovich, M 12:30) and THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Malinkovich, M 5) commented on a Soviet TV program of May 4 and 5 which showed the work of a meeting of the Public Commission on Humanitarian Cooperation and Human Rights devoted to questions pertaining to ways of improving Soviet law. The meeting was attended by high Soviet officials, Metropolitan Yuvenaly, the writer Dudintsev, and others. Among other things it was said that the work of the meeting showed some confusion and a lack of

constructive direction. Members of the meeting did not seem to have come prepared. The point was made that after three years of restructuring Soviet officials still are not sure about what to change in Soviet legislation. Golubev, from the Ministry of Justice, said that legislation in the economic sphere would be the first to be changed. The question of jurisdictional guarantees was also discussed at the meeting.

5. The Press. ROUNDTABLE (Roitman, Malinkovich, and Khenkina, M 20) featured a discussion assessing the status of the press in the framework of glasnost, pegged to the celebration of the Day of the Press on May 5. The discussants dealt with the question of whether the party newspaper Pravda, under the conditions of glasnost, can be a guarantor of glasnost and whether in more general terms the party can become a guarantor of glasnost. Opinions were expressed concerning the discussion in the Soviet press about whether to allow Stalinists the right to express their opinions in the Soviet press. Anatoly Strelyany was cited by the Moscow News as saying all people have the right to express their viewpoints.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyeva and Khenkina, M 5:30) featured a discussion on freedom of the press on the occasion of the Day of the Press in the Soviet Union. In part, it was said that provisions must be made for jurisdictional and legal mechanisms for a free press in the USSR and that they must be reflected in the Soviet constitution. The program also discussed the subject of whether the Soviet press should allow Stalinists the right to publish. The program agreed with Strelyany's view and pointed out that non-Stalinist denials should be presented in a serious and in-depth way.

6. The Economy. MAN AND SOCIETY (Nagrodsky, M 11) observed that in contrast to consumers in the West, Soviet consumers have no rights and said that against the background of democratization and restructuring the present practices of exchanging defective goods should not be tolerated any longer. The problem, noted the program, is that the Soviet Union never had an organization, as in the West, which defended the rights of consumers. The program noted that a consumer club was recently created in the USSR but expressed skepticism that the club would be able to do its job properly.

7. Society. MAN AND SOCIETY (Sharipo, Isr 9) talked about instances in Soviet life when innovations, trends, and developments in the cultural and scientific spheres were hindered by people who possessed the necessary power to convert personal ambitions into repression or prohibition. In this connection the program gave the gist of an article by Gubarev in Pravda of March 26 which described how two rank and file workers from a Soviet institute who invented a vaccine against meningitis were stopped in their efforts by distinguished scientists.

8. The Nationalities. DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 27:30) presented the first part of a reading of an unofficial open letter (AS 6192) by well-known Armenian poetess Silva Kaputikyan which presents the Armenian viewpoint in the Nagorno-Karabakh problem. The letter was addressed to Sergey Averintsev, Vyacheslav Ivanov, Veniamin Kaverin, Mikhail Ulyanov, and to "all honest workers in the science, cultural, and press sectors." The program noted Kaputikyan's speech at a party conference in Yerevan in 1965, not published in the Soviet press, which was also devoted to the national tragedy of her people.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Strunskis, M 5:30) reported on Congressman Hoyer's speech to Congress eulogizing the late Latvian human rights activist Gunars Astra and discussing the situation in Latvia, which was published in the Congressional Record of May 3. The program discussed the life of Astra who spent a total of 18 years in prison.

9. Military Expenditures. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 8:30) drew attention to articles in the Soviet press which show that one of the most guarded Soviet secrets -- the Soviet military budget -- is now being openly talked about. The program referred to articles in Kommunist, Novy Mir, Sovetskaya Rossia, Moscow News, and Literaturnaya Gazeta. The program noted that the Soviet military-industrial complex is against Gorbachev's glasnost and restructuring program and that it has depleted the Soviet economy financially.

10. Church-State Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rahr, M 5) cited comment on the meeting in the Kremlin between Gorbachev and Patriarch Pimen and members of the Russian Orthodox Church Synod in Handelsblatt, the Frankfurter Rundschau, Corriere della Sera, La Repubblica, and Le Quotidien de Paris.

11. Literature. OVER THE BARRIERS (Faibusovich, M 6:30) noting that Literaturnaya Gazeta of April 13 dealt with the question of socialist realism, gave a definition of the term as it pertains to Soviet literature. The program refuted the claims of many observers that socialist realism in literature always implies an ideology -- a loyalty and servility to the leaders. Socialist realist literature can be Soviet or non-Soviet, socialist or non-socialist, said the program author. It is an artistic phenomenon and its main trait is its optical approach.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Betaki, P 4:30) reviewed the first Russian language monograph on the works of Russian poet Osip Mandelshtam which was written by Prof. Nikita Struve and published in Paris. The book is divided into three sections -- Fate, Ideas, and Voice -- which describe and trace the development of Mandelshtam's poetic positions.

12. Art. OVER THE BARRIERS (Sapguir, P 7) discussed the life and works of Moscow artist Edik Shteinberg, whose works are being exhibited in Paris. Among other things, the program noted that Shteinberg was influenced to a large extent by the philosophical and religious legacy of Russian philosophers from the beginning of the century. Shteinberg was in Paris for the exhibit.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Yurenen, P 1) noted an upcoming retrospective exhibit on Moscow artists from 1957 to 1987 which will be held in Bonn and cited an interview with Bolshoi ballerina Maya Plisetskaya in The Washington Post of April 27.

13. Health. MAN AND SOCIETY (Khenkina, M 5), a RERUN from April 29, commented on the draft regulations of the Soviet Health and Mercy Fund which were published in Izvestia on April 26.

14. History. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Mihajlov, M 5) corrected Soviet interpretation of the events of the October Revolution, citing articles in The New Republic and Sovetskaya Molodezh.

15. "Izvestia" and the French CP Organ "l'Humanite" Polemicize on the Reasons for the French CP's Downfall in the First Round of French Presidential Elections. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirksy, P 5:30) gave the gist of both articles.

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

1. Poland. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 4:30) commenting on the continuation of strikes at the shipyard in Gdansk and the steel works in Nowa Huta, observed the ironic fact that both works are named after Lenin and pointed out that the Polish authorities did not succeed in their plan to make Nowa Huta the "first atheist" city in Poland.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Belotserkovsky, M 7:30) featured an interview with the head of Solidarity abroad, Milewski, who gave the latest developments in the workers' strikes and backgrounded the reasons leading to the strike. Milewski also said that Polish workers don't agree with Michnik's remarks in Liberation that Solidarity is not calling for a general strike so as not to hinder the democratization process in the USSR.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, M 5:30) excerpted commentaries from The New York Times, the Neue Zuercher Zeitung, and Die Welt on the strikes in Poland.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The Release of Three French Hostages Held in Lebanon for over three years by Lebanese Muslim extremists was reported by EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gladilin, P 4).
2. The US. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Vainshtein, W 6) reported on the results of the primaries in Ohio, Indiana, and the District of Columbia. The program used articles from The Washington Post and The New York Times, both of May 4.

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

1. JUDAISM (Lvov, Vail, and Haskelevich, NY 27:30) talked about the life of Hebrew prophetess Deborah who rallied the Israelites in their struggles against the Canaanites, discussed the role of women in Jewish religious life and the reformist movement in Judaism, and featured a rabbi's talk which noted the holiday Lag b'Omer and explained the medieval teaching of the Cabala.
2. Cultural Items. OVER THE BARRIERS (Yurenen, M 1) noted record-breaking sales at the Sotheby auction house and the filming of Nazi Hunter Simon Wiesenthal's life which will be a joint US and British movie production.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Gorbanevskaya, P 5) a RERUN from April 22, reviewed Andrzej Wajda's film The Devils.

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RADIO FREE EUROPE
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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Friday, 6 May 1988

D. Felton

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

1. Soviet-US Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 5:30) reported on the meeting in California between US and Soviet delegates at the Dartmouth conference in Texas and members of the American public. The program noted Soviet interest in what Americans think about restructuring, and cited The Los Angeles Times (Lynn Smith) on how impressed the Americans were with what the Soviet guests had to say.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Dubinsky, W 3:30) reported on the visit to Alaska by a Soviet delegation led by Foreign Ministry spokesman Gerasimov for talks on economic cooperation between the USSR and Alaska. The Journal of Commerce was used.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Vail, NY 5:30) cited an article in The Wall Street Journal (Peter Gamble) on US businessman James Giffin, a pioneer of US-Soviet business relations, and prominent Soviet economist Nikolay Shmelev in Novy Mir on obstacles to the success of joint business ventures.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Yurenen, M 0:30) included a brief reference to American movie actor and director Robert Redford's upcoming visit to the USSR at the invitation of the Chairman of the USSR Filmmakers Union, Elem Klimov, for talks on the cinema and environmental protection. Seven of Redford's films will be shown in the USSR during his visit.

2. Afghanistan. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Shuster, Geneva 9:30) presented a telephone interview conducted by RL's special correspondent Savik Shuster with Afghan resistance commander

Abdul Haq. Among other things, Haq criticized the Geneva agreement on a Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan, in particular on the grounds that the Mujahidin were not a party to it, and it is not in accord with UN General Assembly resolutions on Afghanistan. The only positive aspect of the agreement was the Soviet troop withdrawal. Haq predicted that the Kabul regime would not last long, and pointed to the disunity within the ruling party. The USSR would probably try to keep the regime in power, could install the Khalq faction in power, and might even try and partition the country.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 6:30) commented on the killing of Izvestia photoreporter Alexander Sekretarev in a grenade attack while on a mission in Afghanistan. The program recapitulated the Izvestia and TASS reports on the circumstances of Sekretarev's death, and observed that it is unusual for the Afghan partisans to use grenade throwers. While commiserating with Sekretarev's family and friends, the program pointed out that the Soviets refused to talk with the partisans on a peaceful withdrawal of the Soviet forces. The Soviets are also continuing hostilities and are shipping in arms for the Kabul regime. The program spoke of the twisted logic of Soviet correspondent Leshchinsky's complaining about the partisans' interfering with the departure of the Soviet troops.

PRESS REVIEW (EVENTS AND PEOPLE) (Genis, NY 5) reviewed American press comments on the prospects for Afghanistan following the Soviet troop withdrawal, which can be divided into pessimistic and optimistic. The program cited Newsweek (Stephen Stroesser), The Washington Times, and The Los Angeles Times (Congressman Solarz).

3. Jewish Affairs. JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 4 and S. Markish, Geneva 9:30), in a review of events in Israel in the past week, reported on the founding of a federation of Russian Zionists under Shcharansky for the purpose of promoting the absorption of Soviet Jews in Israel. The program noted mixed reaction in Israel to the initiative. A further review was included of issues of the Russian-Jewish journal Voskhod, published in St. Petersburg from 1881 to 1906.

4. Emigres. AT THE BOOKSHELF (Perouansky, M 29:30), a RERUN from 10 July 1987, featured the ninth installment of Soviet emigre writer Yuri Galperin's novel The Russian Version, published in Berne by the author's publishing house, Cherdak.

5. The Nationalities. DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 29:30) gave the text of the second half of an open letter (AS-6192) by Armenian poetess Silva Kaputikyan to "all honest men of science, culture, and the press" appealing for support for the return of the Mountainous Karabagh to Armenia.

6. Health. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Gordin, M 6), pegged to an article in Trud of May 6 on increasing infant mortality in the USSR, commented on the extremely high rate of the latter, which is on the level of a developing country. Only recently has the USSR begun to publish official statistics. The program said the Soviet figure of about 25 deaths per thousand would double if internationally accepted statistical methods are applied. As reasons for the high rate of infant mortality in the USSR the program mentioned the poor living and working conditions of Soviet women and inadequate medical care.

7. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Gladilin, P 6:30) drew attention to the present attacks in Krokodil against Soviet emigre writer Vasily Aksenov, the main initiator of the unofficial literary almanac Metropol. The program saw these attacks as part of a general campaign against this writer by the Soviet Stalinist press and said they indicate how fragile restructuring is.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Dovlatov, NY 6) reported on the Association of Independent Writers which has just been formed in the USSR, the objectives of which include providing independent writers with a legal public forum and equal status.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Yurenen, M 1) included a brief item on an appeal in the latest issue of Sovetsky Ekran by Chairman of the USSR State Cinema Committee Alexander Kamshalov to the country's movie makers to show restraint in depicting erotic scenes and not to show drinking scenes. A reference in Smena to an erotic scene in a Soviet film was also mentioned.

8. Religion. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rahr, M 5:30) discussed the composition of the high-level Catholic Church delegation to go to the USSR for the celebrations of the millennium of the Christianization of Russia. It was noted that the delegation will be received by Gorbachev. The pope's statement on the millennium was quoted.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Weinstein, W 4) gave the text of a letter sent to Shevardnadze by 32 American Senators calling for the release of imprisoned Lithuanian Catholic activist Father Sigitas Tamcevicius.

9. Sport. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Rubin, NY 5:30) drew attention to a typically frank article by former Soviet world champion weightlifter Yury Vlasov in Sovetskaya Kultura criticizing the excessive priority given by the Soviet sports apparatus to winning Olympic, world, and European championships, as well as the "total politicization" of Soviet sport.

10. History. ROUND TABLE TALK (Roitman, Tolz, and Malinkovich, M 20) was devoted to the difficulty of distinguishing between oppressor and victim in Soviet history, particularly during Stalin's reign of terror, and of finding heroes in Soviet history worthy of emulation.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 4:30), continuing to leaf through old Soviet newspapers, cited a Pravda article of 6 May 1938 on the neglect of valuable historical relics in the town of Pereyaslav. Also quoted was an article in Moskovskaya Pravda of April 20 of this year indicating that the situation in this area has not improved.

11. An RL Interview with Soviet Journalist Igor Dudinsky was featured in EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 36). Dudinsky began by referring to RL as a solid, thought-provoking radio station. He spoke of a conflict in the USSR between two schools of thought, the "cosmopolitans" or "Westerners," and the "derzhavniki," who called for Russia to develop along its own unique road. Both, however, hated Stalinism and Brezhnevian stagnation. The Soviet people is suspicious of restructuring, fearing that it could lead to social stratification and dominant capitalism. At the same time, it is imperative to restructure Soviet society's material base by emancipating the producer, particularly in the agricultural sphere. Dudinsky pointed to the problem of what to do with the 18 million "saboteurs of restructuring" mentioned by Gorbachev. The intelligentsia, he said, sees the party as the only force which, at present, can keep the country in order. The intelligentsia should provide the USSR with an alternative ideology, something which the dissidents have failed to do. The nationality question is of crucial importance. The Soviet "empire" suits the people, and it must be preserved, but the nationalities must be allowed to develop their economies, cultures, etc. Socialism also suits the Soviet people. Western society is productive, but soulless. Dudinsky praised Gorbachev for winding up the shameful war in Afghanistan. In conclusion, he talked about his ambition of having his own publication, which would be middle-of-the-road conservative.

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

1. Poland. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 5:30) reported on the violent methods used by the Polish authorities against strikers in Gdansk and Nowa Huta, and cited strike leader Szewczuwaniec that the strikes could not be stopped by such violence. The program commented that the Polish regime has no answer to the questions raised by Polish society in general and Solidarity in particular.

PRESS REVIEW (EVENTS AND PEOPLE) (Perouansky, M 8) reviewed Western press comment on the Polish strikes, the intervention by the security forces, and implications for Gorbachev's restructuring policy. The program cited l'Humanite, l'Unita (which both condemned the Polish authorities' action), Le Soir (Belgium, Paul Mathil), Corriere della Sera, The Times (London, Roger Boyce), and The Daily Telegraph.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Belotserkovsky, M 9) said Soviet reporting on the latest developments in Poland has been along traditional Stalinist-Brezhnevian lines, but it would be worthwhile for the Soviet leadership to pay serious attention to them in view of the fact that Poland has gone much further along the road of reform than the USSR, namely, to a point just short of true democratization, though grave problems remain. The Soviet leadership, the program suggested, could be afraid of the inevitable conclusion that reforms and democratization cannot be stopped halfway. The program said Poland may continue along the road of reform, and, in this connection, cited Italian CP official Rubbi that the Polish leadership can no longer fail to recognize the need for political and trade union pluralism.

2. Hungary. OVER THE BARRIERS (Yurenen, M 10) excerpted the book The Velvet Prison by nonconformist Hungarian writer Miklos Haraszti in which he describes Hungary as a country of "guided thought" in which a kind of alliance exists between the censorship authorities and conformist writers who are materially rewarded for their compliance.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The Middle East. JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 13), in a review of events in the past week in Israel, reported on the killing of 10 Palestinians during unrest in the occupied territories, commenting that the Israeli public's virtual lack of reaction indicates support for the army's operations there. The Israeli public and political parties, said the program, are also behind the army's operations in southern Lebanon. The text was then given of a letter from a bereaved Israeli mother (published in the Israeli Russian-language journal Alef) in reply to a letter by a bereaved Arab mother (published in the Israeli newspaper Davar) asking why she had been silent during past Israeli suffering at the hands of the Arabs.

2. The US. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Dubinsky, W 3:30) reported on opposition by American public and ecological organizations as well as by the federal Environmental Protection Agency and in Congress to the administration's plans to set up a

research center in Utah for antibacteriological defense in view of the development of bacteriological weapons by several countries, including the USSR. State Department official Lynn Hansen, Assistant Defense Secretary Welsh, and Utah Congressman Owens were quoted. The Los Angeles Times was used.

3. France. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 5), previewing the upcoming second and decisive round of the French presidential elections, focused on the debate in France over whether the outcome of the elections will be influenced by the release of three French hostages in the Lebanon and the freeing of further French hostages in New Caledonia.

4. Britain-Hungary. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, M 4:30) reported on Hungarian Prime Minister Grosz's visit to Britain. The program spoke of the popularity of Britain and Thatcher in Hungary, the two countries' common interests, Hungary's interest in expanding bilateral trade, the Hungarian economic decline, Thatcher's promise to help Hungary, and her praise for Hungary's social and economic reforms.

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

1. Religion. JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 0:30), reviewing events in Israel in the past week, briefly mentioned the celebration of the festival of Lag b'Omer.

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RADIO FREE EUROPE
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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS
RUSSIAN SERVICE

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Saturday, 7 May 1988

R. Moroe

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

1. US-Soviet Relations and the Third World. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Vainstein, W 4:30) pegged its report on President Reagan's May 4 speech in Chicago at a meeting of the "Forum on National Strategy" to the publication of a US-Soviet joint study -- the product of three years of intensive research -- which calls for further steps in the demilitarization of the US-Soviet competition for influence, particularly in the Third World. It also contains a proposal to restrain from a transfer of the most modern types of weaponry developed by the two superpowers to Third World countries and another which calls for NATO and the Warsaw Pact to reduce and modify their non-nuclear strategic forces.
2. US-Soviet Relations. Based on a New York Times article of May 5, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 3:30) reported that the Missouri State University is preparing a new series of books on issues of American history. The books will include materials written by Americans as well as by the experts from the USSR.
3. The US, the USSR, and Eastern Europe. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnisky, W 5) reported that the Congressional Subcommittee on International Affairs is conducting a series of hearings, the purpose of which is to determine US policy, in view of the continuing reform process in the USSR. The ninth subcommittee meeting was reported to have been devoted to the situation in Eastern Europe.
4. Arms Control. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Handler, NY 5) discussed commentary by US Secretary of Defense Carlucci published in The New York Times on May 6 on the subject of how sincere the USSR is about devising a new military doctrine that emphasizes defense and what its officials call a "reasonable sufficiency" of forces. Moscow still seems to take a very expensive view of military "sufficiency" and shows no inclination to reduce its forces except by mutual arms reduction agreement.

5. Air Defense. SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, M 10) discussed the specifics of the air defense system used to detect enemy aircraft. According to unwritten rules, pilots while within each other's visual contact even greet each other in the air. Under the circumstances Pravda's special correspondent Gorokhov's article reporting from the Soviet Central Air Defense headquarters came as a surprise. The daily routine in exploring airspace for possible intruders was interpreted as "some kind of escalation of tension" and building up pressure on the borders. While Gorokhov was recounting a number of such "violations", the question of Soviet "intruders" detected by Western radars evidently escaped his mind. The Pravda article appeared to boost the prestige of the Soviet air defense system which suffered greatly from the unprecedented landing of an amateur West German pilot in Red Square.

6. Is General Military Service Necessary? was the question raised on SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, M 13:30) in view of an approaching new generation of Soviet youth who have grown up in an atmosphere of restructuring and glasnost, have rid themselves of the conformism of the stagnant past, have developed critical attitudes toward everything including orders from their commanders, are disappointed in old ideals and are avidly searching for new ones.

7. Human Rights. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Vainstein, W 3) reported on President Reagan's May 4 speech in Chicago at the meeting of the "Forum on National Strategy." The speech was devoted to human rights issues in the context of US-Soviet relations.

8. Afghanistan. SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, M 4) discussed problems the Soviets are facing in their withdrawal from Afghanistan. According to Western observers, the Soviet military leadership is evidently concerned with problems not only of a strategical nature but also of a psychological nature. The program went into the background to these problems.

In its program "Afghanistan After Geneva" AFGHANISTAN (Fistein, M 18) concluded a series of discussions on the occasion of the signing of the Geneva agreement on April 14. Based on RFE-RL correspondent Shuster's commentaries and interviews with Sen. Humphrey, Kabul's resistance commander Abdul Khaque, and US State Department representative Elie Krakowski, the program focused on prospects for an overall Afghan settlement in the context of the Geneva agreements.

9. Corruption. WRITERS AT THE MICROPHONE (Perouansky, M 19:30) featured Voinovich's commentaries on materials in Soviet press on corruption in Uzbekistan and other regions, based on his book entitled Thieves and Demagogues. While discussing the notorious Uzbek affair, Voinovich stated that there is no end to the Uzbek mafia and its tentacles reach all the way to Moscow, Moldavia, Tajikistan, and Kazakstan.

10. Society. WRITERS AT THE MICROPHONE (Dovlatov, NY 6) presented the writer Dovlatov's commentaries in connection with a recent opinion poll in Moscow on the subject of living well citing results as published in Argumenti i Fakti.

OUR PLANET (Nikolayev, M 2) marked the 70th anniversary of the 1st of May State celebration in the USSR and presented an old Soviet press review on how this day was celebrated in Moscow and its suburbs in 1918, based on Pravda of 3 May 1918.

11. The Millennium of the Christianization of Russia. NOT BY BREAD ALONE (Aksenov-Meerson, NY 4:30) reported Church remembrance of Silvester Obnorsky on May 8 (April 25 in the old calendar), the Russian missionary Stephan Permsky on May 9 (April 26 in old calendar), and preacher and cantor Kiril Turovsky on May 11 (April 28 in the old calendar).

12. Religion. SUNDAY SERVICE (Rahr, M 50), A RERUN from 16 May 1987, featured an abridged Russian Orthodox Church service.

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

1. Poland. Based on Boston Globe, Christian Science Monitor, New York Times and Washington Post editorials, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnisky, W 4) discussed the situation in Poland. Commenting on Solidarity leader Walesa's statement that, if Poland does not conduct democratic reforms, there might be a revolution in the country, The Boston Globe underlined that the statement was not a threat but was a sound analysis of the situation there. According to many US observers, the Polish developments will inevitably have an affect on the development of the situation in other East European countries.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The US. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Vainstein, W 3) discussed the preelection presidential campaign in the US and its results.

2. US-Israel. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Miloslavsky, Isr 1) reported that Israeli Foreign Minister Peres will be leaving for the US on May 9 but his visit this time does not excite any particular hopes. Washington's will to keep Secretary of State Shultz's peace plan alive means that no further setbacks would be considered a success with little hope for progress.

3. Western Europe. OUR PLANET (Salkazanova, M 2:30) marked European Cancer Week, which was held by EC Western member-countries from May 1 to May 8. The seven days of discussions concerning united action to prevent, detect, and treat cancer were outlined.

4. Lebanon. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Miloslavsky, Isr 3:30) reported that Israeli Foreign Minister Peres, in a conversation with correspondents, said that the recent operation carried out by Israeli troops in Lebanon will not damage peace efforts in the Middle East. The program discussed the Israeli-Lebanese conflict based on the commentaries of some Israeli observers.

5. The Palestinians. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Miloslavsky, Isr 2) reported on continuing disturbances and demonstrations in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and Eastern Jerusalem although the number of bloody clashes between Palestinian demonstrators and the Israeli security forces have visibly reduced. The growing concern of observers is directed toward clashes between Israeli and Palestinian inhabitants in the Israeli-occupied territories.

6. The PLO. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Miloslavsky, Isr 1:30) reported the deportation of one of the best known PLO activists, Mubarak Avad.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Miloslavsky, Isr 1:30) reported that the editor of the weekly Al Auda in Eastern Jerusalem was detained under suspicion of instigating violent demonstrations. The weekly was shut down several days earlier by order of the head of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Jerusalem region for having ties with the PLO.

7. Israel. OUR PLANET (Nudelman, Isr 2:30) marked the celebration of Lag b'Ober on May 5 in Israel, a Jewish festival commemorating an unsuccessful revolt against the Romans in the second century.

8. The FRG. OUR PLANET (Gordin, M 2) reported on a new generation of students in West Germany with aged between 55 and 60. This is a phenomenon which has never before been traced in the country's cultural life.

OUR PLANET (Gordin, M 1) reported that when a young shephard was called to military service he brought with him 20 sheep since he had nobody to leave them with.

OUR PLANET (Gordin, M 2) marked the celebration of Mothers' Day on May 6 in West Germany.

9. Cinematography. OUR PLANET (Gregory, M 2:30) reported on a joint Anglo-American production of the movie entitled Murderers Are Among Us -- the Life of Simon Wiesenthal featuring an account of his life and tragic experiences in the Nazi concentration camp Matthaussen.

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

1. Religion. NOT BY BREAD ALONE (Benigsen, NY 8), a RERUN from 11 May 1985, was on Christ's encounter with a woman from Samaria at the well of Jacob.

NOT BY BREAD ALONE (Benigsen, NY 8) presented a Sunday talk on Samaritan Week.

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RADIO FREE EUROPE
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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Sunday, 8 May 1988
D. Felton

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

1. Soviet-US Relations. THE FORTUNES OF SIBERIA (Gendler, NY 3:30), a RERUN from May 3, reported on the visit to Alaska by a Soviet delegation led by Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennady Gerasimov, during which the issue of renewed contacts between Eskimos living on both sides of the Bering Straits was raised.
2. Foreign Policy. THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Predtechevsky, M 6) cited an article in The Economist expressing skepticism on Gorbachev's coexistence policy.
3. Dissidents and Human Rights. HUMAN RIGHTS (Malinkovich and Fedoseyev, M 11) discussed a program on Soviet Central TV on May 4 in which members of the recently created Soviet Public Commission for Humanitarian Problems and Human Rights talked about the commission's operations. The program described as a positive factor the public debate on the question of improving the human rights situation in the USSR, but found the discussion inconclusive and poorly organized. Legal guarantees for human rights were advocated, but there was no mention of bringing Soviet laws into accordance with international law, the announced topic of the discussion.

SPECIAL FEATURE (Fedoseyev and Lyubarsky, M 20) featured a talk with Kronid Lyubarsky, editor of the information bulletin Vesti iz SSSR (News from the USSR), on the situation regarding political prisoners in the USSR. Lyubarsky estimated the number of political prisoners at around 300, and said it is showing a downward tendency. There have been virtually no new arrests. Lyubarsky examined discrepancies between individual Soviet figures on the number of political prisoners in the USSR, and between them and Western estimates. He said that while conditions of imprisonment have not improved, there is hope that they will become alleviated as a result of revised legislation. At present, the Soviet leadership is hesitating to settle the problem of political prisoners once and for all.

HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE USSR (Kaminskaya, W 9:30) said that while the present democratization campaign has exposed the myth that in the USSR power belongs to the people, power still remains in the hands of the top echelon of the party bureaucracy. The present leadership's measures to stimulate individual initiative are characterized by timidity and inconsistency. The law on individual labor activity, as well as regulations on demonstrations, contain all manner of restrictions. Despite glasnost, the laws on anti-Soviet propaganda and slander are still in force. If the Soviet citizen is to assume a worthy position in the state, truly democratic laws and independent courts are needed.

4. Restructuring. COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Fedoseyev and Malinkovich, M 7), a RERUN from May 4, discussed an April 27 article in Literaturnaya Gazeta on the need to democratize all aspects of Soviet society, including access to information for Soviet citizens and fundamental reforms in the electoral system.

COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Henkina, M 5:30), a RERUN from May 4, reviewed reaction in the Soviet press to Leningrad schoolteacher Nina Andreyeva's letter in Sovetskaya Rossiya lamenting the usurping of Stalinist values in Soviet society by the liberal ideology of Gorbachev and the reform wing of the party. Citing recent readers' letters in Pravda and Sovetskaya Kultura, the program asked if the current leadership of the party is prepared to take the present criticism of Stalin to its logical conclusion and carry out the much needed restructuring of the party machine itself.

THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Predtechensky, M 14) cited an interview given to the Swiss Weltwoche by Prague Spring activist Zdenek Mlynar in which he expressed the view that Gorbachev has a good chance of pushing through his reforms, and ironic comment in the Stuttgarter Zeitung on a proposal by Moscow lawyer Lev Baranov to set up a Hyde Park-type Speaker's Corner in Moscow's Gorky Park.

SOVIETOLOGISTS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Shragin, NY 18) presented the second installment of Frederick Starr's article in the spring issue of the American quarterly Foreign Policy describing restructuring as an attempt by the party to adapt to developments which have taken place beyond its control as a result of the urbanization, individualization, etc. of Soviet society.

5. The Armed Forces. HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE USSR (Malinkovich, M 7) cited letters in the independent Moscow journal Grazhdanskoye Dostoinstvo (Civic Dignity) from Soviet soldiers and their parents on how soldiers are maltreated by their superiors and their rights violated.

6. Siberia. THE FORTUNES OF SIBERIA (R. Shapiro, Isr. 19:30) contrasted the chronic housing shortage in industrial areas of Siberia with the easy availability of housing in the West. Attention was then drawn to an article in the journal Zemlya Sibirskaya Dalnevostochnaya on the efficient farming carried out by the Lykov family, who lived nearly 30 years in the taiga in almost total isolation. The article clearly illustrates the contrast between the Russian peasant's traditional skill and experience, and the inefficient, regimented kolkhoz-style agriculture. The program said that the draft of a new law on cooperatives, and Gorbachev's speech at a congress of kolkhoz workers give grounds for hope that the peasant will have the right to farm at his own discretion returned to him.

7. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Paramonov, Genis and Vail, NY 27:30) featured a talk about the problem of the USSR's cultural orientation on the threshold of a crisis in inter-nationality relations. The program said that an ideology linking instead of dividing the peoples of the USSR cannot be a one-sided nationalist ideology. Especial attention was devoted to Soviet historian Gumilev's controversial article in Izvestia on the fruitful symbiosis and affinity between the Russian and Turkic peoples. There is much emotional opposition in the USSR to this and similar theories on the grounds that they are "anti-Russian." Russia's present heightened consciousness of being a Christian country is helping restructuring and could return her to the civilized world. The Pamyat society, however, has isolationist goals. Gumilev's theory was preceded by Trubetskoy's Euroasianism, opposed by such Russian emigres as Berdyayev. The program remarked in conclusion that appealing to the past, however, cannot solve the problems of the future.

8. Sport. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rubin, NY 5:30), a RERUN from May 6), drew attention to a typically frank article by former Soviet world champion weightlifter Yuri Vlasov in Sovetskaya Kultura criticizing the excessive priority given by the Soviet sports apparatus to winning Olympic, world and European championships, as well as the "total politicization" of Soviet sport.

WORLD OF SPORT (Rubin, NY 5) took issue with an article in Sovetsky Sport sharply criticizing former top-class Soviet sportsmen who "betrayed sport" by taking up jobs such as porters, loaders, butchers, etc. instead of becoming trainers.

9. History. FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 29:30) gave the abridged text of an article by R. Shapiro in Strana i Mir, No. 1, 1988, taking issue with an article by Igor Klyamkin in Novy Mir, No. 11, 1987, which attempts to prove that the 1917 Revolution and Stalin's forced industrialization and collectivization were historically inevitable developments.

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

1. Poland. COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Henkina, M 1 and Gorbanevskaya, P 13), in a further review of the Polish underground press, highlighted an article by Piotr Pacewicz in Tygodnik Mazowsze on the powerful potential for change in the USSR, illustrated by the Mountainous Karabagh conflict. The introduction to the program spoke of the Stalinist Brezhnevian-style reporting by the Soviet media on the latest developments in Poland.
2. Eastern Europe. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, M 6) gave the contents of an article by William Achickson in The Christian Science Monitor on the popular striving for political pluralism in the East European countries which is at present being suppressed by the authorities.
3. The PRC. WORLD OF SPORT Rubin, NY 10) gave the contents of an article on sport in the PRC by Trip Gabriel in The New York Times Magazine. The article spoke of the state's massive effort to develop top-class sport in order to win Olympic medals and world championships; after being persecuted during the "cultural revolution," sportsmen are now rewarded. In addition, the article noted that the PRC is not even considering joining the North Korean boycott of the Seoul Olympics.
4. Cuba. WORLD OF SPORT (Rubin, NY 5) expressed the view that there is still a slight chance of Cuba's taking part in the Seoul Olympics despite its present support of the North Korean boycott. In this connection, the program author recalled a chance meeting with a Cuban Olympic official at the Calgary Winter Olympics, and reported on the reaction of Cuban and Puerto Rican Olympic officials in an IOC delegation invited to the US.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The US. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 3), a RERUN from May 6, reported on opposition by American public and ecological organizations as well as by the federal Environmental Protection Agency and in Congress to the administration's plans to set up a research center in Utah for anti-bacteriological defense in view of the development of bacteriological weapons by several countries, including the USSR.
2. Angola. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Polishchuk, W 4) commented on the just-ended preliminary talks on a settlement of the Angolan question. The program backgrounded the problem, and saw an indication that the USSR has changed its policy of supporting leftist regimes in the Third World.

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 Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Tuesday, 10 May 1988

M. Frost

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

1. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 5:30) commented on the situation in Afghanistan on the eve of the planned commencement of the Soviet troop withdrawal. The program stated that despite Najibullah's claims to the contrary, it is becoming increasingly apparent that the regular Afghan Army will be forced to relinquish many important posts and towns to the Mujahidin once they lose the support of Soviet forces.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Shuster P 5) presented an interview with Moscow correspondent Igor Dudinsky from Paris in which he described the tremendous difficulties faced by Soviet Army veterans returning from Afghanistan to the USSR. The program was a RERUN from May 4.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Genis, NY 4) gave the contents of a UPI report from Moscow from May 8, describing the current activities of Afghan veterans in the USSR who are struggling against a "pact of silence" in the USSR concerning the nine-year old Afghanistan War.

2. Dissidents and Human Rights. HUMAN RIGHTS (Alexeyeva, W 8:30) gave the history of the Helsinki Accords monitoring movement in the USSR and described the spread of the movement from Moscow into the Russian provinces and the various Republics of the USSR. The program also commented on the changing social base of the movement which now consists of a broad spectrum of Russian society.

HUMAN RIGHTS (Maximov, P 9) profiled the life of prominent human rights activist Anatoly Marchenko who died in Chistopol prison in December 1987; Marchenko's autobiography has just been published in New York.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 5) reported on the American Psychiatric Association in Montreal at which former human rights activist Anatoly Koryagin addressed the congress on the plight of political prisoners still held in Soviet psychiatric clinics.

The exclusion of the Soviet psychiatric body from the World Association was also discussed and the program cited the director of the American Psychiatric Association on the need for Western inspection teams to investigate Soviet psychiatric clinics before the question of Soviet reentry into the World Psychiatric Association can be contemplated.

3. Restructuring. ROUND TABLE (Roitman, Belotserkovsky, and Malinkovich M 20), pegged to the recent declaration by the "Democratic Union" of the founding of a new political party independent of the CPSU and the arrest of leading human rights activists, discussed the prospects for pluralism in the Soviet political system. The discussants concurred that the recent spate of arrests for nonofficial publicist activities reflected the prevailing power of the conservative wing of the party. Expressing an exemplary plurality of views, the discussants disagreed as to the significance of the founding of the new political party: some viewing it as a courageous manifestation of civic rights, while others in the program considered the growth of factions within the CPSU to be the surest sign of political progress.

ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Krasin, W 8:30) commented on a speech delivered by Soviet economist and Gorbachev supporter Abel Aganbegyan at a recent seminar on restructuring in the USSR on the right of Soviet workers to expect a higher standard of living than they currently enjoy. The program pointed to the relatively high standard of living enjoyed by workers in the West and asked why Aganbegyan shied off making direct comparisons between Soviet and Western standards of living.

ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Shapiro, Isr. 10), almost one year after the introduction of the law on individual enterprises, described the paltry contribution of the private sector to the economy as a whole. With the exception of several Moscow restaurants, the program commented that individual enterprises have conspicuously failed to take off for a variety of bureaucratic reasons. The program also examined the success prospects of the new cooperative enterprises which are adversely affected by the same restrictive trading practices which have hamstrung individual enterprises in the USSR.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Paramonov, NY 5) summarized the contents of an article appearing in The New York Times of May 8 on the development of glasnost in the USSR from television programs on alcoholism and corruption in 1986 to a full-scale reevaluation of the role of the party in 1988.

ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Fedoseyev and Kroncher, M 5:30) discussed the proposed establishment of special economic zones in the USSR to encourage Western industrial cooperation and accelerate the economic development of the country. The program was RERUN from April 13.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Pimonov, NY 3:30) summarized an article in The Baltimore Sun by the newspaper's Moscow correspondent on the pace of Gorbachev's reform program in the USSR.

4. 19th All-Union Party Conference. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Limberger and Belotserkovsky, M 8) focused on an appeal by a group of intellectuals to the CP leadership to postpone the 19th Party Conference if, before it begins, the rules of electing the delegates are not changed. The program was a RERUN from May 9.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Malinkovich, M 4) discussed the significance of the upcoming 19th CPSU conference and the appeal by leading representatives of Soviet society, including Andrey Sakharov, to delay the conference to allow a democratic selection of deputies to the conference. The discussants concurred that deputies selected by secret ballot would be more likely to support Gorbachev's reform program than deputies appointed by the party administration.

5. Glasnost. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 11), a partial RERUN from February 19, gave French press reaction in Le Monde, Liberation, and Le Figaro to the founding of the Democratic Union and the arrest of long time human rights activist Sergey Grigoriants. The program then presented a February 18 telephone conversation with Grigoriants on his assessment of the effect, if any, of glasnost on Soviet society.

6. The Media. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 3:30) broadcast excerpts from a reader's letter to Izvestia from May 6 calling for duplicating machines to be made readily available to the population and read an article from Znamya Yunosti from April 28 sharply criticizing nonconformist organizations in the USSR.

7. History. IN THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 5) presented articles from the Soviet press from 60 and 10 years ago on the infamous miners trial of 1928 and on Brezhnev's latest work of literature Renaissance published in 1978.

8. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Betaki, P 10 and Savitsky, P 7) included items on the poetry of Maximilian Voloshin and on the French reaction to the showing of Alexander Akselrod's film The Commissar, based on Vasily Grossman's story of the same name which is being shown in Paris after being held back by Soviet censors for more than 20 years.

9. Literature. FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, NY) broadcast the eleventh installment of the third volume of Solzhenitsyn's The Gulag Archipelago.

10. Religion. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Potiyev, M 4:30) summarized an interview with the Metropolitan Leonid of Riga and Latvia published in Sovetskaya Latvia on April 29 describing the difficult conditions under which the Orthodox Church operates in

Latvia. The program commented that Metropolitan Leonid, in keeping with other recent Soviet press interviews with representatives of the Orthodox Church, avoided direct criticism of Stalinist laws which greatly restrict the activity of the Church in the USSR.

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

1. Poland. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 5) gave US press reaction to the continuing strike action at the Lenin Steel Works in Gdansk in The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal, The Washington Post, The Christian Science Monitor, and The Los Angeles Times from May 8 and 9.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. France. OVER THE BARRIERS (Salkazanov, P 10) described French television and film censorship which ensures that harmful advertising material is kept away from young viewers.

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

1. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY TODAY (Muslin, NY 27:30) was a RERUN from May 3.

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RADIO FREE EUROPE
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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Wednesday, 11 May 1988

M. Rudin

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

1. Soviet-US Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 5) previewed the upcoming meeting in Geneva between Secretary of State Shultz and Foreign Minister Shevardnadze which should finalize the program for the upcoming summit talks in Moscow. The question of the Senate's refusal to open debate on the INF Treaty because of the verification issue was noted. The program used a UPI dispatch of May 10.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 5) updated the previous item, reporting on the main topics to be discussed at the four sessions -- INF, regional conflicts, the problem of human rights, and bilateral ties between the US and the USSR. The program cited the remarks of a State Department official who is travelling with Shultz. A CND report from Washington, a UPI dispatch, and an article in The Los Angeles Times, all of May 11, were used by the program.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, M 4:30) gave the substance of an article in The Independent devoted to the problem of Senate ratification of the INF treaty.

2. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 7) said that the article by Dimitry Volsky in Moscow News of May 8 on Afghanistan is an obvious relapse to undesired stereotypes on the part of a newspaper which has become the mouthpiece for restructuring and glasnost. The program noted articles in Pravda and Izvestia which also featured articles on Afghanistan in the old tradition of the Soviet press.

3. Restructuring. DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Mihajolov, M 5:30) noted that the journal Ogonek organized a two-day discussion attended by well-known Soviet publicists, jurists, philosophers, and sociologists about how to make the restructuring and democratization processes irreversible. Ogonek published a report on the discussion, which according to the journal, was prompted by readers' letters expressing alarm about the absence of mechanisms defending the present course of liberalization.

The program observed that not one of the participants touched upon the basic question of the monopoly of political power in the USSR.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Belotserkovsky, M 9:30) highlighted and commented on Gorbachev's speech at a meeting with chief editors of the mass media and creative unions, saying that although he read the speech with great interest, in the final analysis he was disappointed. The program drew attention to some of the superficialities and contradictions in Gorbachev's speech which touched upon the upcoming party conference and various aspects of the restructuring program.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Perouansky, M 8:30) cited comments on Soviet developments in The Washington Post, The Guardian, The Independent, The Times (London), the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, and the Stuttgarter Zeitung. Gorbachev's speech to the country's top press leaders, ideological institutions, and creative unions and the question of opposition to Gorbachev's restructuring program, were items noted in the articles.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Muslin, NY 5:30) highlighted an article by Philip Taubman in The New York Times which dealt with the effect of restructuring on Soviet rural life and an article by Bill Keller in The New York Times on Gorbachev's economic reform.

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Bensi, M 10:30) noting that responsibility is an inherent trait in a democracy, observed that the Soviet leaders have not been able to master this practice. In this connection, the program pointed out that Soviet leaders continue to disseminate ideas and proposals through third persons. As an example of moral and political irresponsible statements, the program cited Metropolitan Filaret on Afghanistan.

4. The Law. DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Shragin, NY 12:30) in an item discussing the work of Soviet courts and judges and their feelings for law and order, said that the political interests of the ruling communist party are above the law. The program author recalled what happened to him when he signed a petition in 1968 in defense of four unlawfully sentenced people (Ginzburg, Galanskov, Dobrovolsky, and Lashkov). The program used articles in Bakinsky Rabochy and Stoitelnaya Gazeta.

HUMAN RIGHTS (Fedoseyev and Malinkovich, M 5) commented on a Soviet TV program of May 4 and 5 which showed the work of a meeting of the Public Commission on Humanitarian Cooperation and Human Rights devoted to questions pertaining to ways of improving Soviet law. The program was a RERUN from May 5.

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Kagminskaya, W 6:30) noted that the law adopted last year by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, according to which people can turn to the courts to complain about illegal actions taken by official figures, has been ineffective because the courts and procurators do not take independent action.

Reference was made to a talk by leader publicist Georgy Dolgov on Moscow Radio.

5. The Nationalities. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Polishchuk, M 4:30) gave the gist of an article by Richard Schifter, the Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights, in The Miami Herald about the Ukrainian Catholic church which has suffered the most in the Soviet anti-religion campaign.

6. Church-State Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fotiyev, M 5) commented on an article by Alexander Nezhny in Moscow News of May 8 about the recent meeting between Gorbachev and members of the Russian Orthodox Church. The program took issue with Nezhny's explanation that Gorbachev's recent meeting with Patriarch Pimen signifies a principal turning-point in the Soviet leadership's relations with the church, suggesting that it is more a case of Gorbachev needing the West in order to receive economic aid to save the Soviet system from a total breakdown.

7. Literature. OVER THE BARRIERS (Faibusovich, M 8) reported on a meeting in West Germany between German and Soviet literary translators which was organized by the Kurt Schumacher cultural and educational center. The program noted a speech by a member of the Soviet embassy who spoke about how the government is implementing measures to expand cultural exchanges between the FRG and the USSR. The program asked why the government should be preoccupied with literary matters.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Tolz, M 8:30) welcomed the new book by Boris Pankin, the former editor of Komsomolskaya Pravda, noting that it is perhaps the first in the new wave of literature from members of the leadership. The program filled in some of the blank spots in Pankin's reminiscences.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Sapguir, P 9) favorably reviewed the book Georgian Album which was written by leading Russian prosaist Andrey Bitov and published in Tbilisi in 1985.

AT THE BOOKSHELF (Perouansky, M 29:30), a RERUN from 15 July 1987, featured the 11th installment of Yuri Galperin's novel The Russian Version.

8. Cultural Items. OVER THE BARRIERS (Yurenen, M 2) briefly noted the international literary conference which took place in Lisbon and referred to an article in The New York Times on the two-day discussion which took place there about the chances of establishing equal relations between the USSR and Eastern Europe; reported that Tatyana Tolstaya became a member of the USSR Writers' Union; and noted that theater director Yury Lyubimov, who was stripped of his citizenship in 1984, went for a visit to the Soviet Union.

Drawing on an article by Gary Lee in The Washington Post of May 10, OVER THE BARRIERS (Yerenen, M 7:30) drew attention to signs of a new Soviet erotica visible in the theater, arts, and literature.

9. History. RUSSIA YESTERDAY, TODAY, TOMORROW (Gorbanevskaya, P 11:30) reviewed a book written by the late Pierre Pascal, a historian of ancient Russian literature, who went to Russia after the October Revolution and lived there until the late twenties. Pages of Friendship describes the fate of Russian anarchist worker Lazarevich who also went to Russia and together with other workers created in Moscow a conspiratorial group calling for the creation of trade unions. Lazarevich was subsequently imprisoned in Butyrka until he was deported from the USSR in 1926.

RUSSIA YESTERDAY, TODAY, TOMORROW (Tolz, M 2:30) read another document describing the state of villages before collectivization from the book Unheard Voices. The book, which was published in the US, includes documents from the Western oblast party archives.

RUSSIA YESTERDAY, TODAY, TOMORROW (Heller, P 10:30) presented part three of a program giving a political biography of Lenin.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 4) gave excerpts from an article in Pravda of 11 May 1918 which featured a speech by Yakov Sverdlov on the fate of the Czarist family. The program also cited Alexander Sokolov's book The Death of the Tsarist Family.

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

1. Poland. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 4:30) reported on the session of the Polish sejm which is discussing legislation giving the government special powers to push through economic reforms. The program cited Prime Minister Messner's speech to the Sejm. The end of the strike at the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk was also noted.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. France. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 4) profiled the new French Prime Minister Michel Rocard and discussed the reasons for his appointment. The program used articles in Le Quotidien de Paris, Le Monde, Le Figaro, and an AFP dispatch.

2. The US. DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Simes, W 8) explained how in the US, in contrast to the USSR, highly placed officials in the executive branch of government may be impeached for breaking the law.

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

1. The 100th Birthday of American Composer Irving Berlin was marked by THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 5:30).
2. The 41st Cannes Film Festival was dealt with by EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Matusevich, Cannes 3:30).

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Thursday, 12 May 1988

N. Petroff

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

1. US-Soviet Relations. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Dubinsky, W 4) reviewed the ongoing US Congressional hearings concerning ratification of the INF treaty. The program mentioned the problem of verification as a major stumbling block for US Senate approval of the treaty.

2. US-Soviet Trade. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, M 4) discussed the future development of trade between the United States and the Soviet Union. The program was pegged to Secretary of Commerce William Verity's recent testimony before the US Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe. At the hearing, Verity assured the committee members that the present US policy of linking the development of trade with progress in the area of human rights in the USSR will continue.

3. Afghanistan. MAN AND SOCIETY (Gordin and Shuster, M 27:30) devoted its entire program to children in the Afghanistan War. It featured a look at the psychological affect the war had on children, who as refugees in Pakistan, are daily reliving the aftershock, the nightmare and horror of war. The emotional scars suffered by these children are revealed in their drawings that the program analyzes. A RERUN from 3 December 1987 offered an interview with Dr. Preston Darby who provided an eyewitness account on the physical effects resulting from the premeditated Soviet policy of violence directed at the civilian population, especially the children. Another RERUN from 4 December 1987 discussed the forced relocation of Afghan children, on a massive scale, to the Soviet Union for ideological brainwashing. The program concluded with a talk with a 12-year-old Afghan refugee in Peshawar.

4. Government and Society. ROUNDTABLE (Roitman, Malinkovich, and Khenkin M 20) featured a discussion pegged to the upcoming Party Conference scheduled to begin on June 28. The discussants focused on pluralism and one-party rule. The program noted that despite the appearance in Moscow of the self-declared Democratic Union Party it would be premature to expect Gorbachev and his

supporters to recognize it or to initiate the creation of a multiparty system. A May 11 TASS article was quoted as saying that it would be contrary to the Soviet constitution to allow the emergence of an official political party that would be co-equal with the communist party. One of the discussants expressed his view that, contrary to popular opinion, it was possible to have a pluralistic society evolve under a one-party system of government.

5. New Political Party. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Panich, M 4) read an appeal by "Perestroika," an independent political club in Leningrad. It called on Soviet society to unite against the anti-perestroika forces that have coalesced within the CPSU. The appeal also announced the formation of a new socio-political party called The Union of Democratic Forces.

6. Human Rights. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyeva, M 5) spoke about the 12th anniversary of the founding of the Moscow Helsinki Group. The group inspired some of the reforms that, in the new spirit of glasnost and perestroika, have been recently promulgated by Gorbachev and his supporters. But, as the program pointed out, there is still much more in the area of human rights that needs to be done in order to make Soviet society more just and humane.

DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Alekseyeva, W 8 and Fedoseeva, M 17:30) discussed the founding of the Moscow Helsinki Group on 12 May 1976. The program also drew attention to the plight of two political prisoners, Boris Mityashin and Ivan Sokulsky.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitsky, W 6) reported on the Congress of the American Psychiatric Association that was convened this year in Montreal, Canada. One of the guest participants was Dr. Anatoly Koryagin, himself a psychiatrist and former Soviet political prisoner, who drew public attention to the abuse of psychiatry in the Soviet Union. The program noted Koryagin's recommendation to the congress that before the Soviet Union can be readmitted as a member of the World Psychiatric Association it must first publicly renounce the abuse of psychiatry and then free all its prisoners of conscience who are jailed in psychiatric asylums for their political and religious beliefs.

7. Society. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Malinkovich, M 12) discussed the meaning of pluralism in the context of Soviet society in the era of perestroika and glasnost.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Chenkina, M 7) discussed the pros and cons of legal reprisals directed against Stalin's henchmen and loyal executors of his murderous plots. Many of them are alive and well living as retired pensioners in their country dachas.

8. Espionage. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Levin, M 5) provided an obituary of the legendary double-agent Kim Philby. It was noted that, shortly before his death, the celebrated "spy of the century" marked his 76th birthday in Moscow.

9. Health Care. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gordin, M 6) commented on Soviet Health Minister Chazov's recent optimistic conclusions concerning future health care in the Soviet Union. The commentator remained skeptical that there would be any significant change for the better in Soviet medicine as long as it remains free of charge and under centrally-controlled state management.

10. Labor. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Gordin, M 8) discussed the lack of free time in the Soviet Union. Evidently, the average Soviet worker, especially the female laborer, devotes a large portion of whatever free time is available to the struggle for daily survival, rather than for relaxation with a book or the enjoyment of a hobby.

11. Religion. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Polishchuk, W 4) commented on an article in The Miami Herald by Assistant Secretary of State Richard Schifter who discussed the present condition of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the Soviet Union.

12. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Mirsky, Salkazanov, and Gladiline, P 27:30) was dedicated to the memory of Alexander Galich and Victor Nekrasov. The program noted that the previously-banned works of these popular authors are now beginning to receive official recognition in the Soviet Union.

FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 29:30) offered Part 11 from the autobiography of the recently-deceased human rights advocate Oleg Volkov entitled Descent into Darkness.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Genis, NY 5) discussed the US press reaction to the sensational return visit to Moscow of the exiled stage director and creator of the Taganka Theater Yuri Lyubimov.

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

1. Yugoslavia. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kushev, M 4:30) discussed the current political situation in Bosnia. The program first drew attention to the remarkable similarities between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. It was noted that the Balkan state, similar to its larger communist neighbor to the north, is a patchwork republic made up of diverse ethnic groups with dissimilar religious, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds. Recent events in Bosnia were compared with those in Uzbekistan where revelations of scandal and corruption spilled into the international press. The program reported how a younger reform-minded faction of communists in Bosnia used the occasion

of a party conference in April to hurl charges of corruption, amoral behavior, and a bevy of other faults against old-guard communist leaders.

2. Angola. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 4) provided a curtainraiser to the start of negotiations on May 13 in Brazzaville between representatives from South Africa and Angola. The two central issues on the agenda are expected to be the independence of Namibia and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, coupled with a South African agreement to cease military raids into Angolan territory.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

None

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

1. The Cannes Film Festival was reviewed in THE COUNTRY AND WORLD (Natusevich, Cannes, 4)

2. Religion. JUDAISM (Lvov, Vail, and Haskelevich, NY 27:30) discussed the role of music in the spiritual life of Judaism. Different types of ancient instruments as described in the Torah were also discussed. The program ended with the conclusion of a discussion on the medieval teaching of the Cabala.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Friday, 13 May 1988

D. Felton

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

1. Soviet-US Relations. PRESS REVIEW (EVENTS AND PEOPLE) (Gregory, M 4) cited comment in The Guardian (Hella Pick), The New York Times (Michael Gordon), and The Washington Post (Don Oberdorfer) on the Shultz-Shevardnadze talks which ironed out certain obstacles to US Senate ratification of the INF treaty.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 4:30) reported on an American-Soviet conference of young managers to take place in the US in December. The program cited press conference statements by USIA director Wick and Soviet Ambassador to the US Dubinin. A CND report from Washington of May 12 was used.

2. The USSR, the US, and Eastern Europe. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 5) gave the contents of an article in The Washington Post of May 11 by John Goshko on the influence of Soviet policy toward the East European countries under Gorbachev on US relations with the USSR and Eastern Europe.

3. Afghanistan. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Levin, M 2) noted the warning by the Afghan resistance that it will continue operations against the Soviet troops even during their withdrawal because it was excluded from the Geneva talks. The program referred to news agency reports on Mujahidin attacks, and pointed to evidence of a compromise between the Soviet Politburo and the Soviet command in Afghanistan on the size of the first unit to be withdrawn.

PRESS REVIEW (EVENTS AND PEOPLE) (Mirsky, P 6:30) reviewed French press comment on the Soviet troop withdrawal, citing Le Quotidien de Paris, Liberation, Le Figaro, and Le Monde. The program also quoted the Soviet First Deputy Chief of General Staff, General Lobov, on the strict schedule under which the withdrawal is to take place.

4. Dissidents and Human Rights. DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 5) gave the text of an appeal by the Leningrad Interprofessional "Perestroika" Club (AS-6203) proposing the

foundation of a "Union of Democratic Forces" in view of opposition to restructuring within the leadership and the power apparatus.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Polishchuk, W 11:30) featured an RL telephone interview with Soviet emigre human rights activist Anatoly Koryagin, an honorary participant in the annual conference of the American Psychiatric Association now taking place in Montreal. Koryagin spoke of the interest aroused by the papers he delivered on the use of psychiatry against people in general and Soviet dissidents in particular. The present changes taking place in the USSR in this field, said Koryagin, are illusory. The new instructions issued still allow forcible confinement in a psychiatric hospital. The USSR is using the weapon of psychiatry (Stalin could simply have people executed) in an attempt not to spoil its image. The threat of forcible hospitalization is also being used. Koryagin described as incomprehensible the apparent willingness of the World Psychiatric Association to readmit the USSR.

5. Emigration and Emigres. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Polishchuk, W 6) reported on the hearings conducted by a committee of the US House of Representatives on Soviet Jewish emigration. Audio Section material was used.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Henkina, M 4) took issue with comment by APN political observer Alexander Ignatov on the subject of Gorbachev, President Reagan and human rights. As regards Ignatov's statement that a specific legal and administrative system is necessary for transforming humane solutions of problems into reality, the program pointed to the endless references in the Soviet press to "legal errors" committed by Soviet courts. In fact, said the program, Ignatov is referring to a list of allegedly innocent American citizens who have recently been convicted, and to the fate of former Soviet citizens who cannot adapt to life in America. The program said it is hardly surprising that Soviet citizens find difficulty in adapting to conditions of almost total freedom. The USSR should show its concern for these people by granting them the pensions they well deserve. Throughout Soviet history, attention to emigres has taken the form of persuading them to return through all manner of organizations and emissaries.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Kublanovsky, P 8 and Gladilin, P 8) said the publication of verse by Nobel Prize-winning Soviet emigre poet Iosif Brodsky in Novy Mir, No. 11, 1987 and Neva, No. 3, 1988 is one of the major events on the Soviet cultural scene in recent months. At the same time, the program drew attention to a shameful, Zhdanovite-style article in Komsomolskaya Pravda of March 19 belittling Brodsky's work. After this, the program expressed pleasant surprise over the publication of songs by the late Soviet emigre bard Alexander Galich in Oktyabr, No. 4, 1988. The program amplified accompanying comment on Galich.

6. Jewish Affairs. JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (S. Markish, Geneva 11) continued reading from the Russian Jewish journal Voskhod, published in St. Petersburg during the period 1881-1906. The program focused on contributions by literary critic Semen Dubnov.

7. Gorbachev's Speech and the Upcoming Party Conference was the subject of ROUND TABLE TALK (Perouansky, Belotserkovsky and Malinkovich, M 20). The program expressed disappointment over the speech, delivered by Gorbachev on May 7 at a meeting with directors of the media, ideological institutions, and creative associations, on the grounds of its superficiality and vagueness. Gorbachev failed to react to the numerous proposals, such as made by Sakharov and other intellectuals, on democratization of the procedure for holding the conference. Gorbachev also insisted on retention of the party's leading role. At the same time, he spoke of the need for separating the functions of the party, the soviets, and economic management. His speech seemed to be an attempt to reconcile differences between the "conservatives" and the supporters of restructuring. He apparently failed to push through a change in the election procedure at the conference, and is uncertain as to its outcome. Gorbachev spoke of "socialist pluralism," and sees the conservative dogmatist as a major enemy. His support for allowing peasants to rent land gives considerable grounds for hope. The program spoke particularly of Gorbachev's efforts to have supporters of restructuring elected as delegates at the party conference, and summed up the results of restructuring so far. Although much has been achieved, such as in the field of glasnost, there have been no serious political changes, and much remains to be done.

8. The Nationalities. DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 9; Alexeyeva, W 7; and Fedorov, M 6) gave the texts of two resolutions adopted by participants in the Moscow International Seminar on Humanitarian Problems held in March, which the authorities tried to disrupt, despite the fact that the organizers of the seminar were in favor of an official human rights conference in Moscow. The first resolution (AS-6203) proposed measures to solve the USSR's serious nationality problems, in particular a broad discussion of these problems. The second (AS-6202), signed by Crimean Tatars and representatives of other nationalities, appealed for support for the Crimean Tatars' campaign for their return to their homeland. After this, the program reported on the reconstitution of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. Background on the group was given. The program concluded with a profile by former Soviet political prisoner Yury Fedorov of Ukrainian poet and human rights activist Nikolay Gorbali, still confined in a special-regime camp near Perm.

9. Chernobyl. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Muslin, NY 4:30) reported on an international conference in Kiev on the medical consequences of the Chernobyl catastrophe. USSR Health Minister

Chazov was quoted that the USSR had no reason to conceal any facts, Soviet scientists Knizhnikov, on an increased number of abortions in Belorussia, and Pyatak, on a "nuclear phobia" in the USSR, American doctor Robert Gale, on a possible increase of cancer cases, and IAEA Director-General Blix that the Chernobyl catastrophe should not hamper the continued development of atomic energy.

10. Literature. AT THE BOOKSHELF (Perouansky, M 29:30), a RERUN from 17 July 1987, featured the 12th installment of Yuri Galperin's novel The Russian Version.

11. Kim Philby. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Levin, M 3:30) excerpted the TASS report on the death of Soviet agent Kim Philby. Citing The Independent, the program said the report was couched in flowery terms instead of the usual officialese. The report contained untruths, such as that Philby began his espionage activities by fighting against Fascism, and also the curious claim that he loved his native British people.

12. Oleg Tumanov. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Henkina, M 6:30) discussed the interview given on May 11 on Soviet Central TV's First Program by former RL Russian Service staffer Oleg Tumanov. The program took issue with Tumanov's claim that there were only two classes of people working at RFE-RL, namely renegades and CIA agents, corrected his factual inaccuracies on RL staffers, and found his statements to be primitive propaganda more appropriate to the "stagnation" period in the USSR.

13. History. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 9:30), continuing to leaf through old Soviet newspapers, cited Pravda of 13 May 1928 on a speech delivered by the recently-rehabilitated Nikolay Bukharin in which he warned Komsomol members against "class enemies." Pravda of 13 May 1938 was then cited on secret police chief Yezhov's being put in charge of Soviet water transport, which marked the beginning of his political decline. Finally, the program quoted Pravda of 14 May 1948 protesting against the execution of Greek communist partisans. The program gave extensive background on the situation in and around Greece at that time.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 4), in a review of the Soviet press, cited an article by Arkady Vaksberg in Literaturnaya Gazeta of May 4 entitled "The Trials," on the trial of prominent Soviet journalist Mikhail Koltsov, as an example of the repressions during Stalin's reign of terror. The program then quoted from a report by Koltsov himself in Pravda of 3 March 1938 castigating the very same "enemies of the people" tried during this period.

In EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Matusevich, Cannes 5:30) RL's special correspondent at the Cannes Film Festival gave a positive review of a film directed by Yugoslavia's Slobodan Pesic about the

Leningrad avantgarde poet Daniil Yuvachev-Kharms, a victim of Stalin's repressions.

THE MILLENNIUM OF THE CHRISTIANIZATION OF RUSSIA (Rahr, M 29:30), a RERUN from April 29 pegged to the recent International Congress of Historians in Ravenna, discussed the controversy surrounding the canonization of Prince Vladimir.

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

1. Poland. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kushev, M 3) highlighted a May 12 editorial in the Italian CP newspaper l'Unita in support of striking Polish workers.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The Middle East. JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 6 and Roitman, M 8:30), reviewing developments in Israel in the past week, spoke of shifting opinions in Israel on the Palestinian problem, and said that Israel's fight against terror has been condemned by the UN Security Council and Western visitors to the upcoming traditional Israeli festival, and even by prime ministers of friendly countries. The reaction of many Israelis is to become more fiercely convinced of their own opinions, while others are afraid of being left alone in their opinion. Among other developments, the program noted public understanding for the latest price increases, and the announcement that the Demjanjuk appeal is to be examined by the Israeli Supreme Court in December.

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

1. Culture. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 4) gave an obituary on American science fiction writer Robert Heinlein, who died recently in California aged 80. The program author recalled his personal acquaintance with Heinlein, and being told previously by the editor of a Soviet journal that no fee would be paid to Heinlein for the publication of one of his stories since he was in favor of US aid to South Vietnam.

JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 2), reviewing developments in Israel in the past week, briefly mentioned a donation for the development of the city of Jerusalem made by prominent Jewish musicians, and a gift of an underwater studio made to Israeli TV.

BARRIERS (V. Betaki, P 8) spoke of the serious situation in this field, but observed that much is being done by private organizations, unlike in the USSR, where the state insists on a monopoly here too. The program suggested that preservation of ancient monuments would be a more appropriate sphere of activity for the unofficial Pamyat Society.

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RADIO FREE EUROPE
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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Saturday, 14 May 1988

J. Benson

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

1. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 8:30) found the concern expressed by the First Deputy Commander of the Armed Forces in Afghanistan, Colonel-General Vladimir Lobov, in an interview in Izvestia, that the withdrawal of Soviet troops must not interfere with the Afghan economy or the everyday life of Afghans extremely ironical in view of the destruction left in the wake of the nine-year long war. The program gave details on Soviet withdrawal preparations, noted the dangers and the disintegration of the Kabul forces, and related rumors according to which the Politburo turned down Soviet commanders' recommendations to withdraw a large contingent of soldiers at once for safety, because it wanted to avoid giving the impression that the withdrawal was a retreat.

2. Soviet-US Relations. OUR PLANET (Gregory, M 2) remarked that the antialcohol campaign has been instrumental in the increased sales of Pepsi Cola in the USSR and the permission given to the company to advertise on Soviet TV.

3. Human Rights. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, M 4:30) reported on the briefing given in Washington on May 13 by US Assistant Secretary of State Schifter, in which he pointed to several improvements in the human rights record of the Soviet Union, in particular mentioning the reduced number of political prisoners, the shorter sentences being meted out, a softening of anti-religious policy, and the doubling of the emigration figures for ethnic Germans, Armenians, and Jews over those of 1987. However, since the repressive apparatus is still intact, he said, the human rights issue will be included in all American-Soviet negotiations.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyeva, M 5) spoke about the 12th anniversary of the founding of the Moscow Helsinki Group. The group inspired some of the reforms that, in the new spirit of glasnost and perestroika, have been recently promulgated by Gorbachev and his supporters. But, as the program pointed out, there is still much more in the area of human rights that needs to be done in order to make Soviet society more just and humane. The program was a RERUN from May 13.

HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE SOVIET UNION (Malinkovich, M 3) read a passage from Nikita Khrushchev's memoirs in which he criticized the official policy of hindering people in their right to leave and return to their country at will. He said that such a policy undermined and defamed the accomplishments of the Soviet Union.

4. The Emigration. On WRITERS AT THE MICROPHONE (Voinovich, M 16:30) the emigre author Vladimir Voinovich recounted a dream in which he was invited to the Kremlin, showered with honors, but became the object of a persecution campaign when he finally accepted his old membership card in the Soviet Writers' Union. Awakening from his nightmare-parable, he reflected on the fear of books in the Soviet Union and the indifference to them in the West.

5. Gorbachev's Speech and the Upcoming Party Conference were the subjects of HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE USSR (Malinkovich, M 7). The program expressed disappointment over the speech, delivered by Gorbachev on May 7 at a meeting with directors of the media, ideological institutions, and creative associations, on the grounds of its superficiality and vagueness. The program was a RERUN from May 13.

6. The Military. SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, M 6) examined the Soviets' policy of rearming and relocating its Yankee-type missile-armed submarines in the Barents Sea, suggesting they were simultaneously compensating for land-based missile reductions in Europe and lessening the vulnerability of their submarines. The crews of these ships were said to be under great stress and have less leave than their American counterparts and consequently have more accidents.

7. Agriculture. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Limberger and Malinkovich, M 9) reported on a CPSU CC meeting on measures to improve agricultural production in the USSR. The program commented that the absence of a free market mechanism in the USSR is the single most important obstacle to greater food production which will not be overcome by the restructuring of collective farms nor by the introduction of family farming units. The program also noted the bureaucratic and popular resistance that Gorbachev's drive to reform inefficient Soviet agriculture is encountering in the countryside where the peasantry is suspicious of party and government initiatives after 70 years of Soviet rule.

8. Society. On WRITERS AT THE MICROPHONE (Dovlatov, NY 7:30) the emigre writer Sergey Dovlatov contrasted his 30-year experience with communal apartments and the intricate policy of swapping them in the Soviet Union with his experience in America, where the main factor in housing is money.

HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE USSR (Fedoseyev and Malinkovich, M 12) discussed the meaning of pluralism in the context of Soviet society in the era of perestroika and glasnost. The program was a RERUN from May 12.

OUR PLANET (Gordin, M 2:30) examined how the average Soviet citizen spends his average daily 2 hours and 24 minutes of free time, in particular emphasizing that the average mother spends only an average of 17 minutes a day bringing up her children.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Henkina, M 4), a RERUN from May 13 took issue with comment by APN political observer Alexander Ignatov on the subjects of Gorbachev, President Reagan, and human rights.

9. Sports. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rubin, NY 5) thought the main problem remaining for Soviet hockey player Vyacheslav Fetisov in his fight for permission to play for the New Jersey Devils in the National Hockey League (NHL) is the fact that the games take place in North America. The program doubted the genuineness of Fetisov's concerns about maintaining his army status upon his return, noting the salary he will earn abroad will make him a wealthy man. Articles in The New York Times of May 11 and The Globe and Mail (Toronto) were cited.

OUR PLANET (Gordin, M 3) predicted the current neglect of tennis in Soviet sports will change with the upcoming Seoul Summer Olympics. The program quoted complaints of the Soviet tennis player Andrey Chesnokov about the difficulties facing tennis champions in the Soviet Union, in particular the fact that the state receives all the prize money.

10. Rock Music. OUR PLANET (Nikolayev, M 1:30) read a reader's letter from issue No. 17 of the weekly Nedelya which criticized the chaotic nature and detrimental influence of rock music on Soviet youth. The program found it difficult to follow the reader's horror vision of Lenin's hair standing on end if he were to hear such music.

11. Religion. In connection with the millennium of the Christianization of Russia, NOT BY BREAD ALONE (Aksenov-Meyerson, NY 6) reviewed the lives and works of Saint Feodosy Pechersky, the father of Russian monasticism, and Nil Sorsky, the precursor in Russia of the "starets" tradition, to celebrate their namedays.

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

None

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. NATO-Warsaw Pact. SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, M 13) gave facts and figures documenting the superiority of the Warsaw Pact countries as regards conventional arms and troops in Europe and pointed to major problems being confronted in Vienna at the conference on disarmament in Europe, in particular the need for asymmetrical reductions in personnel and arms.

2. The FRG. SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, M 8) profiled the new West German Defense Minister Rupert Scholz and listed the considerable problems facing a man without military experience.

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

1. Religion. On the occasion of this year's final Easter church service, NOT BY BREAD ALONE (Benigsen, NY 3:30), an abridged RERUN from 18 May 1985, discussed how the Easter theme pervades the rest of the church year.

Following readings from the New Testament, NOT BE BREAD ALONE (Benigsen, NY 8:30) broadcast a sermon on physical and spiritual light symbolized in the miracles of Christ and the Apostles.

2. The 41st Cannes Film Festival. On EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Matusevich, M 4:30) RL special correspondent expressed dissatisfaction that the films so far shown at the festival were historical ones that only very indirectly allude to the present, if at all.

3. Computers. OUR PLANET (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 4) highlighted two recent feats of Israeli programmers: a pre-school educational program using computers for children of stone-age tribes in Africa and the computer indexing of the 40-volume Talmud.

4. France. OUR PLANET (Salkazanov, P 4) attributed the popularity among French youth of the newspaper Liberation not only to its analytical, scandalous, and witty reportage but most of all to its wide range of want ads, a selection of which were read.

5. Madonna. OUR PLANET (Gordin, M 1) told of the American pop artist Madonna's flop as an actress on Broadway.

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RADIO FREE EUROPE
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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Sunday, 15 May 1988

R. Moroe

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

1. The INF Treaty. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnicki, W 0:30) reported that in accordance with White House spokesman Fitzwater's announcement of May 13, the US Congress will meet next week to discuss the US-Soviet INF treaty, so that it is ratified before the superpower summit.
2. Underground Nuclear Testing. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnicki, W 1) reported that the formation of an antiunderground nuclear testing coalition in the US consisting of 30 social groups was timed with the US-Soviet summit in Moscow. Its 10-man delegation intend to travel to Moscow to call on the two leaders for further progress in the arms control area. They also plan to discuss arms disarmament issues with Academician Sakharov.
3. US-Soviet Trade. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnicki, W 2) summarized US Commerce Secretary Verity's speech at a meeting held this week in Washington by the US Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe on the prospects for US-Soviet trade relations. The speaker underlined that progress in their relations will, as before, be linked to better results in the human rights area in the Soviet Union.
4. Israeli-Soviet Relations and Soviet Policies on the Middle East. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Miloslavsky, Jer 3). The talks between Israeli Foreign Minister Peres and his Soviet counterpart during a Socialist International meeting in Madrid was reported to have been productive, based on their equally optimistic remarks after the meeting. Peres urged the Soviets to speed up their efforts to improve contacts with Israel. It is believed that the prospects of an Israeli delegation's visit to Moscow have improved.

5. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Paramonov, NY 4) discussed prospects of political and military developments in Afghanistan in connection with the Soviet withdrawal. The New York Times assessed the Kabul regime and Mujahidin forces potentials at present, based on the opinions of Western diplomats in Kabul who gave priority to the Mujahidin. A major objective in their military and political strategy is to take over any large city -- Jalalabad, Kandahar, etc. which will be a heavy psychological blow on the regime. The Christian Science Monitor reported that the Afghan regime intends to transfer its capital from Kabul to the Northern city of Mazar-i-Sharif near Soviet borders and pointed to a split among the Mujahidin over attacking Kabul. The Los Angeles Times noted that the Soviets are tasting defeat in withdrawing.

Part I of a roundtable on FACE TO FACE WITH THE EVENT (Fistejn, M 51) discussed the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan and the problems and developments around it. UN-mediator Cordovez' speech was optimistic on prospects of the formation of the coalition government and the return of refugees. The program discussed Najibullah's chances of maintaining central power in Afghanistan, highlighted several commonly acknowledged drawbacks to the Geneva accords, and discussed reasons for the Soviet pullout.

Part II of a roundtable on FACE TO FACE WITH THE EVENT (Fistejn, M 51) argued the Soviet version of the Afghan campaign, as presented in Moskovskiye Novosti, and the meaning of the term "the limited contingent." It gave an historical review of how the Soviets managed to systematically build-up their "limited contingent" from 30,000 (1979) to 115,000 (1988) and also included General Grigorenko's views (1983) on the size of the theater of operations in Afghanistan. Recalling the first one-sided Soviet-Afghan confrontations, the program noted that the Soviets would have indeed required only a limited contingent to fight bare-handed Afghans and to avoid demoralization of the army. US Stingers have helped to balance the war. It appears that the Soviet propaganda machine will increase its efforts in drawing a parallel between the World War II heroics and the Afghan War which may meet with skepticism from World War II Soviet veterans.

Part III of a roundtable on FACE TO FACE WITH THE EVENT (Fistejn, M 53) dealt with military developments in Afghanistan entailed by the Soviet withdrawal and referred to the intensification of Mujahidin attacks on the Soviets during their evacuation from the region of Jalalabad. In the words of one of the Afghan resistance leaders, this will be taken as soon as the Soviets leave. Almost every city will present similar problems, with the exception of tableland and climatically mild Kandahar. The roundtable analyzed the Mujahidin's prospects from the military point of view.

Part IV of a roundtable on FACE TO FACE WITH THE EVENT (Fistejn, M 90) included speculation on a possible escalation of tension in Pakistan, the prospects of Afghan-Pakistani relations there, the type of weaponry that the Mujahidin and the Kabul-regime will receive in future, and whether the USSR can count on Najibullah. The fact that the USSR wants no part in the formation of the coalition government points to its loss of interest in the country and its intention to leave as quickly as it can. The idea of the Marxist government has collapsed and the idea to divide the country into Northern and Southern Afghanistan would be absurd, artificial, and not viable. In the conclusion the program reviewed contradictory articles in the Soviet press on the subject of the Afghan resistance fighters.

6. Military Expenditures. COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Levin, M 6), an abridged RERUN from May 5, drew attention to articles in the Soviet press which show that one of the most guarded Soviet secrets, the Soviet military budget, is now being openly talked about. The program referred to articles in Kommunist, Novy Mir, Sovetskaya Rossiya, Moscow News, and Literaturnaya Gazeta. The program noted that the Soviet military-industrial complex is against Gorbachev's glasnost and restructuring program and that it has depleted the Soviet economy.

7. Human Rights and the Jewish Emigration. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnicki, W 1:30) reported President Reagan's White House meetings this week with the leaders of various Jewish organizations during which the president stated that he intends to include human rights and Jewish emigration issues on the Moscow summit agenda along with issues such as arms control, regional conflicts, and the improvement of US-Soviet bilateral relations. The program discussed the condition of Jewish refuseniks in the USSR.

8. Estonia and Latvia. A round table on NATIONAL FORUM (Nadirashvili, Malinkovich, and Messilane, M 27:30) discussed the April event in Estonia and the joint plenum of the Council of Estonian Cultural Unions, the significance of which extends beyond the boundaries of the Estonian Republic. The seven-point resolution adopted at the plenum demanding radical changes in the management of the country was sent to the 19th CPSU Conference. The program discussed the Estonian leadership's reaction to the proposals for radical changes and outlined and commented on each out of the seven points of the resolution. The program drew a parallel to the activities of Latvian intellectuals "waging an attack" on the juridical and historical fields by forming a special committee to investigate the "evils of Stalinism" and to conduct research into the fate of every victim of the 43,231 deported in 1949 in the collectivization campaign.

9. Society. "The Soviet Union-the Civil Society," an article by the American historian Starr, was the subject of SOVIETOLOGISTS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Shragin, NY 20). It focused on the reasons for the 50-years-old "paralysis" of the Soviet historical and social sciences. Soviet historical experience appears to have been uprooted from the context of world development which has led to ignorance. Now that the stagnant Soviet society has shown new tendencies in becoming more liberal this raises the question of how far this process will go. This depends on the perceptiveness of the party and the government. Soviet leader Gorbachev's task in this respect is to adapt the existing system to a new social realism to avoid a direct confrontation between the party and society.

OUR PLANET (Gordin, M 2:30), a RERUN from May 14, examined how the average Soviet citizen spends his daily two hours and 24 minutes of free time, in particular, emphasizing that the average mother spends only 17 minutes a day bringing up her children.

10. Restructuring and Literature. OVER THE BARRIERS (Silnisky and Michailov, W 24) featured an interview with a Russian emigre-writer Sasha Sokolov preceded by prominent Russian writer Nagibin's speech assessing Sokolov's literary works. The interview concerned the reasons for Sokolov's popularity with Russian readers and whether Sokolov sees anything related to him in the development of Russian literature today in conjunction with the direction he has chosen. In his opinion Nagibin's and Tolstaya's open-minded remarks on emigre writers, and on Sokolov in particular, point to the fact that restructuring as a Soviet phenomenon is no longer a fiction but a reality. Sokolov's optimistic views on the prospects of restructuring were supported by the increasing signs of openness in the Soviet press and the preparedness of Soviet society to accept glasnost.

11. Siberia and Restructuring. THE FORTUNES OF SIBERIA (Krasin, W 9), a RERUN from March 27, summarized American expert on Siberia Shabad's analysis of the prospects of economic development in Siberia, particularly in its Eastern part. The author points to Soviet management's reduced interest in large-scale projects in the region as a result of Soviet leader Gorbachev's new economic policy of intensifying and modernizing the already existing industrial potential of the European part of the USSR. The failure to complete the BAM railway project became a symbol of such large-scale ventures in Siberia.

12. Siberia and "Glasnost." THE FORTUNES OF SIBERIA (Shapiro, Isr 12:30), a RERUN from March 27, argued the true value of openness in the Soviet press today, saying that glasnost became, in fact, the possibility to write at last what has been common

knowledge anyway. Interethnic relations and national minorities' problems have been totally ignored in the past. Now they can be talked about in the open, but in a skillful way, combining reports on ethnic disturbances or other national issues with earlier stereotyped interviews with people who listlessly talk about the spirit of ethnic friendship and internationalism in their brigades and condemn ethnic disturbances, such as in the Nagorno-Karabach region. While the Soviet reader has a certain knowledge of the Baltic and Southern republics, Siberia still remains "terra incognita."

13. Lenin and the Siberian Bolshevik Separatists. FORTUNES OF SIBERIA (Kushev, M 6), a RERUN from March 27, featured a short tour d'horizon of the complex political situation in Siberia during the Winter-Spring period of 1918. Regional Soviets in a number of Siberian cities existed along with other power centers in others and amid this political chaos the Second All-Siberian Congress of Soviets was called in Irkutsk on 23 February 1918. Siberian Bolsheviks debating over the formation of the Siberian Federal Republic gave rise to Lenin's unfavourable criticism of their "state creativeness." He then limited their demands to the acceptance of an autonomous status for Siberia as part of Russia. The program indicated that the end to Siberia's division into several parts came in the 1930s when Siberia started turning into a single Stalinist source of labor and raw materials for a far away center.

14. History. COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Tolz, M 7), a RERUN from May 4, reviewed an April 29 article in Pravda on the notorious trial of Tukhachevsky and the "red marshals" in 1937. Using a recently published book on the subject published by Overseas in London, entitled High Treason, the program discussed the possibility that Tukhachevsky and the others were framed by false documents from Nazi Germany in collusion with officers from within the NKVD.

15. Literature. OVER THE BARRIERS (Schlippe, M 29:30) was Part I of a series of readings of Boris Paramonov's article, entitled "Pantheon -- Democracy as a Religious Problem," which was published in the Munich-based journal Strana i Mir. Today's reading focused on a confrontation of two different theories on democracy and freedom advocated by Nikolay Berdyaev and Peter Struve in the 1920s and 1930s.

16. Sports. OUR PLANET (Gordin, M 3), a RERUN from May 14, predicted that the current neglect of tennis in Soviet sports will change with the Seoul Summer Olympics. The program quoted the complaints of Soviet tennis player Andrey Chesnokov about difficulties of tennis champions in the Soviet Union, in particular, the fact that the state receives all the prize money.

IN THE WORLD OF SPORT (Rubin, NY 8) reported that the Soviet combined youth basketball team won a return match with the last year's New York winner, the "Gaucha" team, during its 1988 tour in the US. The event was highlighted in a New York Times article entitled "Return Match in the Bronx."

Using the example of Yulia Semenova, once the pride of Soviet basketball, IN WORLD OF SPORT (Rubin, NY 7:30) pointed to how once great and well-paid Soviet sport stars are mistreated by when they get older. In "gratitude" for their outstanding achievements in promoting Soviet sports on the international arena they are allowed to join foreign teams on a contract basis. Semenova's "award" was a basketball season in Spain, hockey stars Kapustin and Shalimov joined Austrian professional hockey teams, etc. It, turns out, however, that the reward consists of scanty earnings barely enough for survival, because most of the earnings go directly to the Soviet state.

IN WORLD OF SPORT (Rubin, NY 4:30) reviewed and commented on Korshunov's article in Sovetskiy Sport, which called Turkish weight lifter Naim Suleyman-Ogly a "traitor" who has betrayed his motherland Bulgaria, his coach, and his team and chose to become a Turk by changing even his own Bulgarian name of Naum Shalamanov. The author chooses to ignore the truth that Suleyman is an ethnic Turk whose rights have been denied by Bulgarian authorities and that his defection to Turkey could be recognized as a rightful act of self-determination. The program discussed the issue of Suleyman's admission to the Seoul Olympics.

17. Rock Music. OUR PLANET (Nikolayev, M 1:30), a RERUN from May 14, read a reader's letter from issue No.17 of the weekly Nedelya which criticized the chaotic nature and detrimental influence of rock music on Soviet youth. The program found it difficult to follow the reader's vision of horror of Lenin's hair standing on end if he were to hear such music.

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

1. US-Polish Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnicki, W 1) reported that the US Senate adopted a resolution this week condemning the Jaruzelski government for violating human rights in Poland again. It is believed that US-Polish relations might be endangered since the main condition of their improvement, as stated in the resolution, is to show significant progress in the human rights area in Poland.

2. Poland. COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Belotserkovsky, M 7:30), an abridged RERUN from May 5, featured an interview with the head of Solidarity abroad, Milewski, who gave the latest developments

in the workers' strikes and backgrounded the reasons leading to them. Milewski also said that Polish workers do not agree with Michnik's remarks in Liberation that Solidarity is not calling for a general strike so as not to hinder the democratization process in the USSR.

3. China. A US press review of the economic reform program in China was the subject of COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Simis, W 7:30), based on Washington Post articles of April 13 and 14 and articles in Time of April 11 and in US News and World Report of April 18. US press attention was drawn by the significance of two amendments to the Chinese Constitution adopted at its recent CP session. The first consolidated individual rights to create and operate private industries using hired labor and the second sanctioned the transfer of the right to use the land to private individuals, groups, and foreigners. The changes have been so radical that the US observers consider them an economic revolution and believe that the followers of Marxist dogma in China have suffered a shattering defeat.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The Middle East. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Miloslavsky, Jer 3) reviewed recent mind-boggling developments on the West Bank of the Jordan and the Gaza Strip where tension keeps on rising during the sixth month of continuing disturbances and rioting.

2. Israeli-Hungarian Relations were discussed on EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Miloslavsky, Jer 3) in the context of Foreign Minister Peres's unexpected short visit last week in Budapest en route to the meeting of the Socialist International in Madrid. Although the Hungarian press was far from being wordy about the visit in comparison with the Israeli media this does not diminish the importance of this first high-level visit in 20 years.

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

1. France. OUR PLANET (Salkazanov, P 4), a RERUN from May 14, attributed the popularity among French youth of the newspaper Liberation not only to its analytical, scandalous, and witty reportage but most of all to its wide range of want ads, a selection of which were read.

2. Computers. OUR PLANET (Nudelman, TA 4), a RERUN from May 14, highlighted two recent feats of Israeli programmers: a preschool educational program using computers for the children of stoneage tribes in Africa and the computer indexing of the 40-volume Talmud.

3. Pop Music. OUR PLANET (Gordin, M 1), a RERUN from May 14, told of the American pop artist Madonna's flop as an actress on Broadway.

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RADIO FREE EUROPE
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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Monday, 16 May 1988

J. Benson

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

1. Soviet-American Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 4) summarized two articles in The New York Times (Keller and Roberts) about the facelifting which streets and buildings were receiving because President Reagan will travel through or visit them at the upcoming summit and reviewed his agenda.

2. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Shuster, M 9:30) broadcast an interview with Deputy General Secretary of the UN Cordovez who expressed both satisfaction and reservations about the Afghan Treaty. According to him, the Soviet interest in a political solution increased as it became more obvious that a military solution was impossible. Cordovez expressed the hope that the situation on August 15, at which time one-half of the Soviet troops should be withdrawn, will reassure the refugees that they can return and said he would continue in his mediation role to help the Afghans form a representative government.

PRESS REVIEW (EVENTS AND PEOPLE) (Perouansky, M 7) reviewed Western press reaction to the Soviet troop withdrawal. The Daily Telegraph focused on future political developments in Afghanistan and raised the spectre of Islamic fundamentalism. The Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung drew attention to the war-ravaged condition of the country, whereas Le Monde considered the withdrawal a sign of Gorbachev's farsightedness but felt the future of the country depended on the Mujahidin. El Pais considered it Gorbachev's greatest foreign policy accomplishment since becoming General Secretary.

In THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Shuster and Smith, M and Peshawar 3:30) RL's correspondent in Peshawar talked about the Mujahidin plans for taking such towns as Kandahar and Jalalabad after Soviet troops have been withdrawn.

ROUND TABLE TALK (Roitman, Voslensky, and Bensi, M 20) discussed the implications of the USSR's military failure in Afghanistan for the Soviet military-industrial complex. The latter's position has not been seriously shaken. The USSR needs its military-industrial complex because it is the only thing which

makes it appear a superpower. In Afghanistan, the complex showed its weakness only in the military sphere. As regards military-patriotic education (a concept which does not exist in democratic countries), there are proposals to make use of Afghan war veterans in this sphere. At the same time, there is also a feeling in the USSR that the Afghan War has diminished the prestige of the military. Local authorities often display resentment toward Afghan War veterans demands for privileges. One of the discussants in the program, Mikhail Voslensky, agreed with a Soviet TV commentator that the solution of the Afghan conflict could serve as a model for the solution of other regional conflicts. Voslensky spoke particularly of countries in which during the Brezhnev era procommunist regimes were installed, and where at present anticommunist movements are operating. What is good for the USSR, he said, must also be acceptable for countries such as Cuba and Vietnam.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Shuster, M 5) interviewed Lev Timofeyev, editor of the unofficial journal Referendum, who expressed the opinion that the Soviet troop withdrawal was not enough. He felt there must be a daily analysis of the reasons for Soviet involvement in order to prevent a repetition. Timofeyev also pointed to the silence of the official Soviet press about public awareness of the Afghanistan problem as well as the problem of the return of veterans of the war.

On THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Voinovich, M 4:30) the emigre writer Vladimir Voinovich, expressed his opinion about the Soviet troop withdrawal, saying the invasion brought more shame to the Soviet Army than its withdrawal. He also expressed anti-war sentiments and said it would make more sense to honor those who died in Afghanistan with a street named "Avenue of the Innocently Killed" or "Avenue of the Victims of a Senseless Policy" than the "Avenue of Fame" being discussed in the Soviet press. He also remarked that Brezhnev and his clique bear full responsibility for the war.

On EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Vladimov, M 3) the emigre writer Georgy Vladimov congratulated Gorbachev on ending the war in Afghanistan and acknowledged the courage and statesmanship it took to do so. Vladimov considered this step to be the first concrete example of restructuring to affect the entire Soviet people.

3. Restructuring. FACED WITH A CHOICE (Belotserkovsky, M 14) criticized Gorbachev for setting a bad example of glasnost and showing disrespect for Soviet society in his speech at a meeting of mass media leaders on May 7 in which he avoided all important issues (in particular, the new proposals made for the election of delegates to the 19th CPSU conference), contradicted his own words and the facts on several issues, and failed to show strength and confidence in his policy. While the program was concerned that restructuring foes spoke first at the meeting and restructuring advocates such as Korotich (Ogonek) and Yakovlev

(Moskovske Novosti) were absent, it found Gorbachev's unprecedented call for tolerance and patience in the struggle for restructuring heartening, remarking this should be practiced with the newly formed dissident organization, the Democratic Union.

FACED WITH A CHOICE (Belotserkovsky, M 14:30) interpreted the refusal of Izvestia to publish the letter of 10 intellectuals, including Sakharov, about the necessity of democratizing the election process of delegates to the upcoming 19th CPSU conference as an indication that the battle around restructuring is becoming more intense. While the program considered the very fact of joint action between established intellectuals and dissidents to be unprecedented, it noted that the government's decision not to follow this recommendation has numerous precedents. The program concluded with the ninth installment of the book Self-Management by the program author, Vadim Belotserkovsky. In this part the author discussed the advantages of a system of government combining a party-elected executive and a non-party system. Belotserkovsky considered Soviet discussions about strengthening the councils to be unrealistic and recommended that the two power centers, the Politburo and the Council of Ministers, be combined under the control of the Supreme Council. Sovetskaya Kultura from May 2 was cited.

On EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Belotserkovsky, M 7:30) RL's correspondent interviewed Antonin Lim, who was actively involved in the Prague Spring, at a conference in Cortonna, Italy, in April in honor of the 20th anniversary of the Prague Spring. While Lim believed Soviet restructuring is unthinkable without the Czech example, he felt only the ideas are similar. Soviet society, he said, never developed a civil society with individual responsibility for thought, which explained in part the failure of a response from below to the reforms initiated from above and the appearance of such extremes as the nationalistic Pamyat organization.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 2) agreed with a reader's letter published in Ogonek, No. 18, which said increased access to duplicating technology is essential for glasnost, but stressed that neither glasnost nor democracy can exist if the party continues to make final decisions on where the limits lie.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 2) quoted a passage from an article in Izvestia from May 11 about the existence of glasnost in medieval Novgorod. The program wondered how things stood with restructuring at the time.

4. The Nationalities. THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Nadirashvili and Salkazanova, M 10:30) took the occasion of the recent dismissal of the head of the South Ossetian oblast party committee to analyze the nationality

problems of the Ossetians. The program said those in the north under Russian domination had more problems than those in the south under Georgia. It was hoped that a situation analogous to that in the Mountainous Karabagh does not develop.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fishbein, M 7:30) criticized the vagueness of an article in the April issue of Kiev by the writer Roman Ivanychuk who bemoaned the fate of Ukrainian writers who were and are not published, but still skirted the issue of the government's role in the oppression of Ukrainian literature. The program cited the tragic fate of the Ukrainian poet Vasyl Stus, who was arrested for nationalism and died in the Perm concentration camp, and called for the ouster of Ukrainian party leader Vladimir Shcherbitsky, who was said to bear responsibility for this injustice in the past and is now supposed to be responsible for restructuring.

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Alekseyeva, M 8) highlighted four lectures given at a USIA-sponsored conference in Washington on April 29 about Gorbachev and the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union. Prof. Taagepere of Irvine University spoke of the three forces in modern Estonian society: the Stalinists now in power, the reformists of the present system, and the dissidents who aim for complete independence. Prof. Grabovicz of Harvard University stressed that the main concern of the Ukrainians is the suppression of their language and national history. According to Prof. Saroyan of Berkeley University the nationalism of Armenians and Azeris is neither anti-Soviet nor anti-Russian and is characterized by a growing interest in direct contacts with their national diaspora. Prof. Feierman summed up the major concerns of the Uzbek people, which center around economic, ecological, political, and demographic issues. All speakers stressed the genuine popularity of Gorbachev.

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Malinkovich, M 9:30) read an article by Prof. Bennigsen of the Sorbonne in which he sketched the life and work of the Tatar historical figure Ismail-Bey Gasprinsky (Gasprali) (1815-1914).

5. Society. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, P 5) drew upon an article in The New York Times from May 14 about the widespread belief in astrology, the occult arts, and miracle healing in the Soviet Union.

6. Literature. On the 55th anniversary of the author's suicide, AT THE BOOKSHELF (Fishbein, M 27:30) read the first part of the novella "I (A Romantic)" by the 20th century master Ukrainian prose writer Mykola Khyvlovyy, in which he evokes the doubts of a communist youth in the Ukraine of the 1920s. Articles from Ogonek from March 11 and Literaturnaya Ukraina of April 7 were cited.

7. Religion. RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Polchaninov, NY 8:30) criticized the uniform, standard Marxist approach of a collection of articles published by the Institute of Philosophy of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR entitled The Introduction of Christianity into Rus. Contrary to its claim of presenting a confrontation of different views, the articles differed in only minor points about the spread of Christianity and the relationship between the development of literature and the church.

Citing various church fathers, RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Nazarov, M 9) defended Christianity from charges in the Soviet media that Christians are unable to act to solve problems in the modern world and are preoccupied with the afterlife. Komsomolskaya Pravda, Novy Mir from November 1987, and Sovetskaya Kultura were cited.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fotiyev, M 7) reviewed the history of the Kiev Cave Monastery from the 11th century to the present and drew attention to articles in the Soviet press calling for its return to the Orthodox Church and criticizing officials for delays in its renovation. The program called for a clarification of the explosions which took place in the complex in November 1941. Sovetskaya Kultura of May 9 and Ogonek, No. 38, 1987 were cited.

8. History. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Tolz, M 6) noted that official organs have now begun to discuss the conservatism and antirestructuring stance of Soviet historians. The program said this situation is due to the fact that history continues to meet propaganda needs in the USSR, the party exercises ideological control over it, the same people are writing history as before restructuring, and most of the archives are still inaccessible.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 4) continued leafing through old newspapers, this time reading a passage from an article published 60 years ago in Pravda which attacked the so-called "kulaks" shortly before collectivization began, and a second article published in Pravda 50 years ago which praised Yezhov at a time when he was already doomed.

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

1. Hungary. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fistejn, M 10:30) summed up the atmosphere and recent developments in the country on the eve of the general party conference that is seen as closing the Kadar era.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. France. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanova, P 4:30) explained President Mitterrand's decision to dissolve the national parliament and call for new elections in June, and surveyed reaction to it.
2. The US. THE US TODAY (Rubin, NY 8:30) analyzed the decline in unemployment figures in the US for April and discussed the impact of the lowered unemployment on inflation. The increase in Japanese-owned businesses in Tennessee was also backgrounded.
3. The Middle East. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 5:30) reported on the celebration of Jerusalem Day in Israel. The program gave background on Jerusalem Day, and pointed to the importance of Jerusalem as the ancient Jewish capital.

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

1. The 41st Cannes International Film Festival. On EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Matusevich, Cannes 4) RL's special correspondent reflected on the number of good films based on classic works of literature but remarked that Margaritta von Trotta's Love and Fear is not one of them, describing it as a petty, vulgar, coldly calculated, heavy-handed, and an almost blasphemous modernization of Chekhov's play Three Sisters.
2. The US. THE US TODAY (Gendler, NY 19) featured items on the uproar about Nancy Reagan's interest in astrology which Donald Regan revealed in his book For the Record, the new and old features of the second generation of Cuban refugees, the spread of the facsimile machine (fax) in American business life, and the equal rights of policemen and motorists before the law in America.
3. Orthodox Christianity. RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Aksenov-Meyerson, NY 7) gave a positive review of the first volume of Eastern Christianity and Politics in the 20th Century, a collection of articles published by Duke University Press on the relationship of the autocephalous churches within the Orthodox Eastern Church and the secular states they deal with. The program disagreed with the view expressed in the section on Russian Orthodoxy that church dissidents belonged more to national movements; the program believed they were closer to human rights dissidents.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Tuesday, 17 May 1988

M. Rudin

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

1. Soviet-US Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinski, W 4) reported that Secretary of State Shultz informed the Senate Foreign Relations Committee about the outcome of his meeting with Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze in Geneva last week which was aimed at resolving certain issues in the INF treaty. The program cited Senate Majority Leader Byrd and Senate Minority Leader Dole. The program used a CND report from Washington, articles in The Los Angeles Times, and The Washington Post, all of May 17.

Drawing on a CND report from Washington of May 17, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 6) dealt with the agreements which may be signed during the upcoming summit in Moscow. The program cited a senior US official who said that the most tangible signs of progress between the two countries may be in the area of bilateral relations, in particular in the sphere of contacts between people and scientific and technological cooperation.

2. The Soviet Union and the US Try to Resolve Regional Conflicts. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 6:30) highlighted an article in the Knight-Ridder Syndicate (Chardy) which discussed how the US and the USSR have been holding talks aimed at trying to resolve conflicts in Angola, Cambodia, and Nicaragua.

3. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 8) reported on the start of the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. The first convoy of Soviet troops came from the strategic base of Jalalabad to Kabul for a farewell rally before heading home. Once all Soviet troops leave Jalalabad, it will be handed over to Kabul forces. Resistance forces say they plan a siege of Jalalabad. Meanwhile, the program noted, resistance troops are focusing on taking control of the Pakhtia Province. The program also noted that the process of Soviet withdrawal will be complicated if the resistance forces decide to attack the withdrawing soldiers.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Polishchuk, W 4) cited comment on the start of the pullout of Soviet forces from Afghanistan in The Washington Post, The Los Angeles Times, and The Chicago Tribune.

4. Soviet-Romanian Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Krimerman, H 6) was pegged to the conclusion of Soviet President Gromyko's visit to Romania, reviewed the complex state of relations between the two countries. The program noted the deterioration of economic relations between the USSR and Romania, observed that Moscow can't be indifferent to the conflict between Romania and Hungary over the Hungarian minority living in Transylvania, and recalled that Romania did not attend the conference of editors of the party press in socialist countries which was held in Moscow recently. The program concluded by noting that Ceausescu is obviously not for Gorbachev's liberalization program.

5. Soviet-Polish Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fistejn, H 7:30) commented on an article in Literaturnaya Gazeta which gave excerpts from the 170 page shorthand report of a talk between Polish and Soviet historians. The program welcomed the publication of the article and then gave a historical review of the problems in Soviet-Polish relations. The program also focused on the question of Soviet "fraternal aid" to Eastern Europe.

6. The Upcoming CPSU Congress was the topic discussed on ROUNDTABLE (Roitman, Malinkovich, and Belotserkovsky, M 20). The participants of the discussion assessed the pros and cons of the present system of selection of delegates to the congress, with one participant noting that examples in the Soviet press indicate that the unregulated procedures are giving room for bureaucratic administrative initiative from the top while another pointed out that the voting incident at Moscow University suggests that the proponents of restructuring may get their chance with this system. Among other things, the program also discussed whether the pro-reform forces or the conservative wing would gain the upper hand at the congress and referring to Gorbachev's speech on May 7, examined whether it is possible to separate the functions between the party and the economic organs while increasing the role of the party.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Vail, NY 5:30) used a Reuter dispatch of May 15 and an AP dispatch of May 16 to discuss the June party conference. The program noted that party members at Moscow University protested over the naming of delegates to the June party conference and succeeded in electing their own choice, Gavril Popov, a proponent of Gorbachev's reform program. The significance of the party conference vis-a-vis the summit was discussed.

7. Human Rights. In EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky and Shibayev, P 5) Father Shibayev, a Moscow priest who was forced to emigrate

from the USSR, talked about the fate of deacon Vladimir Rusak who is serving a 12-year sentence for his activities connected with revealing the truth about the state of the Russian Orthodox Church under communism. Shibayev also talked about the fate of two other imprisoned priests and his meeting with President Reagan on May 3.

HUMAN RIGHTS (Malinkovich, M 7) noted that at a meeting of workers and editors of independent publications which took place on May 7 and 8 in Moscow, a Club of Independent Press was organized. The program read the club's constituent declaration and the final communique published by members of the meeting which discuss the results of the meeting and the problem of guaranteeing a free press in the Soviet Union. An article in Russkaya Mysl of May 13 was used in the program.

8. Restructuring. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fotiyev, M 4:30) commented on an interview given by Metropolitan Filaret in Literaturnaya Gazeta, observing that an article by Evtushenko on the same theme -- the consequences of the moral degeneration of Soviet society -- was much more frank than the metropolitans. The program noted that Metropolitan Filaret remained silent on certain obvious points concerning the repression of the church in the USSR.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 4) cited an article by Evtushenko in Literaturnaya Gazeta of May 11 and an article in Izvestia of May 11, both of which discuss the legacy of the Stalin years.

ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Krasin, W 8:30), a RERUN from May 10, commented on a speech delivered by Soviet economist and Gorbachev supporter Abel Aganbegyan at a recent seminar on restructuring in the USSR on the right of Soviet workers to expect a higher standard of living than they currently enjoy.

ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Shapiro, Isr 10), almost one year after the introduction of the law on individual enterprises, described the paltry contribution of the private sector to the economy as a whole. The program was a RERUN from May 10.

ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Fedoseyev and Kroncher, M 5:30), a RERUN from May 10, discussed the proposed establishment of special economic zones in the USSR to encourage Western industrial cooperation and accelerate the economic development of the country.

9. The Law. HUMAN RIGHTS (Kaminskaya, W 6:30) explained how the principle that the accused is presumed innocent until proven guilty, which is laid down in the Soviet criminal code, is not always upheld by Soviet criminal courts. The program drew on an article in the weekly Semya to prove this point.

HUMAN RIGHTS (Shragin, NY 12) featured a talk about how the Soviet leadership has always used force to attain its goals. It was observed that instead of being the one to keep law and order, the Soviet government has been its chief abuser. The program noted that Lenin was the forefather of this policy and cited from various of his directives which attest to his use of terror.

10. The Theater. OVER THE BARRIERS (Smolsky, M 6:30) highlighted an article in The International Herald Tribune of May 12 which describes the 10-day visit to Moscow of Yury Lyubimov, the former director of the Taganka Theater who was stripped of his citizenship in 1984 while he was in England. Lyubimov is helping the TAGANKA theater stage Pushkin's "Boris Godunov".

11. The 41st International Film Festival in Cannes. OVER THE BARRIERS (Matusevich, M 8) reported on the Soviet entries at the film festival and talked about the film on Soviet avangard poet D. Kharms, who died in a prison hospital in 1942. The program featured RERUNS from May 12 and 13.

12. Film. OVER THE BARRIERS (Yurenen, M 1:30) read a passage from a book in which Argentine writer Jorge Luis Borges talks about Sergei Eizenshtein's film Potemkin.

13. Literature. OVER THE BARRIERS (Yurenen, M 2) noted that Literaturnaya Gazeta published a short story by Leonid Borodin, who has been imprisoned since 1983, the first time this writer has been officially published. The program also noted plans for Andrey Bely's works to be published in the USSR in 1989.

14. History. FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 29:30) presented the 12th installment of Solzhenitsyn's The Gulag Archipelago.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Tolz, M 8) reviewed the film on Stalin's reign and the show trials of the thirties entitled The Trial, part of the series The Revolution Continues, which was shown on Soviet television on May 16. It was observed that after lying on the censor's shelves for eight months, the film obviously became politically out-of-date because, in the meantime, Bukharin has been rehabilitated and the Soviet press has started to write about the tragedy of collectivization. However, said the program, there are other aspects of the movie which deserve praise.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 3:30), in a program leafing through old issues of Soviet newspapers, excerpted an article in Pravda of 17 May 1928 which featured Stalin's speech at a Komsomol congress and an article in Izvestia of 17 May 1978 carrying Brezhnev's speech to the presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

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

1. China's Entries at the 41st International Film Festival in Cannes were reviewed by EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Matusevich, Cannes 4:30). The program observed that the movie industry in China, which has started to produce first class artistic films, is showing tangible signs of restructuring.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The Pope's Visit to Latin America. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Paramonov, NY 3:30) noted the pontiff's remarks upon leaving Peru in which he appealed to the rebel groups to stop the bloodshed and his indirect criticism of the Paraguayan regime after meeting with President Stroessner.

2. France. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Mirsky, P 3:30) carried an item on French parliamentarians, discussing in part, what they do if they are not reelected to the National Assembly.

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

1. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY TODAY (Muslin, NY 27:30) reported on the construction of an artificial human mini-heart, plans to build a high-speed train line from California to Las Vegas, and the international yearly car exhibit in New York. The program also featured brief items on technical innovations in the US.

2. An Obituary of American Science Fiction Writer Robert Heinlein was presented by OVER THE BARRIERS (Fedoseyev, N 4).

3. The 41st International Film Festival in Cannes was an item on OVER THE BARRIERS (Matusevich, N 2:30), in a RERUN from May 11.

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RADIO FREE EUROPE
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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Wednesday, 18 May 1988

D. Felton

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

1. Soviet-US Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 5) cited US State Department official Rozanne Ridgeway on the program for President Reagan's summit with Gorbachev in Moscow. CND reports from Washington of May 17 and 18 were used.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 3:30) reported on the US Senate hearings on ratification of the INF treaty. Arguments for and against ratification were outlined. Senators Byrd, Dole, Cranston, and Helms were cited.

2. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 8) remarked that the Soviet media are displaying glasnost regarding the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, but not the actual situation in that country. The program referred in this connection to Soviet air defense forces being put on the alert in Kabul, thought by foreign journalists to be aimed at precluding a possible attack against high-ranking Soviet and Kabul regime officials by renegade Afghan Air Force pilots; and "night letters" in Kabul and other messages by the resistance calling on civilian and military personnel to defect. The bravado of official Kabul-regime statements was mentioned, and it was noted that the Soviet Air Force is refraining from attacking resistance convoys; evidently no one wants to risk his life on the eve of the withdrawal. Finally, the program pointed to Soviet denials of plans to set up a buffer zone for the Najibullah regime, or occupy the Wakhan Corridor.

PRESS REVIEW (EVENTS AND PEOPLE) (Paramonov, NY 5:30) reviewed American press comment on the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan, citing The Baltimore Sun, Newsweek, US News and World Report, and Time on the parallel between the Soviet involvement in Afghanistan and the US involvement in Vietnam, future Soviet and US relations with the Kabul regime and the Mujahidin, and the "new thinking" in Soviet foreign policy.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gordin, M 5:30) gave the contents of a report in Die Welt (Borngaesser) giving first-hand impressions of the Soviet troop withdrawal operation in Afghanistan.

3. The USSR and the Middle East. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fistejn, M 10:30) traced the vicissitudes of Soviet Middle East policy. The program commented that Gorbachev's coming to power was marked by the USSR's realization that its self-exclusion from the Middle East debate was unnatural. The program spoke of the USSR's increasing contacts with Israel, its new approach to the Middle East problem, and Gorbachev's statement to American millionaire Armand Hammer that following his summit with President Reagan, he will work for a settlement of the conflict.

4. Emigres. OVER THE BARRIERS (Vail, Genis and Paramonov, NY 14) discussed the work of controversial Russian emigre writer Eduard Limonov, using an article by RL staffers Vail and Genis published in the Paris-based Russian-language journal Sintaksis.

5. Restructuring. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanov, P 9:30) featured an interview given to a small group of journalists in the Soviet Embassy in Paris by Soviet writer Vladimir Dudintsev, a member of a Soviet CSCE Commission delegation. The program remarked that restructuring has not gone so far at the Embassy as to result in recognition of the positive significance of RFE-RL (RL's Paris correspondent was not invited to the interview, but she went anyway), or acknowledgement of the absurdity of jamming. Dudintsev said that the inclusion of people like himself in the delegation is a sign of restructuring, and he compared restructuring favorably with the thaw under Khrushchev. Among other things, he expected restructuring to produce a better supply of foodstuffs in Soviet stores. The program commented in this connection that, judging from readers' letters in Soviet newspapers, not all Soviet citizens are of the opinion that the USSR can be considered a model democracy. Democracy also means a multiparty system and no political emigration.

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Shragin, NY 14) commented on a speech by Alexander Gelman at an open meeting of the party organization of the board of the USSR Filmmakers' Union. The program said that while Gelman spoke frankly on the subject of democratization, he simply did not go far enough. It is the party's ideology and structure, said the program, which are preventing true democratization.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Rahr, M 5:30) reported on papers delivered by Soviet legal experts Chkhikvadze and Ledyakh at the International Human Rights Society in Frankfurt. Chkhikvadze, after commenting that he had only heard of the bad side of the Society, spoke positively of restructuring, which he described as irreversible since it was dictated by circumstances, and mentioned plans to review the Soviet legal system. The program remarked on the nervousness of both speakers when asked about the attempt by a number of prominent human rights activists to found an independent political party, the "Democratic Union." The program also reported briefly on a conference held at the

same time in the West German spa of Schlangenbad by the Deutsche Gesellschaft fuer Osteuropakunde at which the general view was that restructuring of the Soviet legal system was at present only being discussed by experts and behind the scenes.

6. Glasnost. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 2), in a review of the Soviet press, drew attention to an item in Literaturnaya Gazeta, No. 10, in which a teacher from Ryazan by the name of Guskov called for critical discussion of public statements by the country's leaders in order to ensure that there is no return to Stalinist repression or stagnation. The program pointed out, however, that even at a time of restructuring and glasnost there are still an estimated 327 political prisoners in the USSR.

7. The Economy. ROUND TABLE TALK (Perouansky, Belotserkovsky, and Bensi, M 20), taking as its point of departure an article by economist Abalkin in Nedelya, No. 19, discussed the problems of the cooperative movement in the USSR. Severe progressive taxation on cooperatives under the new law would have the effect of stifling initiative. In other countries, progressive taxation applies to everyone. The program described the tradition of cooperatives in Western Europe, especially Italy, and pointed to their anti-totalitarian character. In the USSR, cooperatives are further restricted by the right of local authorities to fix the proportion of hired workers employed, and by a shortage of resources. The cooperative movement can only be successful if it assumes a mass character and is allowed to develop under conditions of economic freedom. State-run industry in the USSR should also be placed on a cooperative basis. The leaders of the socialist countries are still under the illusion that economic reforms are possible without political ones. As regards Abalkin's references to family and other work teams, the program said the drawbacks here are a shortage of male workers, and heavy dependence on the kolkhoz.

8. Society. HUMAN RIGHTS (Malinkovich, M 5:30; Kaminskaya, W 9:30; and Shragin, NY 15) took issue with the Soviet claim, made in an attempt to refute Western charges of violation of human rights in the USSR, that in the USSR social and economic rights were guaranteed. The program said the guarantee of work, for example, is a mere formality. Only an extremely low subsistence level is guaranteed. The program then spoke of the lack of social justice in the USSR. The program asked how a proposal in Argumenty i Fakty that citizens check up on each other's income ties in with democracy, which is based on respect for the individual. A proposal by the philosopher Rogovin in the same journal that large fortunes be confiscated fully or partially violates the principle of innocent until proven guilty, and the law protecting private property. After this, the program spoke of the problem of redundancy among the staffs of ministries and other organizations. Although the problem is being mentioned in the Soviet press, the voices of the victims are seldom heard. Soviet society, said the program, is ill prepared for the

problem of unemployment. One of Marxism's main dogmas, namely that unemployment only exists in capitalist countries, is collapsing. In the USSR, work turned from a right into a duty when there was a labor shortage. A work ethic eroded by low pay and a lack of things to buy with the money earned made a huge administrative control apparatus necessary. In a modern industrial society, a certain level of unemployment is inevitable. What is needed, however, is a sociopolitical infrastructure under which workers can defend their right to work.

9. The Nationalities. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Nadirashvili and Akopyan, M 4:30) featured a talk with NL Armenian Service staffer Akopyan on the return of the Tatev and Makaravang monasteries to the Armenian Apostolic Church. The program agreed with the Chairman of the Armenian Council of Ministers' Council for the Affairs of the Armenian Church, Vartanyan, that this is a significant event in the history of the Armenian Apostolic Church in particular and Armenia in general, but regretted that despite glasnost, he failed to express an apology for the past neglect and destruction of these monasteries. Common sense alone, he said, would have called for the touristic development of the areas in which the monasteries are located. Nevertheless, restructuring gives grounds for hope that many other buildings of religious and cultural importance in Armenia and elsewhere in the USSR will be returned to their rightful owners.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, M 3:30) commented on the foundation in Estonia of a Popular Front for Restructuring, reported on by the Estonian media. The program noted opposition to the front by the Estonian party and state leadership, and skepticism on the part of the Estonian public in view of the fact that party members are among the founders. A RAD Background Report was used.

10. Literature. AT THE BOOKSHELF (Fishbein, M 27:30) featured the second installment of the short story I by the late Ukrainian writer Mykola Khvylovy, published in Kharkov in 1924, which is set in the civil war and is highly critical of the Revolution and the revolutionaries. Following persecution by the Soviet regime, Khvylovy committed suicide in May 1933.

11. Religion. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fotiyev, M 5) commented on Patriarch Pimen's April 9 interview to Izvestia published in APN's bulletin Religion in the USSR, intended for the Western press. The program said the interview illustrates how religious leaders are having to back up the regime's attempts to persuade the West that restructuring and glasnost are already having a positive effect on the situation of believers in the USSR. The program noted that only now are Russian Orthodox Church leaders speaking openly of the persecution of believers not only under Stalin but in subsequent years. The persecution of believers, said the program, has always been the policy of the Soviet

state, and if the promised new laws on religious cults merely reflect "Leninist norms," there can be no talk of an improvement in the situation of believers in the USSR.

12. History. In RUSSIA YESTERDAY, TODAY, TOMORROW (Maksudov, NY 13) Boston University Professor Sergey Maksudov welcomed an article by collectivization expert Viktor Danilov in Voprosy Istorii, No. 3, 1988, admitting that the famine resulting from Stalin's forced collectivization campaign was a crime. At the same time, Maksudov questioned Danilov's right to criticize alleged manipulation of figures on the victims of collectivization by Western scholars such as Robert Conquest.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 2), in a review of the Soviet press, cited a Komsomolskaya Pravda article of May 12 by writer Viktor Astafev on the mass flight from the land which resulted from forcible collectivization. The program said that the consequences of forcible collectivization are being felt even now in the form of sparsely filled shelves in Soviet food stores.

RUSSIA YESTERDAY, TODAY, TOMORROW (Geller, P 10) began a series on the Soviet mythology surrounding 13-year-old Pavlik Morozov, killed in 1932 under unclear circumstances after he had denounced his father. The program gave background information on that era, marked in particular by forced collectivization, and noted that the mythology is now being openly questioned in Soviet publications.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 3:30), continuing to leaf through old Soviet newspapers, cited Pravda of 18 May 1928 on the "Shakhty trial," a kind of dress rehearsal for the big show trials, and Pravda of 18 May 1968 on Kosygin's visit to Czechoslovakia. As regards the real purpose of the visit, the program cited from Prague Spring activist Zdenek Mlynar's Cold Wind from the Kremlin, in which it was suggested that the visit was connected with Moscow's decision to invade Czechoslovakia.

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

None

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The Middle East. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Polishchuk, W 4) commented on Israeli Foreign Minister Peres' visit to Washington. The program noted Washington officials' positive reaction to Peres' position on American attempts to revive the dialogue on the Middle East conflict, veiled criticism of Israeli Prime Minister Shamir for his opposition to the idea of

an international Middle East conference, Shamir's reaction to the US implications, and Peres' expression of hope that the USSR will move toward the American proposals. Audio Section material was used.

2. Nicaragua. DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Gendler, NY 4) said that although the latest round of talks between the Sandinist government and the Contras failed to produce concrete results, and the talks have not been resumed, there is still a possibility of democratization in Nicaragua in the light of the Sandinist compromise on elections.

3. The US. DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Shragin, NY 9) reported on the granting of compensation to Japanese-Americans interned during World War II.

4. The Pope's Visit to Paraguay. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 4) noted Paraguayan President Stroessner's vain attempt to prevent the pope from meeting with members of the opposition, and cited (with a voice cut) the pope's statements for democracy and against corruption. Audio Section material was used.

5. France. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 4:30), a RERUN from May 17, commented on the future of French National Assembly deputies who are not reelected. The program contrasted the situation in France, where non-reelection is not a personal catastrophe, with that in the USSR, where a one-party system breeds parasitic officials who can do nothing else.

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

1. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Volkov, NY 14) gave a portrait of American composer Irving Berlin on the occasion of his 100th birthday.

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RADIO FREE EUROPE
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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Thursday, 19 May 1988

M. Frost

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

1. Soviet-US Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 4) reported on the ratification process of the US-Soviet agreement on eliminating medium and short range nuclear missiles in the US Senate. Using a Washington Post report from May 19 and a CND report from Washington of the same day, the program observed that although there is no guarantee that the ratification process will be completed in time for the Moscow summit meeting between Reagan and Gorbachev, several important obstacles have recently been removed to facilitate the smooth passage of the ratification of the treaty.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Polishchuk, W 4) reported on a press conference by Secretary of State Shultz given to correspondents of various Western news networks including RL. Shultz stressed the good working relations which have grown up between the USSR and the US over the last few years and previewed the US policy objectives for the upcoming summit meeting between Reagan and Gorbachev to take place in Moscow later in the month. A CND report from Washington of May 19 was used.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 4) covered a White House press conference held by Assistant Secretary of State for Humanitarian Affairs Richard Shifter on the administration's intention to press the USSR on human rights issues and religious freedoms at the upcoming US-Soviet summit meeting in Moscow. CND reports from Washington from May 18 and 19 were used.

2. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 8), based on a variety of Soviet sources, UPI, and Reuters reports, commented on the Soviet reticence to issue official figures on Soviet casualties during the nine-year old Afghan War and, citing extensively from a report filed by The Times (London) correspondent in the USSR, described the withdrawal of a Soviet armored column over the Friendship Bridge into the Soviet border town of Termez. The program highlighted the recent successes of the Mujahidin in capturing abandoned Soviet fortresses complete with weapons and ammunition supplies and inquired how long the Kabul regime could last without the full military support of the Soviet "limited contingent."

3. The Nationalities. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, M 4), using Soviet press and radio sources, reported on disturbances which took place in the Ararat region of Armenia on May 11. The program also reported on the trial of 80 Azeris in Sumgait for the murder of ethnic Armenians which took place in the city at the end of February. A Reuters report from May 19 was also used.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Lukashenko, M 5:30), citing excerpts from a Ukrainian writer's article in Kiev No 4 on the thoughtless destruction of vast areas of old Kiev, described the mindless construction of countless anonymous buildings which have distorted the face of the ancient capital of the Ukraine.

4. The Emigration. FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 29), a partial RERUN from 3 July, 1986, presented the contents of the Munich-based Russian-language journal Strana i Mir, 1986, No. 1-2, and highlighted an article entitled "The Theory of Liberation" by Kronid Lyubarsky on the occasion of the pope's visit to Latin America.

FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 29), a partial RERUN from 3 July, 1986, presented the contents of the Munich-based Russian-language journal Strana i Mir, 1986, No. 1-2, and highlighted an article entitled "The Theory of Liberation" by Kronid Lyubarsky on the occasion of the pope's visit to Latin America.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Glezer, P 7:30) reviewed issues 3 and 4 of the Paris based Russian language emigre journal Strelets which included articles on Solzhenitsyn's publicist writings; transactions of a Strelets sponsored conference on literature which took place last year in Munich; and on the poetry of Genrik Sapguir.

5. Dissidents and Human Rights. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 12) reported from the May 18 press conference in Paris given by the Soviet delegation of the Commission on Human Rights headed by Fedor Burlatsky. The program broadcast a recording of RL staffer Mirsky questioning Burlatsky on the recent arrest and alleged maltreatment of human rights activist and Glasnost editor Sergey Grigoriants in Moscow and carried Burlatsky's and other Soviet delegation members' responses to questions on human rights abuses 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. The program was RERUN from April 14.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rahr, M 8) covered a human rights conference in Frankfurt at which two representatives from the USSR Academy of Science's Institute of Government and Law were invited to deliver addresses. The representatives outlined the successes of the restructuring processes in the USSR but responded testily to questions from the floor from former Soviet political prisoners on slow progress on human rights issues in the USSR. The program also reported on a conference devoted to restructuring in the Soviet judicial system taking place simultaneously in Schlangenbad in the FRG.

6. Restructuring. MAN AND SOCIETY (Simis, W 8) reviewed the new law governing labor relations passed by the Supreme Soviet in February of this year. The program analyzed the changes in industrial relations between management and workers envisaged in the new law but concluded that the new law does not correspond to the dramatic changes in labor relations previously announced by the leadership to facilitate the implementation of the restructuring process.

7. Glasnost. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Roitman, Tolz, and Fishtein, M 20) discussed an article appearing in Moskovske Novosti from May 15 on the Sakharov family. The discussants concurred that the article demonstrated the current limits of glasnost in the USSR: while the article on the Sakharov's was fairly sympathetic, numerous aspects of Sakharov's human rights activities were ignored or misrepresented. The program also pointed out that, to this day, Yelena Bonner is still under sentence and has not yet been rehabilitated.

8. The 19th Party Conference. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 6), based on articles from The Washington Post from May 17 and 18, previewed the upcoming party conference in June and commented that although wholesale personnel changes are unlikely to take place, a time limit on major party posts will be proposed. The program also cited The Washington Post's Moscow correspondent as reporting that Gorbachev is due to make a speech on Stalin's personal involvement in the purges either during or some time after the conference.

9. The Explosion in Pavlograd was covered in EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Genis, NY 4) using an article from The Washington Post from May 19 and a Reuters report from May 18. The program cited a Pentagon official as saying that the explosion destroyed the only fuel production line for SS-24s in the USSR.

10. Society. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Malinkovich, M 6:30) discussed the restrictive residence and travel laws in the USSR. Referring to a recent article in Moskovske Novosti calling for complete freedom of travel for Soviet citizens in the USSR, the program described the system of "closed cities" and decried the practice of appointing graduates of educational institutes to the provinces which gives rise to a great deal of corruption and discontent.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Chianurov and Gordin, M 6) discussed a recent Soviet publication of data on child mortality, child labor etc throughout the world in connexion with the upcoming international day of the child. The program commented that while the publication described the child mortality rate in third world countries it did not reveal the intolerably high infant mortality rate in some regions of the USSR.

MAN AND SOCIETY (Shapiro, Isr. 10), using readers' letters from Izvestia, examined the current crisis in community services caused by the failure of the economic system and remarked that, after 70 years of party rule the "system" cannot be altered for the better, it should be rejected out of hand.

11. Health Care. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gordin, M 6:00) commented on Soviet Minister of Health, Evgeny Chazov's recent optimistic conclusions concerning future health care in the Soviet Union. However, the commentator remained skeptical that there would be any significant change for the better in Soviet medicine as long as it remains free of charge and under centrally controlled state management. The program was RERUN from May 12.

12. 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. The program was RERUN from April 14.

13. The Media. IN THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 3) presented articles from the Soviet press on the introduction of democratic guarantees and on church-state relations in the USSR.

14. History. IN THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 2:30) presented an article from the Soviet press from 60 years ago on the show trial of so-called economic saboteurs in the Donbass region and broadcast a speech delivered by Stalin in 1938 to workers in higher education in the Kremlin.

15. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Smolsky, M 5:30) gave the contents of an article by the Moscow correspondent of The Washington Post on the decision to convert Boris Pasternak's dacha in Peredilkino into a memorial museum.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Smolsky, M 4) reviewed the Leningrad Maly Theater production of Stars in a Morning Sky dealing with the plight of Moscow street people during the 1980 Olympic Games.

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

1. Poland. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Chianurov and Fistejn, M 5) commented that the draconian measures being introduced by the Polish government to control the economy are an implicit acknowledgement of the failure of the first phase of the governments reform package. The program also described the plight of Polish workers whose wages are ludicrously low in relation to the ever increasing cost of living.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

None

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

1. Culture. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Matusevich, Cannes 6) filed the seventh report from the 41st Cannes International Film Festival focussing on the entries of the Polish film director Kszysztof Kieslowski.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Matusevich, Cannes 5) filed the eighth report from the 41st Cannes International Film Festival on an American film depicting the plight of small farmers in the US and a French documentary film on the life of Klaus Barbie.

2. Religion. JUDAISM (Lvov, Taratuta, and Haskelevich, NY 27:30) was devoted entirely to a celebration of the Jewish religious holiday of Shavuot.

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RADIO FREE EUROPE
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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Friday, 20 May 1988

D. Felton

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

1. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 8:30) commented that the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan has begun with the same kind of propaganda display as the Soviet intervention did. Citing Reuter reports, the program noted that foreign journalists in the Soviet town of Termez were told by a Soviet general that since they had been allowed into the USSR without going through visa and customs checks, they would have to report back promptly to the bus which would return them to Afghanistan. Foreign correspondents, however, were taken in Soviet aircraft to the Afghan side of the frontier, and Soviet trucks moved across the frontier without any checks. The program went on to mention that Soviet soldiers were kept in the blazing sun in Termez for a long time while speeches were held and awards were given out. There were clumsily staged propaganda scenes of welcome by the local Uzbek population. There is nothing propagandistic, the program said, about the tough situation in which the Kabul regime finds itself without the support of Soviet troops. Kabul and Soviet forces have left dozens of bases to the partisans. The Independent was quoted on reports by Soviet deserters on the bad treatment by Afghan and Soviet officers, and on clashes between Afghan and Soviet units. The program noted that there have been no Soviet air attacks against resistance supply convoys coming in from Pakistan. The resistance forces are closing in on Kabul and other garrisons, and the Soviets might have to fight their way out. Reference was made to Kabul's amnesty offer to the Mujahidin. The program said that the Soviet Foreign Ministry's assurance that the USSR had no intention of creating a buffer zone in northern Afghanistan appears dubious in the light of a report by a correspondent of The Times (London) on the completion of a Soviet airfield near the Soviet frontier, and continued work on the laying of a railroad line to the Soviet border town of Kushka.

2. USSR-Eastern Europe. OVER THE BARRIERS (Paramonov and Vail, NY 5) reported on an international writers' conference in Lisbon held by the Whitland Foundation at which a dispute arose between Soviet and East European writers (both home-based and emigre)

over the latter's insistence on the existence of a specific Central European culture separate from Russian culture.

3. Foreign Trade. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, M 5) gave the contents of an article by Clive Cookson in The Financial Times on prospects for the development of trade between the USSR and the West in the light of restructuring.

4. Dissidents and Human Rights. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 4) highlighted the American CSCE Commission's report drawing up a balance sheet of Gorbachev's three years in power. The report speaks of positive changes in the human rights sphere, but says these are only first steps, and they have yet to be backed by legal guarantees. A CND report from Washington of May 20 was used.

DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 29:30), a RERUN from March 10, excerpted issue No. 2-3 of the new samizdat journal Tochka Zreniya (Point of View), a bulletin of the "Group for Promoting Restructuring." Statements by the journal's editor, Alexey Zverev, were quoted which he made at a meeting of editors of independent publications held last October in Leningrad. Background on Zverev was included.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 2), continuing to leaf through old Soviet newspapers, cited a brief report in Pravda of 21 May 1978 on the trial of Moscow Helsinki Group founder Yury Orlov.

5. Jewish Affairs. JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (S. Markish, Geneva 13) continued reading from the Russian Jewish journal Voskhod, published in St. Petersburg from 1881 to 1906.

6. The 19th Party Conference. ROUNDTABLE TALK (Roitman, Malinkovich and Fistejn, M 20) placed preparations for the conference against the background of the conflict between conservatives and liberals. The selective nature of glasnost was demonstrated by the harassment of Glasnost editor Sergey Grigoryants, which is doubtless the work of opponents of restructuring, and also reflects the state's efforts to preserve its monopoly on information. At a similar conference in Budapest, there was a high degree of openness, and the CPSU conference should be held in a similar atmosphere because this would be in the interest of Gorbachev whose support comes from the lower echelons. The outcome of the conference is unclear, but a compromise between Gorbachev and the conservatives seems likely.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanova, P 6:30) gave the contents of Michel Tatu's article in Le Monde of May 17 on Gorbachev's aim of effecting a renewal of the CPSU CC.

7. Glasnost. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fishbein, M 6:30) cited material in the column "Calls to the Editor" in the Lvov journal Zhovten demonstrating only limited glasnost.

8. The Economy. OVER THE BARRIERS (Paramonov, NY 8) began by describing the writings of Marquis de Sade on sadism as a logical conclusion of the philosophy of enlightenment, whose aggressive materialism later came to be directed against nature itself in the form of industrial civilization. The extreme expression of this, said the program, is to be found under totalitarian socialism. In this connection, the program cited Ivan Markelov and economist Nikolay Shmelev in Novy Mir as sharply condemning the senseless economic expansion in the USSR.

9. The Workers. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 1), in a review of the Soviet press, found a complaint by engineer Andreyev in Ogonek, No. 19, that Soviet workers' holidays are far too short to be completely justified.

10. Space. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Muslin, NY 4) gave the contents of an article by Felicity Barringer in The New York Times on a visit to the Soviet space center at Baikonur together with a large group of foreign journalists. Barringer suggested that the decision to admit foreign journalists to Baikonur was aimed at demonstrating the most profitable area of Soviet technical progress, and at underscoring the peaceful nature of Soviet plans on the eve of the Gorbachev-Reagan summit. The Soviet space program, said Barringer, is nevertheless still cloaked in much secrecy.

11. Culture. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 1:30), in a review of the Soviet press, described as justified a complaint by Smolensk Oblast resident Kamenev in Sovetskaya Kultura of May 14 over oblast and krai party committees suddenly banning films.

AT THE BOOKSHELF (Fishbein, M 27:30) featured the third installment of the short story I by the late Ukrainian writer Mykola Khvylovy, published in Kharkov in 1924, which is set in the civil war and is highly critical of the Revolution and the revolutionaries. Following persecution by the Soviet regime, Khvylovy committed suicide in May 1933.

12. An RL Interview with Soviet Writer Vladimir Dudintsev was featured on EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 11:30 and Nadirashvili and Malinkovich, M 7:30). Among other things, Dudintsev criticized the recently-arrested Glasnost editor Sergey Grigoryants for his protests, and Western support for Grigoryants as naive and playing into the hands of opponents of restructuring. Dudintsev denied believing in God, but said he resisted Satan's material temptations as a Soviet writer. The intelligentsia in Russia, he said, was never against the powers-that-be as such, but against evil. Dudintsev said he would continue to support Gorbachev's cause irrespective of

whether Gorbachev managed to push it through. After this, RL commentators took issue with some of what Dudintsev had to say. They said he has no moral right to criticize human rights activists such as Grigoryants, whom he called a "squawker whom nobody knew about." Grigoryants, it was pointed out, showed great courage in fighting for glasnost back in the stagnation period and even before, while Dudintsev's behavior was far from irreproachable, he indulged in insincere self-criticism. Dudintsev, said the program, is also wrong in calling for only as much truth as will not worry the conservatives. Finally, Dudintsev showed by his anxiety over outside sources of information, including Western radio stations, that his attitude itself is in need of restructuring.

13. Religion. THE MILLENNIUM OF THE CHRISTIANIZATION OF RUSSIA (Rahr, M 15:30 and Miloslavsky, Jerusalem 11) began by discussing the question of the restoration of the Church of the Assumption of the Kiev Cave Monastery. The program cited an appeal to Gorbachev by Archbishop Feodosy of Astrakhan and Yenotayevsk; a statement by Metropolitan Filaret of Kiev and Galicia on the Moscow Patriarchate's hopes that for the return of the Kiev Cave Monastery to the Church; articles in Literaturnaya Ukraina, No. 8, on how to restore the Church of the Assumption; and an interview given to Moskovskaya Pravda, February 21, by the chief architect of the board for the restoration of the Danilov Monastery, Makovetsky, on the board's restoration work. The program remarked that the board could take on the restoration of the Kiev Cave Monastery. The program said the increasingly frequent appeals by Russian Orthodox Church leaders for the return of the Kiev Cave Monastery suggests that a decision has been taken to return at least the Lower Monastery. The program concluded with a continuation of an account of the wanderings of early 18th-century Kiev pilgrim Vasily Grigorevich (Barsky). The program was a partial RERUN from March 11.

14. Sport. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Rubin, NY 3:30) commented on the meeting of the complete Soviet Olympic team in Brest in preparation for the Seoul Summer Olympic Games. The meeting, said the program, is symptomatic of the way in which the Soviet leadership regards participation in Olympic Games as a kind of military campaign for the glory of the motherland, since the meetings are held in places where the Soviet forces displayed their military prowess. Participants in the battles deliver speeches, and the athletes take oaths to do their utmost to win glory for the Soviet Union.

15. History. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 2), continuing to leaf through old Soviet newspapers, cited Pravda of 20 May 1928 on the Shakhty show trial, in particular noting the newspaper's rage over complete or partial recantations of previous pleas of guilty by the accused.

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

1. Hungary. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 4:30) commented on the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party's national conference which has just begun in Budapest. The program spoke of the important results which the conference could have for Hungary's economic and political future, and the possibility of Kadar's replacement. The program said the latter would mark the end of a grim period during which East European leaders were appointed at Moscow's wish. Kadar could never get rid of his "original sin" of being installed in power through Soviet intervention. The program noted that in his speech, Kadar followed the Gorbachev line. At the same time, he condemned attempts to set up independent organizations and opposition parties. However, said the program, more and more such groups are emerging. In this connection, the program quoted a press conference statement by organizers of the "Association of Free Initiative Groups."

2. Czechoslovakia. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fistejn and Limberger, M 8) commented on the charge of treason leveled by Charter-77 activists Bereza and Hrodilek against top Czech functionary Vasil Bilak on the basis of evidence in Bilak's memoirs of his positive attitude toward the idea of a Soviet invasion. The publication of the memoirs in Czechoslovakia was suddenly stopped, probably in connection with the upcoming 20th anniversary of the invasion. The program doubted, however, whether the charge is justified, since there is no evidence of the actual existence of a letter in which Czech leaders called on the USSR for armed assistance. The program spoke of the courage shown by Bereza and Hrodilek, but suggested that they will escape imprisonment, since the present Czech regime has lost its dynamism and is probably itself aware of its anachronism.

3. Vietnam. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kushev, M 3:30) pointed to the critical food situation in Vietnam, admitted by the authorities themselves, which the program said is a result of both the regime's economic policy and natural phenomena. The country's economic stagnation, said the program, is also a result of the international boycott imposed following the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia. The FAO's call for urgent food aid to Vietnam was noted. Vietnam can count on aid from the USSR, which itself imports grain. The program remarked in conclusion that in virtually every country where a so-called "new society" is built, an economic crisis arises.

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 Israel in the past week, reported on the diminishing unrest in the occupied territories, trials and arrests of Israeli officers and soldiers in

connection with excesses against Palestinians, the celebration of Jerusalem Day, price increases, a labor conflict in the state health service, a PLO infiltration attempt, Peres' visit to the US, and the controversy in Israel over the question of an international conference on the Middle East.

JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Simis, W 7) pointed to differences among American Jewry over Shultz's proposal for an international conference on the Middle East, and an increasingly critical attitude to the proposal in view of Shultz's failure to persuade King Hussein of Jordan to adopt a position more acceptable to Israel, Shultz's meeting with two Palestinian-Americans on the Palestinian National Council, and Shamir's success in persuading American Jewish leaders that giving up the Jordanian West Bank and the Gaza Strip would jeopardize Israel's security.

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

1. Culture. On EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Matusevich, Cannes 5:30) RL's special correspondent at the Cannes Film Festival highlighted several British films shown there.
2. Urban America. OVER THE BARRIERS (Vail and Genis, NY 14) discussed two poles of American life--suburbia and New York.
3. The Heat Wave in Israel was briefly mentioned in a review of events in Israel in the past week on JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 0:30).

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RADIO FREE EUROPE
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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Saturday, 21 May 1988

L. Mardirossian

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

1. Soviet-US Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Polishchuk, W 8) previewed the upcoming Reagan-Gorbachev summit meeting in Moscow, noting that not only the White House but also some members of the Democratic Party expressed hopes that the INF Treaty will be approved by the US Senate. US Secretary of State Shultz called on the US Senate to approve the treaty as soon as possible. Reagan's Moscow visit agenda was publicized in the US during the past week-end and some issues to be discussed at the summit were listed by Shultz and Assistant Secretary of State Ridgway.

2. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanov, P 11:30) reported that the International Bureau for Solidarity with Afghanistan sponsored a meeting in Paris on May 19 with the participation of representatives of three major Afghan parties among those who lead the Afghan resistance movement, such as Hekmatyar, Geillani, and Rabbani, to discuss the current situation in Afghanistan and its political future following the Soviet withdrawal from there. The meeting dealt with a May 15 Le Monde report that the Soviet Union has made off with recently discovered various historical monuments from the Greco-Bactrian period in Afghanistan and 200 Afghan museum pieces from the period of the Kushan Kingdom. The Soviet Union has already taken numerous ancient Afghan manuscripts. The participants in the meeting also noted that in fact the Soviet Union has only withdrawn hardly more than 1,000 soldiers. The Soviet military defeat in Afghanistan has turned into a diplomatic victory but the Mujahidin have already formed a provisional government.

3. Afghan War Veterans. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 11:30) dealt with an article by Moscow student Alexander Karpenko, an Afghan veteran, in Komsomolskaya Pravda of May 14 entitled "The Servicemen Returned Home" asking whether the Soviet Union is ready to greet those Soviet servicemen returning from Afghanistan. Karpenko said that most Soviet people knows what has happened "beyond the river" only by hearsay and that they have every right to discover the whole truth. Karpenko told of

soldiers with wounded souls. In this connection the program highlighted Soviet atrocities against the Afghan people, reading excerpts from Indian journalist Shri Sinh's book Rebellious Afghanistan published in 1980 and an article in the Lithuanian samizdat journal Ausra of March 1983. Another Moscow student, Andrey Nasedkin, died in Afghanistan where he kept a diary which was denied publication by the journal Yunost for "antisocial naturalism." His brother-soldiers protested in a samizdat letter pointing out that soldiers in Afghanistan have been turned into criminals. Soviet writer Alexander Prokhanov called on the Soviet government to win over the veterans of the Afghan War.

4. Human Rights. Discussing the slow progress in implementing the Helsinki Final Act human rights provisions in the Soviet Union, HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE SOVIET UNION (Shragin, NY 12:30) focused on the Soviet leadership's continuing reluctance to permit Soviet citizens free access to foreign publications, including books, newspapers and other periodicals.

5. Human Rights. HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE SOVIET UNION and EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Alexeyeva, W 5) reported on the Paris meeting on May 14-16 between the US Helsinki group and the Soviet Commission for Humanitarian Affairs and Human Rights aimed at paving the way for concerted action in improving human rights issues in Helsinki Accords signatory countries. The Soviet commission made no secret that it supports its government's human rights policy and refused to make any comment on the subject of Soviet political prisoners. The US Helsinki group suggested that the Soviet commission should act with the informal Soviet Press Club Glasnost. In the end the participants agreed to initiate various exchanges in the sphere of human rights.

6. Abuse of Psychiatry. After excerpting from Stalin's speech of 19 May 1938 addressed to Soviet scientists in which he extolled Lenin for initiating the revolution in Russia in 1917 in spite of Plekhanov's and others' seeing him as a madman, OUR PLANET (Nikolayev, M 2) said that Lenin was lucky because no abuse of psychiatry for political purposes was known in Russia in 1917.

7. The Soviet Legal System. HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE SOVIET UNION (Kaminskaya, W 8) commented on an interview with the Chairman of the USSR Supreme Court, Terebilov in Literaturnaya Gazeta of April 27 discussing changes in the Soviet legal system. The program pointed out that Terebilov's proposals aimed to guarantee the independence of Soviet courts and prevent state or party officials influencing the judges are rather inconsistent and unrealistic in view of the Soviet political and administrative structure.

8. The Armed Forces. SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, M 29:30), a RERUN from April 9, took issue with an article by Krasnaya Zvezda Chief Editor Filatov, aimed at putting the blame for the large

human and materiel losses and various strategic and tactical miscalculations by the Soviet military command during World War II on the ordinary people, especially rank and file, because of poor discipline; discussed critically-minded new recruits; and the enlisting of volunteers among women.

9. Society. On WRITERS AT THE MICROPHONE (Dovlatov, NY 7:30), a RERUN from May 14, the emigre Soviet author Sergey Dovlatov contrasted housing policy in the Soviet Union and the US.

10. Culture. OUR PLANET (Gordin and Demarest, M 2) discussed the West German rock group Scorpions which performed in Leningrad but was prevented from doing so in Moscow in spite of a contract with the Soviet Goskontsert.

11. The Nationalities. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Nadirashvili and Gregory, M 8:30) discussed the removal of Armenian and Azeri CP CC First Secretaries Demirjian and Bagirov; gave a brief profile of their successors Harutyunian and Vezirov; reported that Armenian demonstrators in Yerevan complained that the 15-year prison sentence against the first defendant in the Sumagit proceedings in connection with the Armenian massacres in that city on February 28 was too mild while Azeri demonstrators in Baku considered it too harsh; pointed to the tense situation in both republics; and said that the Mountainous Karabagh issue would possibly be dealt with by the forthcoming CPSU Plenum on nationality problems.

12. The Emigration. On WRITERS AT THE MICROPHONE (Voinovich, M 16:30), a RERUN from May 14, the emigre Soviet author Vladimir Voinovich reflected on the fear of books in the Soviet Union and the indifference to them in the West.

13. Religion. SUNDAY SERVICE (Kholodnaya, NY 50) featured a Russian Orthodox Church service.

NOT BY BREAD ALONE (Rahr, M 8) discussed the question of whether or not the Kiev Cave Monastery will be returned to the Church based on a recent letter in the journal Ukraine by Soviet geologist Griger to the Chairman of the Scientific Methodological Council for the Preservation of Cultural Monuments Sokolsky, describing the state of decay of the Kiev Cave Monastery because of the lack of an interested owner. Ukraine said that in fact no responsible owner exists in spite of several museums and a reservation on the site. The monks who had been resident there were expelled in 1961 and have not been yet rehabilitated. Recently in an interview in Literaturnaya Gazeta Bishop Palladiya said that the church is currently expecting that the Soviet authorities will view its request to place the monastery under its jurisdiction favorably. The reconstruction of the Uspensky Church at the monastery, which was ruined by both the Soviet and Nazi Armies on 3 November 1941, was also discussed by the program.

Pegged to the Millennium of the Christianization of Kievan Rus, NOT BY BREAD ALONE (Benigsen, NY 8:30) discussed Ascension Day.

NOT BY BREAD ALONE (Rahr, M 5:30) cited a passage from St. John's Gospel including Christ's high-priestly prayer before his arrest read out in Orthodox churches this Sunday.

NOT BY BREAD ALONE (Akenov-Meerson, NY 7:30) was devoted to the lives of Saints Arsenius of Novgorod, Simon of Vladimir, Joseph of Astrakhan, and Dionysius of Radonezh, whose feastdays are celebrated on May 21, 23, 24, and 25 respectively.

14. Sport. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rubin, NY 5), a RERUN from May 20, was a comment on the meeting of the complete Soviet Olympic team in Brest in preparation for the upcoming Seoul Summer Olympic Games.

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

1. Openness. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mihajlov, W 4) reported on an annual conference at Arlington's Marymount University, near Washington from May 18 to 20 sponsored by the Research Center for Religious and Human Rights Problems in Totalitarian Countries on the theme "Openness and Communist Europe" with the participation of US scientists, representatives of the US government and human rights organizations, and East European emigres. The conference focused on the impact of Soviet restructuring and openness policy on East European countries, ranking from the Baltic nations to Albania and Yugoslavia, the East European countries' influence on the current events in the Soviet Union in view of their past efforts to democratize their political life and liberalize their economies. The program also noted that Romania and Albania are sticking close to rigid Stalinism while Yugoslavia and Poland enjoy more freedom than the Soviet Union.

2. Hungary. Dealing with the first National Party Conference in Hungary, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, M 3:30) gave the gist of Hungarian leader Kadar's speech there in which he rejected the idea of political opposition to the ruling Socialist Workers' Party and condemned independent organizations that have been set up in the country recently. The program then reviewed other speeches like those of Budapest Party organization First Secretary Havasi and Budapest Technical University Party organization Secretary Barta, who both criticized the party leadership.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. Jerusalem's Day. OUR PLANET (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 2:30), a RERUN from May 18, marked the 20th anniversary of the reunification of Jerusalem.
2. France. OUR PLANET (Salkazanov, P 3) was devoted to the so-called "Child Councils" which are attached to 76 city councils in France.

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

1. Literature. OUR PLANET (Gregory, M 3:30) dealt with a dispute in Britain over a poem from the 17th century allegedly written by Shakespeare.
2. Medical-Meteorological Service. OUR PLANET (GORDIN, M 3:30) discussed the a special medical-meteorological office in West Germany designed to provide medical advice in correlation with atmospheric conditions.
3. Music Show. OUR PLANET (Gregory, M 1:30) played music by the West German rock group Scorpions.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Sunday, 22 May 1988

M. Rudin

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

1. Soviet-US Relations. THE FORTUNES OF SIBERIA (Gendler, NY 3:30) a RERUN from May 8, reported on the visit to Alaska by a Soviet delegation led by Foreign Ministry spokesman Gerasimov, during which the issue of renewed contacts between Eskimos living on both sides of the Bering Strait was raised.

2. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 4) excerpted articles from The Washington Post and The Christian Science Monitor on the prospects for Afghanistan's future after the pullout of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and the lesson to be learned from the fact that the USSR was forced to reverse its Brezhnev Doctrine.

3. Restructuring. COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Fedoseyev and Malinkovich, M 7), a RERUN from May 8, discussed an April 27 article in Literaturnaya Gazeta on the need to democratize all aspects of Soviet society, including access to information for Soviet citizens and fundamental reforms in the electoral system.

COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Henkina, M 5:30), a RERUN from May 8, reviewed reaction in the Soviet press to Leningrad schoolteacher Nina Andreyeva's letter in Sovetskaya Rossiya lamenting the replacing of Stalinist values in Soviet society by the liberal ideology of Gorbachev and the reform wing of the party.

4. Human Rights. Discussing the slow progress in implementing the Helsinki Final Act human rights provisions in the Soviet Union, HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE SOVIET UNION (Shragin, NY 12:30) focused on the Soviet leadership's continuing reluctance to permit Soviet citizens free access to foreign publications, including books, newspapers, and other periodicals. The program was a RERUN from May 21.

HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE SOVIET UNION (Alexeyeva, W 5), a RERUN from May 21, reported on the Paris meeting from May 14 to 16 between the US Helsinki group and the Soviet Commission for Humanitarian Affairs and Human Rights aimed at paving the way for concerted action in improving human rights issues in countries which signed the Helsinki Agreement.

5. Abuse of Psychiatry. Noting Stalin's speech of 19 May 1938 addressed to Soviet scientists in which he extolled Lenin for making a revolution in spite of the fact that Plekhanov and others saw him as a madman, OUR PLANET (Nikolayev, M 2) said Lenin was lucky that no abuse of psychiatry was known in Russia in 1917. The program was a RERUN from May 21.
6. The Legal System. HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE SOVIET UNION (Kaminskaya, W 8), a RERUN from May 21, commented on an interview with the chairman of the USSR Supreme Court, Terebilov, in Literaturnaya Gazeta of April 27 discussing changes in the Soviet legal system.
7. Latvia. OVER THE BARRIERS (Vail and Genis, NY 12) reviewed the Riga-based youth journal Rodnik which has been in publication over a year. The program discussed some of the materials published in various issues of Rodnik, observing that the level of the provincial press has improved and that in some instances it surpasses the central press and is bolder in content.
8. Siberia. THE FORTUNES OF SIBERIA (R. Shapiro, Isr. 19:30) contrasted the chronic housing shortage in industrial areas of Siberia with the easy availability of housing in the West and drew attention to an article in the journal Zemlya Sibirskaya Dalnevostochnaya which clearly illustrates the contrast between the Russian peasant's traditional skill and experience, and inefficient, regimented kolkhoz-style agriculture. The program was a RERUN from May 8.
9. Music. OVER THE BARRIERS (Paramonov and Volkov, NY 9:30) featured a talk about Soviet conductor Maxim Shostakovich, who remained in the West during one of his tours in 1981, on the occasion of his 50th birthday. The program discussed Maxim Shostakovich's popularity and success in the West, noting that he appears with the best orchestras and for the most part performs music composed by his father, Dimitri Shostakovich. It was observed that the growing number of Soviet musicians in the West, with their expertise and special understanding of Russian music, are making Soviet classical music popular with audiences in the West.
10. Film. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Matusevich, Cannes 3:30) continued to review films shown at the 41st International Film Festival in Cannes, focusing on three foreign documentary film productions devoted to Soviet filmmakers Klimov, Parajanov, and the late Tarkovsky.
11. Culture. OUR PLANET (Gordin and Demarest, M 2), a RERUN from May 21, discussed the West German Rock group Scorpions who performed in Leningrad but were prevented from doing so in Moscow in spite of a contract with Soviet Goskontsert.

OUR PLANET (Gregory, M 1:30), a RERUN from May 21, played music by the Scorpions.

12. Sport. WORLD OF SPORT (Rubin, NY 6) noted the possibility that Soviet hockey player Vyacheslav Fetisov might play for the New Jersey Devils and discussed the possible reasons why soviet officials are dragging their feet about signing a contract with the NHL (National Hockey League).

13. Propaganda in Totalitarian Regimes. SOVIETOLOGISTS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Shragin, NY 20) highlighted a book by Hannah Arendt entitled The Sources of Totalitarianism which was published in 1951. The program focused on that part of the book which discussed the role played by propagands in totalitarian countries, comparing among other things, totalitarian propaganda under Stalin and Hitler.

14. Literature. FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 27:30) continued reading Boris Paramonov's article entitled Pantheon -- Democracy as a Religious Problem which was published in the Munich-based journal Strana i Mir. Today's reading focused on Soviet writer Maxim Gorky's Novel The Life of Klim Samgin which was published in 1927. Gorky's novel is a self-portrait before he became an avid champion of socialist realism.

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

1. Poland. COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Henkina, M 1 and Gorbanevskya, P 13), in a further review of the Polish underground press, highlighted an article by Piotr Pacewicz in Tygodnik Mazowsze on the powerful potential for change in the USSR, illustrated by the Mountainous Karabagh conflict. The program was a RERUN from May 8.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The Middle East. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Miloslavsky, Jerusalem 10:30) gave a round-up of developments in the Middle East, noting statements by Secretary of State Shultz on the conflict, the return of Foreign Minister Peres from his visit to the US and Europe, and the continuing tense situation in the Western territories. The program also examined the alignment of forces in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

2. Jerusalem Day. OUR PLANET (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 2:30), a RERUN from May 21, marked the 20th anniversary of the reunification of Jerusalem.

3. The Political Views of Greek Composer Mikis Theodorakis were dealt with by OVER THE BARRIERS (Paramonov, NY 6). The program noted the gist of an article in The New York Times which discussed how Theodorakis, for many years an active member of

the Greek CP and its representative in Parliament, stepped out of the Greek CP.

4. France. OUR PLANET (Salkazanov, P 3), a RERUN from May 21, discussed children's councils which are attached to 76 city councils in France.

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

1. The 41st International Film Festival in Cannes was reviewed by EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Matusevich, Cannes 1).

2. Sport. WORLD OF SPORT (Rubin, NY 14) profiled tennis star Ivan Lendl and discussed the case of Zola Budd from South Africa, who will not be participating at the Summer Olympic Games in Seoul.

3. Literature. OUR PLANET (Gregory, M 3:30), a RERUN from May 21, dealt with a dispute in Britain over a poem from the 17th century allegedly written by Shakespeare.

4. A Medical Meteorological Service. OUR PLANET (Gordin, M 3:30) a RERUN from May 21, described a special medical meteorological office in West Germany designed to provide medical advice on the basis of atmospheric conditions.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Monday, 23 May 1988

M. Rudin

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

1. Soviet-US Relations. US TODAY (Paramonov, NY 4:30) reported on the results of an opinion poll conducted in the US which polled Americans on their attitude to the US and Soviet leaders on the eve of the summit in Moscow. The program noted that Gorbachev received approximately the same number of positive appraisals as Reagan.

US TODAY (Muslin, NY 5) reported on a number of Soviet inventions that are being used in American industry. The program cited an American specialist on Soviet technology who noted that while the Soviet Union is strong in fundamental research, it is weak in introducing its own inventions to Soviet industry.

2. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 4) highlighted an article in The Los Angeles Times, a CND report from Washington, and an AP dispatch dealing with Afghanistan's future political problems and the treatment of the Afghanistan question at the upcoming Moscow summit.

3. Restructuring. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Belotserkovsky, M 9:30) examined the reasons why Soviet qualified workers have remained passive to Gorbachev's economic and political reforms. Among other things, it was noted that Soviet workers would have believed in the seriousness and irreversibility of restructuring if Gorbachev and the Soviet press would not have softened their tone about the extent of worker's self-government in Soviet enterprises.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 7:30) observed that there are signs that restructuring and glasnost have penetrated into discussions of Soviet foreign policy. In this connection the program noted Gorbachev's interviews in The Washington Post and Newsweek and his remarks on the Soviet intervention in Hungary and Czechoslovakia and an article by Prof. Dashichev in Literaturnaya Gazeta which frankly discusses the failures of Soviet foreign policy under Stalin and after.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 8) featured an article by David Remnick in The Washington Post of May 23 which dealt with the views of Sergey Grigoryants on Gorbachev's reforms and his assessment of the Soviet leader's interview in The Washington Post. Grigoryants is a well-known dissident and editor of the unofficial journal Glasnost who was arrested and spent last week in jail.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 7:30) reviewed a television movie devoted to the Soviet frontier troops on the 70th anniversary of their creation and drew on facts and figures published by the International Institute for Strategic Studies, observing that restructuring and glasnost are not reflected in the activity of the frontier troops at all.

FACED WITH A CHOICE (Belotserkovsky, M 10) pointed to the absence of an oppositional and factional activity in the Soviet Union, recalling the 10th party congress which discussed Lenin's resolution on "party unity." The program said that as a first and minimal step a multi-factional system should be set up which would be a first structural change giving an irreversible character to the democratization and restructuring processes in the USSR.

FACED WITH A CHOICE (Belotserkovsky, M 10) featured an interview with Antonin Lim, who was actively involved in the Prague Spring, at a conference in Cortonna, Italy, in April in honor of the 20th anniversary of the Prague Spring. Lim talked about Soviet restructuring, contrasting it with the Czech example. The program was a RERUN from May 16 and included original materials.

4. Glasnost. THE USSR AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Fishbein, M 6:30), a RERUN from May 20, cited material in the column "Calls to the Editor" in the Lviv journal Zhovten demonstrating only limited glasnost.

5. The Upcoming CPSU Party Conference. ROUNDTABLE (Roitman, Fistejn, and Malinkovich, M 5) talked about the coming party conference in Moscow in the context of the just concluded national conference of the HSWP. It was observed that the situation in Hungary and in the Hungarian CP is completely different from the ones in the Soviet Union and suggested that in Moscow there will not be such radical changes in personnel and other matters as occurred at the Hungarian CP conference.

FACED WITH A CHOICE (Belotserkovsky, M 3:30) noted that there are numerous protests concerning the system of selecting delegates to the coming party congress. The program noted that party members at Moscow University were successful in electing their own choice, Gavril Popov, a known proponent of restructuring. The candidacy of historian Yury Afanasev has not been confirmed by the oblast committee.

6. The Nationalities. THE USSR AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Malinkovich, M 3) examined the problem of migration in the Soviet Union, drawing on an article by Victor Perevedentsev in the Moscow News who in part writes that free migration in the USSR in most cases is a positive process and an article by Boris Bernshtein from the Estonian state cultural institute in Sovetskaya Estoniya about how the migration of non-Estonians to Estonia has brought about numerous conflicts. The program welcomed the proposal by members of the plenum of the Estonian creative unions that instead of an all-union citizenship there be one according to republic.

THE USSR AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Maksudov, M 8) read an article by Boston University professor Sergei Maksudov about national development in the USSR, discussing the rapidly growing number of Turkic peoples in the USSR and the social and political repercussions of this development.

THE USSR AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Malinkovich, M 5:30) read an appeal in defense of Armenian human rights activist Paruir Airikyan who was arrested on March 25. The appeal was published in the unofficial Moscow journal Referendum which noted, among other things, that Airikyan was not among the activists in the movement for the self-determination of Nagorno-Karabakh but was one of the few who had the courage to tell the world about the events in Armenia.

7. Health. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gordin, M 9:30) commented on articles in this year's fifth issue of the journal Zdorove (Health), observing that the advice and comments concerning health questions and problems featured in the journal cannot be applied to the realities of Soviet life.

8. Literature. AT THE BOOKSHELF (Perouansky, M 29:30), a RERUN from April 20, 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.

9. Religion. RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Nazarov, M 9) discussed the various forms of religious samizdat in the Soviet Union, reviewing among others, the independent literary-philosophical journal Vybor which is published in Moscow. It was observed that religious samizdat would need the guidance of the official church, still not free, in directing the religious creativity of the new generation of Christians in the Soviet Union.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Rahr, M 4) discussed some of the events taking place in the West to mark the millennium of the Christianization of Rus, focusing on the program presented at the congress of Russian youth from various countries in Western Europe which took place recently in Belgium. The program then commented on an article in Literaturnaya Gazeta which featured a talk with two former deputy chairmen of the Council on Religious

Affairs who admitted to many acts of lawlessness taken against religious believers in the USSR.

RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Axenev-Meyerson, NY 7:30) reviewed the samizdat Byulleten Khristianskoi Obshchiny (Bulletin of the Christian Community) which is edited by Alexander Ogorodnikov. The program observed that the journal was successful in fulfilling its goal of depicting religious life together with the realities of Soviet life.

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

1. Hungary. ROUNDTABLE (Roitman, Fistejn, and Malinkovich, M 15) featured a discussion about the just concluded national conference of the HSWP. In part, the participants dealt with the changes in the leadership; backgrounded the economic and moral crisis in Hungary which made it necessary to introduce restructuring; and noted the resolution adopted by the party conference detailing the course for future political, economic, and social reforms in the country.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Rahr and Fistejn, M 9:30) also featured an item about the Hungarian CP conference, profiling the new Prime Minister Grosz and the new members of the politburo and assessed the reform program of the HSWP.

2. Poland. RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Szydlowski, NY 6:30) highlighted an article in The Frontier in which an English woman talked about her impressions of the Polish camp Oasis which she visited last summer. The Oasis camps are summer camps where, for the most part, young people learn to live and think in a Christian way. The Polish government and local authorities do not help in the running of the camps in any way.

3. Czechoslovakia. FACED WITH A CHOICE (Belotserkovsky, M 4) featured an interview with Antonin Lim, who was actively involved in the Prague Spring, at a conference in Cortonna, Italy, in April in honor of the 20th anniversary of the Prague Spring. Lim recalled the events of the Prague Spring and discussed the present situation in Czechoslovakia.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The US. US TODAY (Krasin, W 4) examined the present state of the US economy, noting that after a relative lull in the beginning of the year, the US economy is beginning to pick up.

US TODAY (Rubin, NY 4:30) reported that on May 13 the US Congress adopted an amendment to the law expanding the functions of the US military in the war against drugs.

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

1. The Annual Food Festival in New York City was described by US TODAY (Rubin, NY 4:30).

2. The Jewish Community in the US was decribed by US TODAY (Lvov, NY 5) which discussed the historical, political, social, and cultural features of American Jewry. The program was a RERUN from May 9.

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RADIO FREE EUROPE
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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Tuesday, 24 May 1988

M. Frost

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

1. Soviet-US Relations. PRESS REVIEW (EVENTS AND PEOPLE) (Genis, NY) presented a US press preview of the upcoming Reagan-Gorbachev summit meeting in Moscow from The Baltimore Sun, The Dallas Morning News, and The New York Times of May 22.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 5) carried US journalists' impressions of Gorbachev's behaviour during his interview with The Washington Post and Newsweek in Moscow on the eve of the Reagan-Gorbachev summit.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY TODAY (Muslin, NY 5) reported on joint US-Soviet efforts to study the greenhouse effect on agricultural production in the two countries.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Muslin, NY 4:30) reported on prospects for a joint US-Soviet manned flight to mars and cooperation in other areas of space research.

2. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 6) covering the latest developments in Afghanistan, described the tension in Kabul caused by the sporadic shelling of the city by resistance forces and observed that the Kabul regime could fall much sooner than Western observers expect if key towns such as Jalalabad are occupied by the resistance forces without serious opposition from the demoralized Kabul regime troops.

3. USSR-Eastern Europe. OVER THE BARRIERS (Paramonov and Vail, NY 5) reported on an international writers' conference in Lisbon held by the Whitland Foundation at which a dispute arose between Soviet and East European writers (both home-based and emigre) over the latter's insistence on the existence of a specific Central European culture separate from Russian culture. The program was a RERUN from May 20.

4. Dissidents and Human Rights. HUMAN RIGHTS (Alexeyeva, W 8:30) gave the history of the Helsinki Accords monitoring movement in the USSR and described the spread of the movement from Moscow into the Russian provinces and the various Republics

of the USSR. The program also commented on the changing social base of the movement from urban intellectuals to include a much wider spectrum of Russian society. The program was a RERUN from May 10.

HUMAN RIGHTS (Maximov, P 9) profiled the life of prominent human rights activist Anatoly Marchenko who died in Chistopol prison in December 1987. Marchenko's autobiography has just been published in New York. The program was a RERUN from May 10.

5. The Nationalities. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Lukashenko, M 7) reviewed articles appearing in the Ukrainian party journal Radyanska Ukraina criticizing an April 26 demonstration protesting the construction of new atomic reactors in the Ukraine on the second anniversary of the Chernobyl disaster. The program commented that the authorities should heed the legitimate concerns of ordinary Ukrainians who should not be dismissed as irresponsible protest groups by the official press.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fishtein, M 10) reported on the publication in an Estonian Russian-language newspaper of an appeal by the United Front of the Estonian Creative Intelligentsia calling for radical reforms with regard to, among other things, emigration rights from the USSR. The program observed that such intellectual "detonators" are necessary if, in the words of Tatyana Zaslavskaya, "restructuring is to assume the nature of a social revolution."

6. Restructuring. ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Simis, W 6) reviewed an article by US Sovietologist William Odum in Problems of Communism in which he asserted that radical changes in the Soviet economy are impossible without the introduction of a free market mechanism. The author also commented that a free exchange of information is needed along with the repudiation of bureaucratic centralized controls if restructuring is to succeed in achieving anything other than a refinement of the old economic order.

ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Shragin, NY 6) reviewed US sovietologist Gerry Hough's latest book on the Soviet economy. In his book Hough contends that Gorbachev's ultimate aim is to make the Soviet economy competitive in the world market and that the current restructuring drive is aimed at opening up the hitherto obsessively protected and subsidized Soviet economy.

ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Krasin, W 6:30) presented the second part of a series examining the economic views of one of the USSR's leading economists, Abel Aganbegyan. The program commented that Aganbegyan is no longer the radical 1960s critic of the Soviet planned economy but is now a staunch defendant of the "old way of thinking."

7. The Economy. OVER THE BARRIERS (Paramonov, NY 8), a RERUN from May 20, began by describing the writings of Marquis de Sade

on sadism as a logical conclusion of the philosophy of enlightenment, whose aggressive materialism later came to be directed against nature itself in the form of industrial civilization. The extreme expression of this, said the program, is to be found under totalitarian socialism. In this connection, the program cited Ivan Markelov and economist Nikolay Shmelev in Novy Mir as sharply condemning the senseless economic expansion in the USSR.

8. Glasnost. ROUND TABLE (Roitman, Predtechevsky, and Bensi, M 20) discussed the dismissal of the First Secretaries of the Azeri and Armenian CCs; an article in Literaturnaya Gazeta criticizing Soviet foreign policy under Stalin; the May 23 CPSU CC plenum approving the party's plans for the upcoming party conference; and Gorbachev's sarcastic comments on the activities of Sergey Grigoriants. The discussants agreed that the current glasnost displayed by the Soviet media and party leaders, albeit a welcome break from past practices, is often accompanied by old style Soviet propaganda which undermines the credibility of the article or speech in question.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Mihajlov, W 4:30) reviewed reaction in the Soviet press to the publication of an excerpt from emigre writer Vasily Aksenov's book In Search of a Melancholy Baby in the popular Soviet humor weekly Krokodil.

9. The Environment. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Komarov, Isr. 5) sharply criticized the Soviet government for continuing to hunt whales despite a growing clamor of international protest.

10. Society. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gordin, M 4) analyzed an article appearing in Sovetskaya Kultura offering advice to working mothers on how to cope with household chores after a full day's work. The program pointed out that women in the USSR do not need the so-called "health tips" offered by the newspaper, but greater social and economic rights to enable them to make the most efficient use of their time with the family.

11. Space. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY TODAY (Muslin, NY 15) summarized an article published in US News and World Report on the future of the Soviet space program. The program outlined the USSR's plans for an expanded commercial shuttle program, permanent orbiting laboratories, and manned and unmanned flights to Mars.

12. Literature. FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, NY 29:30) broadcast the thirteenth installment of the third part of Alexander Solzhenitsyn's The Gulag Archipelago.

13. Religion. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fotiyev, M 5) reviewed an interview with a Soviet religious affairs official published in Literaturnaya Gazeta in which the official admitted that serious errors have been committed in the past with regard to the treatment of believers and church property. The program

commented that while such admissions from Soviet officials are welcome, they should not disguise the fact that church-state relations are in need of a comprehensive restructuring.

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

1. Hungary. PRESS REVIEW (EVENTS AND PEOPLE) (Mirsky, P 7) presented French press commentaries on the recent ouster of Janos Kadar in Le Figaro, Le Monde, Le Quotidien de Paris, and Liberation from May 24.
2. Bulgaria. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Rahr, M 5:30) on the occasion of the Orthodox Church celebration of Cyril and Methodius, presented a biography of the two monks who were responsible for developing and disseminating literacy in the Eastern Slavic countries in the ninth century.
3. Vietnam. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kushev, M 3:30) pointed to the critical food situation in Vietnam, admitted by the authorities themselves, which the program said is a result of both the regime's economic policy and natural phenomena. The program was a RERUN from May 20.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. Culture. In EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Matusevich, M 3) RL's correspondent at the 41st Cannes International Film Festival expressed his surprise and despair at the decision of the jury to award first prize to a Danish film of little artistic merit.
2. Science. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY TODAY (Muslin, NY 7) reported on the development of new high powered telescopes in Switzerland capable of showing the atomic structure of metals.
3. Urban America. OVER THE BARRIERS (Vail and Genis, NY 14) discussed two poles of American life -- suburbia and New York. The program was a RERUN from May 20.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Wednesday, 25 May 1988

J. Benson

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

1. Soviet-US Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 5:30) highlighted the main points of President Reagan's speech before departing for the summit. Among other things he mentioned the changes that had taken place since his first meeting with Gorbachev in 1985 and detailed the topics scheduled for this summit.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 4), drawing on articles in The Washington Post from May 25 and Western news agency reports, updated the latest developments in the US Senate deliberations which indicate the treaty on arms limitation will be passed in time for the Moscow summit.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Weinstein, W 6:30) summed up American predictions that the summit will play an important role in internal political affairs in both the Soviet Union and the US. The scheduled major points to be discussed will include arms control, human rights, regional conflicts, and bilateral relations. The program then quoted passages of the president's TV speech to the nation on the eve of his departure for Moscow.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Polishchuk, W 5:30) said that the American press was unanimous in its praise and recognition of President Reagan for his role in transforming Soviet-American relations. The opinion prevailed that the summit is the culmination of a long development which may begin a period of the best bilateral relations between the two countries since the end of World War II. Sovietologist Arnold Khorelik was quoted as objecting to the widespread use in the press of the terms "detente" and "disarmament", which he said applied to the 1970s but not to today's situation of reduced Soviet military might.

2. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 4:30) drew attention to the disparity between First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Vorontsov's statement at a press conference that the Soviet withdrawal was proceeding normally and the AFP report that the Mujahidin had cut off the Soviet retreat route by capturing the village of Sajdabad. It was also noted that the

13,310 Soviet deaths in Afghanistan revealed by General Lizichev is considerably below Western estimates. Liberation and Le Monde, both of May 25, were cited.

In THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Gordin and Shuster, M and Peshawar 7:30) RL's special correspondent in Peshawar, Savik Shuster, discussed the figures divulged by the head of the Soviet Army and Navy Political Department, Army General Lizichev, during the Reagan-Gorbachev summit on the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan and the Soviet casualties suffered in the war. Shuster said it is very difficult to check the figures on the casualties, which seem to be too low, and he pointed to discrepancies between official Soviet figures concerning the withdrawal rate. Shuster suggested that the reason for releasing the figures during the summit was to demonstrate glasnost.

3. Dissidents and Human Rights. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Paramonov, NY 5:30) summarized a New York Times article of May 24 (F. Berringer) which described the ambiguous situation and unclear legal status of recently-released dissidents in the Soviet Union. The article also mentioned the continued imprisonment of 17 human rights advocates, cases of refuseniks still not permitted to emigrate and the failure of the state to recognize the legal status of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. A Soviet official was quoted as saying that human rights in the Soviet Union is still a relatively new concept for most.

4. Emigres. On AT THE BOOKSHELF (Voinovich, M 29:30) the emigre writer Vladimir Voinovich read the first part of his story The Cap, about a special type of Soviet writer who avoids all politics by writing only about good, heroic, and professional people, connives for awards and swaps medals, but unfortunately can neither listen to criticism nor write.

5. Restructuring. DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Shragin, NY 20) recalled that "party" derives from the Latin for "one part" or "one group" of a whole and consequently in a one-party system the views and wishes of one social group are imposed on the rest. The program author then gave examples from his own 12-year party membership showing how the rigid structure of the Party smothered initial enthusiasm and initiative, ultimately suppressing and persecuting those who thought different than the group. The current discussion in the Soviet press about anti-restructuring forces was shown to resolve around the party's maintaining power. Pravda from May 4 and Moskovske Novosti of May 1 were cited.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 3:30) drawing upon an article in The Baltimore Sun from May 25, reported the consensus of Western observers that the upcoming summit should strengthen Gorbachev's position in the struggle for restructuring in the domestic area. Compared with Krushchev, Gorbachev was said to have accumulated considerable successes in foreign policy.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 19) gave the text of the interview given by Mikhail Poltoranin, former editor-in-chief of Moskovskaya Pravda and now chairman of the Moscow City Party Organization of the USSR Union of Journalists, to Corriere della Sera reporter A. Bonanni and published May 12. Poltoranin, a supporter of Yeltsin, explained his fall, mentioning among other things the special problems in Moscow, the power of the raion committees and party mafia, the opposition of the state machinery to Yeltsin, and the differences between Yeltsin and Ligachev, who supports these forces. Yeltsin's replacement, Zaikov, was said to be the Siamese twin of Ligachev. the Andreyeva letter was said to be an open move of the conservative forces against restructuring. Poltoranin did not believe that the party leadership would try to unseat Gorbachev like they did Khrushchev, for the majority of the party and the people were said to support him.

6. Glasnost. RUSSIA YESTERDAY, TODAY AND TOMMORROW (Alexseyeva, W 7) highlighted the main points of a speech about the situation of foreign journalists in the era of glasnost given by an American journalist for The Washington Post who spent three and a half years in the Soviet Union. While she said it is easier to obtain more information now from the Soviet press, interviews with middle-level members of the Soviet hierarchy and the unofficial social groups said to have taken the place of the dissidents, journalists still cannot freely travel throughout the Soviet Union and the official policy of glasnost can be shut down overnight as was the case in Yeltsin's dismissal, the Andreyeva letter and the riots in Azerbaijan.

7. The Economy. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Henkina, M 5:30) gave first impressions of Soviet Premier Ryzhkov's speech at the recent session of the Supreme Soviet on May 24, noting his criticism of resistance to the reforms of cooperatives on grounds of conserving socialism, his emphasis on the cooperatives' importance for the economic wellbeing of the country, and the simplification of the process of starting a cooperative. However, it was regretted that the suffocating policies of a high progressive tax on cooperatives and the state centralized orders which especially affect kolkhozes were not changed. The program concluded that the draft law proposes to widen the field of cooperative activities, while the state still keeps control of the ball.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Henkina, M 7:30) analyzed the speech given by Ryzhkov on May 24 before the Supreme Soviet which led to an unprecedented debate and postponement of voting on the Draft Law on Cooperatives in order to consider amendments. The program surmised from the available information that the high progressive income tax on cooperatives earnings and the half-hearted changes of state supplies and orders for agricultural cooperatives were the main reasons for contention. While Ryzhkov's speech was said to be a perfect example of

demagoguery, the resulting disagreement was felt to be promising.

8. The Military. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 1) revealed that while Soviet draftees do not have to pledge allegiance to fight for the socialist brother countries, they have no possibility of alternative service as in Poland, Hungary and the GDR. They either serve in the army or else sit out a three-year prison sentence.

9. The Law. HUMAN RIGHTS (Shragin, NY 12:30; Fedoseyev and Malinkovich, M 5; and Kaminskaya, W 6:30), a RERUN from May 11, began by commenting on a Soviet TV program from early May showing a meeting of a public commission devoted to how to improve Soviet law. The program then pointed to the ineffectiveness of a law passed last year making it possible to appeal to the courts against illegal actions by officials. In conclusion, the program discussed the work of Soviet courts and judges, pointing out that the interests of the party are placed above the law.

10. The Nationalities. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Rahr, M 9:30) read an interview published in No. 8 of the unofficial newspaper Referendum (AS-6212) in which a policeman gave an eyewitness account of the violence in Sumgait on February 27-29. Among other things, he said the violence was instigated by agitators who had left Armenia at the time of the demonstrations there and by rumors and lies provoked the dissatisfied youth among the non-native population. In many cases, he said, simple robbery, not nationalism, was involved and the conflict between Muslims and Christians was also implicated. Referendum noted that the riots might not have taken place, had the official media reported objectively on the non-violent character of the protests in Armenia.

11. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Paramonov, Genis and Vail, NY 27:30), a RERUN from May 8, featured a talk about the problem of the USSR's cultural orientation on the threshold of a crisis in inter-nationality relations.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Tolz, M 7:30) defended the first part of The Day of Judgement, a piece of "anti-literature" written by the Vladivostok writer Viktor Ivanov and published in Nash Sovremennik, No. 4, from sarcastic criticism of Ogonek (No. 20), but accused the author of stealing many of his ideas from the Soviet writer Valery Yemelyanov, in particular his book De-Zionization. The program then sketched that author's fate and mentioned some of his anti-Semitic ideas.

12. Religion. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Rahr, M 8:30) drew attention to the fact that the new decree of the Russian Orthodox Church being prepared is based on the existing laws on cults which restrict the rights of believers and make them second-class citizens. Depending on Soviet or Western sources,

20 to 40 percent of the population are believers, which the program said is a large enough number in democratic societies to influence the laws. The program advocated both a new decree which corresponds to the needs of the church and a real dialogue between church and state in which the state must take a neutral ideological position between believers and atheists. Articles from Novosti news agency and in Literaturnaya Gazeta of May 18 were cited.

13. History. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 10:30) drew attention to the old Stalinist stereotypes coated with a semi-restructuring, semi-glasnost glaze in Prof. Dashichev's article in Literaturnaya Gazeta from May 18, which allegedly traces the history of relations with the US but in the process warms up the pre-glasnost rhetoric and interpretation of history. The program corrected in particular the view that the US caused the Soviets' post-World War II isolation which resulted in stagnation and backwardness, questioned the Prof. choice of the word "friendly" rather than "marionette" to describe the countries on the Soviet Western border, examined his accusation of worldwide US aggression, and expressed amazement that the professor could quote Lenin as advocating world peace.

IN RUSSIA YESTERDAY, TODAY AND TOMORROW (Maksimov, P 12) the emigre author Vladimir Maksimov debunked the current myth of "Lenin norms," which continue to be invoked in the Soviet press, by citing Soviet sources on the brutalities and crimes committed in the name of the Party during the years 1917-1924. A history of this period The Red Terror, written by the emigre historian Sergey Melgunov was also referred to. Maksimov remarked that tearing down monuments to certain henchmen just to raise them to others is not the best way to fill in the blank spots of Soviet history.

RUSSIA YESTERDAY, TODAY AND TOMORROW (Geller, P 8) showed how the Party, in particular Maxim Gorky, turned a case of murder into the myth of Pavlik Morozov, the communist hero who exposed his own parents as class enemies, and used it as an ideological tool to win over youth.

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

1. Hungary. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Belotserkovsky, M 10) analyzed the concrete and abstract results of the Hungarian Communist Party Conference which took place on May 23, concluding that the ultimate step to democracy had not been made: the call for fractions within the party had been rejected. Le Quotidien de Paris and Le Monde were cited.

2. Poland. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 4) backgrounded the Polish government's recent decision to delete that part of the Polish military oath regarding support of the Soviet Army

and to allow alternative civil service in place of military service.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The USA. DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Morozov, NY 6) commented on the rapid publication of news stories in the USA and gave an example of the easy accessibility of military information.

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

None

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Thursday, 26 May 1988

J. Benson

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

1. Soviet-US Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 4), drawing on reports in The Washington Post and The Los Angeles Times of May 26, summed up the last obstacles to the US Senate vote on the treaty to eliminate intermediate and short-range nuclear missiles, in particular mentioning the amendment requiring Senate support of any reinterpretation by a new president. It was predicted that the treaty would be passed in time for the summit.

2. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Shuster, Peshawar 4) explained the reasons for the resistance factions' decision not to storm the city of Jalalabad after the Soviet withdrawal from the region and thus resist Pakistan's pressure which favored this measure as a way of neutralizing international criticism of its arms deliveries. Among other points, the program mentioned the geographic problems of a siege of the city, its increased supply of arms, and the psychological aspects of such a battle for both sides. The program said the ability of the Mujahidin leaders to dissuade the leaders of the seven Islamic resistance parties from carrying out the plan indicates their growing political authority.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 8:3) drew attention to three recent press conferences in Moscow which exemplify the slow progress of glasnost in the military sector, in particular as regards the size of the Soviet contingent in Afghanistan. While Marshal Akhromeyev finally revealed the figure on May 26, only one day earlier General Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Political Administration, had refused to cite an overall figure, giving only the number of killed, missing, and injured. The program noted that contrary to earlier Soviet claims of exaggeration, Western estimates were quite accurate. The numerous stereotypes in General Lizichev's speech were said to demonstrate the military's predilection for disinformation, which at times inadvertently appeared to contradict the official line. The program considered inappropriate First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Vorontsov's attack on Pakistan at a press conference, also on May 25, for breaking the Geneva

agreement in view of the Soviet Union's own declared intention to continue to help the Kabul regime.

3. Dissidents and Human Rights. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 12) broadcast a telephone interview with Sergey Grigoryants, the editor of the unofficial journal Glasnost, who told about his current situation, mentioning among other things the KGB's continued harassment, the confiscation of the journal's machines and computers, and his arrest. He considered Gorbachev's interview in the American newspapers The Washington Post and The New York Times as reflecting negatively on Gorbachev, since it showed the government's support of the illegal treatment meted out to Grigoryants, and the limits of glasnost, which for Gorbachev includes only positive critiques of the Soviet leadership. Grigoryants then set the record straight on his distant Jewish relatives, his wish to remain in the Soviet Union, and his plans for extensive journalistic activities in the future.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mihajlov, W 5) expressed the opinion that Gorbachev's attack against Sergey Grigoryants, editor of the unofficial journal Glasnost, in an interview given to The Washington Post was a relic of Stalinist times which has been used against all dissidents. This incident was said to again demonstrate how unequal are the rights enjoyed by leaders of the party and those of the average citizen.

FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 29:30) featured the 12th installment of the autobiography of recently-deceased human rights activist Oleg Volkov entitled Descent into Darkness.

4. The Economy. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Roitman and Henkina, M 10:30) expressed disappointment at the final results of the recent session of the Supreme Soviet, particularly in connection with the draft law on cooperatives. Criticizing the original high progressive tax as totally illogical, the program warned that widespread corruption could easily result from the provision allowing local authorities to set taxes for cooperatives considered important for the local region. The program did not believe cooperatives, especially the kolkhozes, would be exempted from state order plans. The announcement that the Supreme Court will now examine cases in the first instance, was considered to be very negative since this will reduce the chances of the accused to have his case reexamined, a development that is expected to have antisocial results in divorce cases. The program also doubted that the courts' intensified campaign against the profiteers of alcohol will do anything more than improve statistics but make life worse.

MAN AND SOCIETY (Shapiro, Isr. 8), a RERUN from January 21, described the poor living conditions and food supplies in most Soviet cities, and commented that so far restructuring has failed to improve the standard of living in the USSR.

MAN AND SOCIETY (Voronitsyn, M 5), a RERUN from January 21, discussed the prospects for unemployment in the USSR, and described the system of unemployment benefits in the FRG. An RLR Research Report was used.

5. The Environment. MAN AND SOCIETY (Wolfson-Komarov, Isr. 5:30), a RERUN from January 21, pointed to continued environmental pollution in the USSR. The program was pegged to a TASS report on the pollution of several rivers in the Perm region.

6. Health. MAN AND SOCIETY (Plakkhin, W 8:30), a RERUN from January 21, described the desolate state of most Soviet psychiatric hospitals, and suggested that Soviet psychiatric practices have been so discredited that the hospitals should be closed down.

7. The Nationality Problem. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Rahr, M 8:30) recommended an article by the Estonian writer Lennart Meri which was published in Russian in Molodezhi Estoni of May 12. Suggesting the author's points are relevant for other republics, the program then broadcast an abridged version of the article in which the declining numbers of Estonians in Estonia were said to be a result of feelings of hopelessness arising from the country's loss of sovereignty. The author called upon the government to invest in young marriages, giving monetary incentives for each Estonian child born, and promised the Russians support with restructuring provided they give the Estonians the hope of being able to decide questions of economics, culture, and the family in their own country.

DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 27:30), a RERUN from May 5, presented the first installment of an open letter (samizdat item AS-6192) by Armenian poetess Silva Kaputikyan presenting the Armenian standpoint on the Mountainous Karabakh issue.

8. Culture. ROUND TABLE TALK (Roitman, Matusevich, and Henkina, M 20) was about the paradoxical situation in which, despite glasnost and restructuring, the Soviet cinema has failed to produce any new outstanding works. The Cannes Film Festival was mentioned by way of example. As reasons for this phenomenon, the program suggested a "freedom shock" which has resulted in a preoccupation with journalistic, documentary works; the decades-long corruption of filmmakers; and a lack of experience in catering for a mass public. The program expressed optimism, however, that glasnost will eventually produce a new generation of talented creative workers.

9. History. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (tolz, M 9) wondered when the Soviet Union would admit the truth about the Katyn massacre of Polish officers in World War II. After examining articles appearing in the Soviet press and abroad calling for clarification of this incident, the program concluded that the current laws allow relatives of the responsible Chekhists who

killed the officers to hinder access to the relevant documents preserved in the KGB official archives by claiming state secrecy. An upcoming publication of the memoirs of Boris Menshagin (YMCA Press, Paris, 1988) was said to expose the falsity of the Soviet version presented at the Nuremberg Trial which accused the Germans of the massacre. Mezhdunarodnaya Zhizn of May, Literaturnaya Gazeta of May 19, and Pravda were cited.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 10:30) reviewed an article on the life and fate of the famous Admiral Nikolay Kuznetsov which was published in Krasnaya Zvezda of May 21. The program regretted that the journal had published rumors known to be false and corrected the "fantastic" hypothesis of the author that the battleship Novorossiysk had been destroyed by Italian saboteurs chagrined that a former Italian ship should fly the Soviet flag after World War II and this had caused the forced retirement of Admiral Kuznetsov.

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

1. Eastern Europe. OVER THE BARRIERS (Paramonov, NY 27:30) broadcast a round-table discussion about the 1960s, particularly the year 1968, in Eastern Europe, which focused on the hopes and enthusiasm, the change in consciousness, and the dashing of these hopes with the Soviet invasion of Prague. While Western culture was said to have lost its repressive character and become more natural during these years, in Eastern Europe the concept of the individual as opposed to the collective gained ground, at least among the intelligentsia.

2. Vietnam. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, M 4:30) said it is no coincidence that the Vietnamese plan a withdrawal from Cambodia shortly after the Russian withdrawal from Afghanistan, suggesting the Vietnamese are not only seeking much-needed American economic aid, by doing this, but are also removing the last obstacle to a rapprochement between the PRC and the USSR.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. Angola. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Salkazanov, P 5:30) reviewed the brochure, published in Paris by Est et Ouest, by the French journalist Branko Lazich, comparing the 13-year war in Angola with the Soviet experience in Afghanistan and predicted a similar, imminent end.

2. Italy. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, Rome 4:30) explained the factors involved in the on-going strike of journalists in Italy.

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

1. Religion. JUDAISM (Lvov, Vail, and Haskelevich, NY 9:30, 7:30, and 10:30) featured items on the family's key role in Jewish ethics, the problem of adoption in Biblical and modern times, and the world-wide influence of the Torah on other religions.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Friday, 27 May 1988

D. Felton

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

1. Soviet-US Relations. PRESS REVIEW (EVENTS AND PEOPLE) (Polishchuk, W 6:30) reviewed American press comment on US-Soviet relations on the eve of the Reagan-Gorbachev summit. The program cited The Los Angeles Times (Toth and Nelson) on the evolution of President Reagan's attitude toward the USSR; The Washington Post (Rosenfeld) on signs that the USSR is giving up its expansionist policy; The Chicago Tribune (De Lama) and The New York Times (Barringer) on Soviet displeasure over President Reagan's recent expression of concern over the human rights situation in the USSR; and The New York Times (Keller) on a poll commissioned by that newspaper in conjunction with CBS in which Moscow citizens expressed their views on such matters as prospects for an improvement in the Soviet standard of living, restructuring and democratization, and US-Soviet relations.

2. Afghanistan. On EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Shuster, Peshawar 6:30) RL's special correspondent Savik Shuster quoted the director of the Afghan Information Center, Naim Majrou, that the replacement of Afghan Prime Minister Ali Keshmand by the non-party member Muhammad-Hasan Shark came as no surprise. Najibullah, he said, wants to give his regime a more Islamic and less communist appearance. However, Shark has a leftist record, and the move does not deceive the Mujahidin. The program also noted Kabul's diplomatic activity, reflected in Najibullah's upcoming appearance at the UN General Assembly's 42nd session on disarmament and visits to Cuba and Czechoslovakia. Reference was made to bombing raids by the Afghan Air Force on frontier areas of the country, to the approximately 600 Soviet advisers remaining in Jalalabad, and to increasingly frequent Kabul terrorist attacks in Peshawar (the Pakistani newspaper The Muslim was used).

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 7) observed that the Soviets have left as an aftermath of their occupation of Afghanistan not only human casualties and devastation, but an Afghan version of the KGB, namely the Khad. The program used an article in the French newspaper Liberation by special correspondent Bruno Philippe.

3. USSR-Israel. JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 3 and Simis, W 7:30) mentioned developments in the field of Soviet-Israeli relations, in particular the USSR's promise to issue visas to an Israeli consular delegation. It was noted that in May, only 40 of 850 Jews leaving the USSR ended up in Israel, a record low number. The program reported on the resultant controversy in Israel, and reported that supporters of sending all emigrating Soviet Jews to Israel via Bucharest failed to gain a majority. Soviet Jewish emigres Sharansky, Nudel, and Mendelevich issued a statement condemning such a plan. The program then reported on grave concern among American Jewry over the small proportion of Jewish immigrants into Israel in general, highlighting proposals made by one of the leaders of the World Zionist Organization, Jo Vernik, to remedy the situation. In the introduction to the item, facts about Zionism were given in order to correct the distorted picture given by the Soviet media.

4. Emigres. AT THE BOOKSHELF (Perouansky, M 27:30) featured the second installment of a reading by Soviet emigre writer Vladimir Voinovich of his story The Cap, published in Kontinent and soon to be issued in London by Overseas Publications. The story is a gloomy satire on the USSR Writers Union, and its hero, the writer Yefim Rakhlin, takes care to write only about "positive characters," and to avoid taking any ideological line.

5. The Upcoming 19th CPSU Conference. ROUND TABLE TALK (Roitman, Tolz, and Belotserkovsky, M 20) commented on the theses for the conference which have just been published. The program began by remarking that while the theses talk of broadening the role of the soviets, the Supreme Soviet was not able to discuss them because they were issued too late for its session. This, said the program, shows that it is not the people which rules the country, through the soviets, but a partocracy through the CC organs and the Politburo. The theses follow the traditional pattern of trying to appear realistic on the one hand and yet offering bright prospects on the other. They offer no prospect of a rapid change in the socioeconomic situation, and proclaim the goal of general wellbeing for the people, but they fail to say specifically how and when this goal is to be achieved. The theses give the conference participants a considerable degree of freedom, and it will be up to the participants how to make use of it. The one-party system is stressed, and the consequent need for a permanent mechanism for the presentation of differing views. However, there is no indication of such a mechanism being set up, and factional activity is condemned as anti-Leninist. The previously discussed broad public front for restructuring is not mentioned in the theses. Public organizations operating in the interest of the development of socialism are welcomed, but this gives wide scope for arbitrariness. Nevertheless, the theses contain two tiny steps forward in the form of a reference to real pluralism of opinion (which, however, can only be fruitful on a

basis of socialism), and a proposal to discuss the election of soviet deputies directly from approved public organizations. The replacement of party officials after a maximum of three five-year terms is also to be discussed. The program suggested that it would be a good thing if the theses contained such proposals, previously made in public discussions, as introducing glasnost in the work of top party organs, and the election of at least 50 percent non-nomenklatura persons to the CPSU CC as recommended by Lenin.

6. Restructuring. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Perouansky, M 8:30) commented on an article in Novy Mir, No. 5, by economist Vasily Selyunin in which he sharply criticizes collectivization, for which he says Lenin is also to blame, and economic centralization. Selyunin compares the USSR's centralized economic system with that existing under Peter the Great, and praises Stolypin's reforms. As regards Gorbachev's reform program, Selyunin says that "history will not forgive us if we miss our chance. The gulf must be overcome in one leap, not two."

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 8) highlighted an article by L'Unita's correspondent Giulietto Chiesa on the publication of Nina Andreyeva's letter in Sovetskaya Rossiya having been engineered by Ligachev as a move against restructuring and glasnost. The article shows the original version of the letter to be far worse than the published version; in particular, it is highly anti-Semitic.

7. The Economy. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Weinstein, W 4:30) cited an article by The Washington Post's Moscow correspondent Lee in which he quotes the view of many experts that Gorbachev's decision to postpone a reform of the Soviet price formation system until the early 1990s is a mistake.

8. The Environment. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fishbein, M 8) highlighted a letter by 475 Sebastopol residents published in the Kiev newspaper Kultura i Zhyttia protesting against the planned construction of an atomic power station in the Crimea, and in general against the environmental ravages there caused by industrial development.

9. Ideology. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Paramonov, NY 3:30) gave the contents of an article by David Binder in The New York Times on changes in Soviet ideological terminology under Gorbachev which reflect Soviet foreign policy's reorientation toward geopolitical rather than ideological considerations.

10. The Legal System. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Rahr and Roitman, M 5:30) commented on the replacement of Alexander Rekunkov by Alexander Sukharev as USSR Prosecutor General. The program suggested that Rekunkov's ouster is connected with the corruption which occurred at the top level of the Soviet leadership during his tenure of office, so that entrusting him

with the restructuring of the Soviet legal system would have been a mockery. Reference was also made to Rekunkov's involvement in Sakharov's illegal banning to Gorky. The program said that Rekunkov's successor, Sukharev, is a dyed-in-the-wool nomenklatura official. In 1976, imprisoned human rights activist Vladimir Bukovsky charged Sukharev, then first Deputy Minister of Justice, with slander, but the courts refused to handle the case. The program expressed the hope that Sukharev's attitude has since undergone a restructuring.

11. The Nationalities. DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 29:30), a RERUN from May 6, gave the text of the second half of an open letter (AS-6192) by Armenian poetess Silva Kaputikyan to "all honest men of science, culture and the press" appealing for support for the return of the Mountainous Karabagh to Armenia.

12. Religion. THE MILLENNIUM OF THE CHRISTIANIZATION OF RUSSIA (Rahr, M 15:30 and Miloslavsky, Jerusalem 11), a RERUN from May 20, was devoted to the questions of the restoration of the Kiev Cave Monastery, and its return to the Russian Orthodox Church, and the wanderings of early 18th-century Kiev pilgrim Vasily Grigorevich (Barsky).

13. Culture. In OVER THE BARRIERS (Matusevich, Cannes 9) RL's special correspondent at the Cannes Film Festival suggested that the Soviet cinema could well learn from the experience of the Hungarian and Chinese cinemas. The program then gave a RERUN from May 22 of highly positive reviews of American, French, and Swedish films shown at the festival about Soviet moviemaking personalities Klimov, Parajanov, and Tarkovsky.

14. History. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanov, P 4) cited an article in Le Monde of May 26 by the newspaper's Moscow correspondent, Bernard Guetta, on history exams being canceled this year in Soviet schools in expectation of new textbooks giving a more truthful picture of history. The program noted that on the same day as Guetta's article appeared, prominent Soviet historian Natan Eydelman, previously barred from traveling abroad, arrived in Paris to deliver a lecture at Paris University.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Mihajlov, W 5) drew attention to a remark made by Ogonek editor Vitaly Korotich on CBS TV to the effect that Stalin killed his wife Nadezhda Alliluyeva. No previous official Soviet confirmation of this had been issued. The program said Korotich's statement represents a further step in the revelation of Stalin's crimes. As regards Korotich's comment that "that was the kind of man Stalin was," the program pointed out that only in non-democratic countries do the personal qualities of the leader play a decisive role. Lenin, said the program, was only against Stalin because he was rude and inconsiderate toward party comrades.

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

1. Southeast Asia. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Weinstein, W 4:30) commented on Vietnam's announcement that it will withdraw 50,000 troops from Cambodia and place those remaining under the Cambodian supreme command. The program mentioned US State Department spokesman Redman's call for a complete withdrawal, Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Ko That's acceptance of an American proposal to discuss the question of the emigration of persons recently released from Vietnamese reeducation camps, and That's proposal for a renewal of talks on American soldiers missing in action. The program suggested that the Vietnamese withdrawal announcement is connected with the upcoming Gorbachev-Reagan summit, and Vietnam's economic difficulties and requests to Western countries for food aid. Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Rogachev was quoted as welcoming the Vietnamese decision.

2. Poland. In OVER THE BARRIERS (Matusevich, Cannes 6) RL's special correspondent at the Cannes Film Festival spoke highly of Polish movie director Krzysztof Kieslowski's Short Film About a Murder, which paints a grimly realistic picture of life in a Warsaw suburb.

3. Hungary. In OVER THE BARRIERS (Matusevich, Cannes 5) RL's special correspondent at the Cannes Film Festival spoke favorably of nine Hungarian films shown there giving a realistic picture of life in Hungary.

4. The Portuguese CP. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, Rome 4:30) reported on the crisis being experienced by the party as a result of its adherence to Stalinist positions against the background of Gorbachev's restructuring policy.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The Middle East. JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 14) excerpted Israeli President Chaim Herzog's book on the history of the Israeli Army.

JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 3) described the Israeli political scene in connection with the elections to take place in about half a year. The program noted a shift of public support to rightist groups which are in favor of retaining Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip, and briefly outlined the strong and weak points of the position adopted on the Palestinian question by Foreign Minister Peres and his supporters. Possible repercussions of the Gorbachev-Reagan summit were mentioned. Decreasing unrest in the occupied territories was noted. Turning to other domestic matters, the program made brief reference to the labor conflict in the public health system, and a decision by the Supreme Court of Justice

allowing women believers to participate in the election of rabbis.

2. Nicaragua. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 3:30) reported on the beginning of the third round of talks between the Nicaraguan government and the Contras. The program noted the Contras' call for a new agreement, and the government's counter-demands.

3. Denmark. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Pimonov, Copenhagen 3:30) reported on a debate in the columns of the Danish Christian newspaper Kristeligt Dagblad over the assertion made by a parliamentary deputy of the Socialist People's Party to the effect that a true Christian had to be a socialist.

4. The 1968 Student Revolts in Western Countries. PRESS REVIEW (EVENTS AND PEOPLE) (Gregory, M 5:30) cited comment in the Neue Zuercher Zeitung, The Economist, and Le Monde.

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

1. Culture. On OVER THE BARRIERS (Matusevich, M 3), a RERUN from May 24, RL's correspondent at the 41st Cannes International Film Festival expressed his surprise and despair at the decision of the jury to award first prize to a Danish film of little artistic merit.

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RADIO FREE EUROPE
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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Saturday, 28 May 1988

D. Felton

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

1. Soviet-US Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Weinstein, W 9), in a review of the week's events in Washington, focused entirely on the upcoming Reagan-Gorbachev summit. The program gave the substance of President Reagan's statements prior to his departure for the summit, reported on the Senate's final approval of the INF treaty, and spoke of the tremendous interest in the US in Gorbachev's interview to The Washington Post and Newsweek, and in the present developments in the USSR and Eastern Europe in general.

SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, M 11) outlined the present state of US-Soviet arms negotiations in connection with the upcoming Reagan-Gorbachev summit. The program suggested that little progress may be expected in this area as a result of the summit, although agreements may be signed on missile testing and nuclear test notification. Gorbachev could also make a gesture in announcing the withdrawal of a few Soviet military units from Central Europe, although this could hardly be considered a substantial contribution to disarmament in view of the present Soviet numerical superiority.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rubin, NY 5:30) commented on an article by Vladimir Geskin in Sovetsky Sport entitled "Bridges of Trust" which asked what had happened to the Americans to make them so friendly toward the USSR. The program welcomed the article, and expressed the hope that it represents a permanent change in attitude and is not just part of a presummit Soviet press campaign. At the same time, the program gave examples of the traditional American friendship toward Soviet sportsmen, and said that what has made a difference is the fact that Soviet sportsmen themselves have become more forthcoming.

2. The Standard of Living in the USSR and the US. WRITERS AT THE MICROPHONE (Dovlatov, NY 7:30) took issue with a claim by American authoress Paula Garb, who has been living for 15 years in Moscow, in a recent interview to Argumenty i Fakty to the effect that the standard of living of the average qualified worker in the USSR is if anything higher than that of his

American counterpart. Garb's comparison is based on the cases of herself and her brother, who works in San Francisco. The program pointed out various discrepancies in the comparison, the main one being that Garb is paid well above the Soviet average, and her brother well below the American average.

3. Dissidents and Human Rights. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, M 6:30) took issue with a TASS reply to President Reagan's statements, made in Helsinki on the way to the Moscow summit, on the subject of human rights in the USSR. The program criticized TASS's attempt to relativize the statements, and its invocation of the Soviet Constitution as a guarantee of respect for human rights in the USSR. The program remarked that aside from the fact that much is now being written and said in the USSR on the deficiencies of the present Constitution, adopted in 1977 during the Brezhnevian "stagnation" era, the question is whether there are guarantees of the Constitution's provisions being carried out in practice.

HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE USSR (Malinkovich, M 8:30) was pegged to an article by Soviet demographer Viktor Perevedentsev in Moskovske Novosti, No. 20, describing freedom of movement throughout the country as an elementary human right. However, said the program, it is not enough simply to remove existing administrative restrictions on freedom of movement; socioeconomic conditions for exercising this right must be created, and in the USSR the situation in this regard is unsatisfactory, despite Soviet claims, in response to criticism of non-observance of human rights in the USSR, that in the USSR socioeconomic rights are guaranteed. The program pointed in this connection to the tremendous gulf in the USSR between town and country, between the capital and the provinces, as regards living conditions and professional opportunities. The program agreed with Perevedentsev that in most cases, free migration is a positive process, but said it often also has a destructive effect on individual nationalities. This could be overcome by the introduction of a republican, as opposed to an all-union citizenship.

4. Emigres. WRITERS AT THE MICROPHONE (Voynovich, M 16:30) took issue with Krokodil's dishonesty in publishing readers' letters vilifying Soviet emigre writer Vasily Aksenov after the satirical journal published an excerpt from his book In Search of Melancholy Baby on the grounds that he glorified America and slandered the Soviet Union for money. The program described the book as objective and critical, and commented that Krokodil seems to have been virtually unaffected by restructuring. Aksenov's book, said the program, and not Krokodil shows the way to better relations between the USSR and the US.

5. The Law. HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE USSR (Kaminskaya, W 8:30) was pegged to Gorbachev's comment, over one year ago, that Soviet law enforcement organs often "fired cannons against sparrows," while failing to uncover serious crimes against society and

individual citizens." The program remarked that the reason for the latter is that organized crime groups have such power as to render them exempt from punishment. The program discussed a study on the subject of miscarriages of justice conducted by a group of legal experts at Kuybyshev University who found sloppy investigation and inadequate control by the state prosecution organs to be major reasons. The program added that the state prosecution is interested in a high percentage of convictions, and said that the investigation apparatus should be made an independent body. The program also spoke of the traditional Soviet prejudice against the accused, Respect for legal procedure, the principle of presumption of innocence, etc. can, however, only be instilled under conditions of true democracy and respect for human rights.

6. The KGB. SIGNAL (Morozov, W 13:30) presented an RL interview with former KGB Major Stanislav Levchenko in which he talked about his book on his work for the KGB, his life in the US, restructuring (Levchenko said Gorbachev must mobilize the masses), etc.

7. The Nationalities. HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE USSR (Shragin, NY 9:30) gave recent Soviet press comment on the Mountainous Karabagh conflict as an example of the tradition in the USSR of blaming internal problems on a mythical "enemy," often located abroad. The program referred to Stalin's prewar warnings of "capitalist encirclement."

8. Religion. NOT BY BREAD ALONE (Rahr, M 8:30), a RERUN from May 25, remarked that glasnost has also reached the affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church, with information being revealed on the number of churches and believers, etc. As regards the claim that Leninist principles are being restored in the regime's attitude toward the church, the program cited Lenin's February 1922 letter calling for the swift confiscation of church valuables and a ruthless campaign against the clergy. The program called for a genuine dialogue between church and state, guarantees of the church's internal freedom, and the state's ideological neutrality.

SUNDAY SERVICE (Rahr and Ziolkovich, M 49:30), a RERUN from 6 June 1987, presented a Russian Orthodox Church service devoted to Whitsun.

NOT BY BREAD ALONE (Aksenov-Meyerson, NY 9) gave profiles of Russian saints commemorated by the Russian Orthodox Church at this time of the year, namely the Blessed Isidor of Rostov, the Blessed Tsarevich Dmitry, and Saints Yefrosiny of Moscow, Ignaty of Vologda, and Kornily of Komela.

9. British Tourists in the USSR. OUR PLANET (Gregory, M 3:30) cited an account in the British Sunday Times of May 1 by a 60-year-old British woman and her son of her adventures touring the USSR by car.

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

1. Cuba-French CP. OUR PLANET (Salkazanov, P 2) reported on a French court's awarding Cuban poet and former political prisoner under Castro, Armando Valladares, compensation against the French CP newspaper l'Humanite for the latter's allegation that Valladares had been a member of Battista's secret police.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The Middle East. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Miloslavsky, Jerusalem 9) reported on the expectations of Israelis and Palestinians alike regarding the upcoming Reagan-Gorbachev summit as well as Shultz's next visit to the Middle East. The program outlined the Soviet position on an international conference on the Middle East conflict reportedly set forth in a memorandum handed over by the Soviet Ambassador to the US, Dubinin.

2. The US. SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, M 6) reported on the putting into service of the last of one hundred planned B-1B strategic bombers; the revelation by the Pentagon of information on the B-2 "Stealth" strategic bomber; a UN-commissioned study on the consequences of a nuclear war; and the publication of a US study on the world distribution of nuclear warheads.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Muslin, NY 6:30) reported on the unprecedented decision in the US to dismantle a completed atomic power station, namely one on Long Island, due to inadequate emergency evacuation plans.

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

1. Religion. NOT BY BREAD ALONE (Rahr, M 4 and Benigsen, NY 7:30) talked about Whitsun, citing from the New Testament.

2. A Young Japanese Writer Who Tried to Attract Attention to Himself by Writing Purportedly Anti-Semitic Books was the subject of an item in OUR PLANET (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 2:30).

3. A Scottish Island is for Sale, it was reported in OUR PLANET (Kushev, M 2:30).

4. The Carneval in Copenhagen was the subject of an item in OUR PLANET (Pimonov, Copenhagen 2:30).

5. Irving Berlin. OUR PLANET (Gordin, M 3) reported that the Russian-born American composer of popular music ordered borscht for his 100th-birthday meal. A recording of one of Berlin's songs was included.

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RADIO FREE EUROPE
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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Sunday, 29 May 1988

M. Frost

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

1. Reagan-Gorbachev Summit Meeting in Moscow. FACE TO FACE WITH THE EVENT (Gregory, Matusevich, Fishtein, M; Silnitskaya and Vainshtein, W; and Mirsky, P 50) was devoted entirely to the opening of the Reagan-Gorbachev summit meeting in Moscow. The program backgrounded the summit with a review of the achievements of the previous three Reagan-Gorbachev summits and, via a Washington link-up RL staffers, reported on the ratification of the US-Soviet treaty on the liquidation of medium and short range nuclear weapons just completed in the US senate. The program compared the treaty approval processes in the respective countries and discussed the prospects for laying the foundations for an agreement on a 50 percent cut in strategic offensive nuclear arms. The discussants then debated the implications of the US presidential elections on the arms negotiations process and examined the remaining three major issues on the summit agenda: regional conflicts; human rights; and US-Soviet bilateral relations. Excerpts from a telephone interview with Moscow human rights activist Sergey Grigoriants conducted by RLs Paris correspondent were also broadcast and Soviet official displeasure over President Reagan's meeting with dissidents was also discussed. The program concluded with the message that while substantial changes for the better have occurred in Soviet society over the past three years the subject of human rights "is still far from exhausted."

PRESS REVIEW (THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS ON THE SOVIET UNION) (Predtechevsky, M 20) broadcast commentaries on the Reagan-Gorbachev summit meeting in Moscow appearing in Die Zeit, The Washington Post, The Guardian, The Los Angeles Times, The Christian Science Monitor, Corriere Della Sera, The Daily Telegraph, Rinascita, and The Independent.

2. Afghanistan. NATIONAL FORUM ((Nadirashvili, Murad, Fistejn, M 29:30) discussed the impact of Islamic fundamentalism in Afghanistan and the neighbouring Central Asian republics of the USSR with representatives from RLs Tajik and Uzbek services. The discussants agreed that the Islamic fundamentalist movement in Afghanistan has sharpened the cultural and religious identity

of the native population of the Soviet Central Asian republics; they then described the complicated relationship of the Tajik and Uzbek peoples to the Afghan population with whom they share many religious and cultural traditions. The program also examined the plight of returnees from the war, estimated by the discussants as around one million servicemen, and gave an account of the Soviet economic colonization in Afghanistan: more than three quarters of Afghan exports are now directed to the USSR.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Limberger, M 7) in a telephone link-up with RLS special correspondent in Peshawar Savik Shuster, discussed the current state of the crisis in Afghanistan and the problems surrounding the eventual return of the estimated three million Afghan refugees presently located in camps in Pakistan. The program commented that the situation is exacerbated by the presence of upwards of three million mines along the border between Pakistan and Afghanistan. No mass return of the refugees is envisaged until the Soviet forces have completely withdrawn from the country and a provisional government formed with representatives of the seven resistance parties based in Pakistan.

3. The Nationalities. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fishtein, M 10) reported on the publication in an Estonian Russian-language newspaper of an address by the United Front of the Estonian Creative Intelligentsia calling for radical reforms with regard to, among other things, immigration rights from the USSR. The program observed that such intellectual "detonators" are necessary if, in the words of Tatyana Zaslavskaya, "restructuring is to assume the nature of a social revolution." The program was RERUN from May 24.

4. Dissidents and Human Rights. THE FORTUNES OF SIBERIA (Krasin, W 8) presented extracts from former political prisoner Semen Badash's account of his life in the prison camp system in the Soviet Far East, Kolyma, My Kolyma. The program focussed on Badash's description of the famous prisoners' revolt in Norilsk in the summer of 1953.

5. The Leadership. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 17) read a Russian translation of the interview given by Mikhail Poltoranin, former editor-in-chief of Moskovskaya Pravda and now chairman of the Moscow City Organization of the USSR Union of Journalists, to Corriere Della Sera reporter A. Bonanni and published May 12. Poltoranin discussed the Yeltsin affair and the degree of support within the leadership for Gorbachev's restructuring drive.

6. The Environment. THE FORTUNES OF SIBERIA (Kushev, M 11) examined a whole range of pollution issues affecting Siberia and lamented that many of the ecological mistakes of the past are currently being repeated in the name of economic development.

7. History. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 10:30) reviewed an article by former Soviet diplomat in Berlin at the outbreak of World War II, Ernst Genri, appearing in Moskovske Novosti in which he reproached Ilya Erenburg for glossing over Stalin's crimes against the Soviet people. Despite the article's expose of the details of Stalin's non-aggression pact with Nazi Germany, the program maintained that the article is not completely free of historical inaccuracies and stereotypes; problems which continue to plague attempts to rewrite Soviet history.

8. Propaganda in Totalitarian Regimes. SOVIETOLOGISTS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Shragin, NY 20) broadcast excerpts from a book by Hannah Arendt entitled The Sources of Totalitarianism published in 1951. Today's program focused on chapter ten of the book entitled, "The Classless Society."

9. Siberia. THE FORTUNES OF SIBERIA (Kushov, M 7:30) compared the level of capital investment in Siberia with the value and volume of the raw material which Siberia provides for Moscow. The program described the colonial attitude of Moscow to the riches of Siberia which it considered to be the "milk cow" of the USSR.

11. British Tourists in the USSR. OUR PLANET (Gregory, M 3:30) cited an account in The Sunday Times (London) of May 1 by a 60-year-old British woman and her son of her adventures touring the USSR by car. The program was RERUN from May 28.

12. Literature. FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 27:30) continued reading from Boris Paramonov's article entitled Pantheon--Democracy as a Religious Problem which was published in the Munich-based journal Strana i Mir. Today's reading focused on the religious revival currently taking place in the USSR.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Paramonov, NY 10) discussed the curious literary friendship between Maxim Gorky and Vasily Rozanov and discussed the prospect of Rozanov being published for the first time in the USSR.

13. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Volkov, NY 7) reviewed an article in Sovetskaya Kultura from May 12 which criticized the former head of Soviet composers union Tikhon Khrennikov for his role in the persecution of such celebrated Soviet composers as Shostakovich and Prokofiev.

14. Sport. WORLD OF SPORT (Rubin, NY 7) reviewed the successful Soviet international hockey season and described the play-off system in the domestic league championship.

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

1. Cuba-French CP. OUR PLANET (Salkazanov, P 2) reported on a French court's awarding Cuban poet and former political prisoner under Castro, Armando Valladares, compensation against the French CP newspaper l'Humanite for the latter's allegation that Valladares had been a member of Batista's secret police.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The US. OVER THE BARRIERS (Vail, NY 10) described the format and the history of the The New York Times.

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

1. A Young Japanese Writer Who Tried to Attract Attention to Himself by Writing Purportedly Anti-Semitic Books was the subject of an item in OUR PLANET (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 2:30). The program was RERUN from May 28.
2. Sport. WORLD OF SPORT (Rubin, NY 13) described the ongoing preparations for the Seoul Summer Olympics and covered the French Open tennis championship in Paris.
3. Irving Berlin. OUR PLANET (Gordin, M 3) reported that the Russian-born American composer of popular music ordered borscht for his 100th-birthday meal. A recording of one of Berlin's songs was included. The program was RERUN from May 28.
4. The Carnival in Copenhagen, a RERUN from May 28, was the subject of an item in OUR PLANET (Pimonov, Copenhagen 2:30).

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RADIO FREE EUROPE
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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Monday, 30 May 1988

J. Benson

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

1. Soviet-American Relations. ROUNDTABLE TALK (Roitman, Predtechevsky, and Bensi, M 20) discussed major points of disagreement at the Moscow summit and the results of the Soviet-American rapprochement. The program attributed the disagreement on a reduction of strategic weapons to the different interpretations of what constitutes first-strike missiles. The regional conflicts on which there was also disagreement were said to be a result of the expansionist policy of Brezhnev, with the exception of the Iran-Iraq conflict. The discussants suggested that the policy of restraint proposed in Geneva to regulate the Afghanistan conflict could also be applied elsewhere, as appeared to be the case in Cambodia. Gorbachev's successes in foreign affairs were said to be important domestically, both psychologically and politically, however, economic successes were still awaited. His policy was said to have improved the image of the Soviet Union in public opinion, but the recurrence of the old thinking is still evident as was seen in Gorbachev's interview about the dissident Grigoryants.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Roitman and Predtechevsky, M 4:30) outlined the differences between the US and the USSR over the question of a 50 percent reduction in offensive strategic weapons, a topic of discussion at the Reagan-Gorbachev summit. In particular, the US insists that a reduction should above all concern land-based, first-strike missiles, in which the USSR enjoys an advantage.

THE USA TODAY (Rubin, NY 5:30) summarized an article from The New York Times of May 22 (David Shipler) which expressed the main tenor of American reactions to the fourth summit, namely, the widespread feeling that the summit is the beginning of an era of the closest cooperation with the Soviet Union since World War II. Much importance was said to be given to Reagan's speeches in Moscow before dissidents, intellectuals, and students.

PRESS REVIEW (EVENTS AND PEOPLE) (Predtechevsky, M 9:30) summed up major articles in the Western press on the Moscow summit. The Sueddeutsche Zeitung disagreed that the summit's main importance was its photos, emphasizing the reevaluation of the Brezhnev Doctrine on foreign affairs taking place and the wealth of material up for discussion. Le Figaro said the obvious change in Soviet policy on discussing human rights is a direct result of Reagan's pressure on this issue, a fact that all Western countries should heed. The New York Times (William Safire) gave an ironical analysis of the regional problems. Die Welt (Herbert Kremp) warned that Gorbachev is using the summit against his opponents while continuing to increase arms and weaken the Western will. Le Quotidien de Paris drew attention to Soviet attempts to detach Europe from the US and warned of possible consequences of this policy.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 6) foresaw good prospects for improvement in Soviet-American economic relations if such obstacles as the Soviet inability to compete on the free market and the underdeveloped technical level of the Soviet economy could be removed. In particular, the program recommended the increase of on-the-job training of Soviet specialists in the West and the selling of Soviet licenses for products to the US for the efficient and high-quality mass production of articles which would be sold back to the Soviets and thus would help raise the technical level of their economy.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 3:30), drawing on the American press of May 30, noted that while the Soviet media attributed little importance to the "human factor" at the summit, American sources found President Reagan's camaraderie with Gorbachev very fruitful. The Sovietologist Prof. Pipes was quoted as saying that had Reagan acted less cordially, US policy would have looked quite different.

2. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rahr, M 1) quoted Secretary of State Shultz in Moscow that the US will continue supporting the Mujahidin as long as the Soviets support the Kabul government. He also remarked that actually the Soviets are also indirectly arming the Mujahidin, who have captured the Soviet weapon depots.

On EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Shuster, Peshawar 4:30) RL's special correspondent Savik Shuster, reporting from Peshawar, commented on Pakistani President Zia ul-Haq's decision to dissolve the National Assembly and the government. The program suggested that ul-Haq's motive was to establish a firm, solid leadership in view of Pakistan's difficult situation following the signing of the Geneva agreement on Afghanistan, characterized by a threat from the USSR and outbursts of public discontent in Pakistan over terrorist attacks in Pakistan engineered by the Kabul regime. Shuster also mentioned the continued presence, according to Afghan resistance reports, of about 2,000 Soviet troops in Jalalabad despite a Soviet statement on a complete troop withdrawal from the province.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Predtechensky, M 4:30) accused the Soviet TV program "I Serve the Soviet Union," broadcast on May 29th, of unscrupulously distorting the truth and meaning of the Afghan tragedy for both the Soviets and the Afghans. In particular, the program criticized the cliché questions of the reporter which led to stereotyped answers and an optimistic tone that prevented any reflection on what happened. AFP was cited.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 5), drawing on articles in Le Figaro, Le Monde, and The International Herald Tribune of May 30, reported on Allan Guillo, the French photojournalist who was released after serving eight months of a 10-year sentence for alleged espionage in Afghanistan. Guillo told of torture of other prisoners and the horrible conditions of his imprisonment. The program remarked that the exceptional coverage given a Western journalist's arrest and trial by the Soviet press was due to the fact that Guillo is primarily a photographer who can show the conditions in all their horror and, thus, was dangerous. Recalling a comment in Komsomolskaya Pravda of January 22 that Radio Liberty was dissatisfied with Guillo's conviction, the program expressed its incensed amazement that the journal suggested there was something disreputable about such concern for Guillo.

3. Dissidents and Human Rights. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rahr, M 1:30) quoted Shultz in Moscow who explained that it was simply normal course for President Reagan to meet with dissidents and refuseniks. The meeting was meant to demonstrate America's concern for human rights questions and to give these people support.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 2), drawing on the American press of May 30, reported that President Reagan had broadened the sphere of human rights in his discussions at the summit to include the Soviet legal procedures and the absence of pluralism in addition to restrictions on Jewish emigration and oppression of dissidents. Secretary of State Shultz's defense of Reagan's visit with dissidents and refuseniks was also mentioned.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Perouansky, M 6:30) was impressed by the protest demonstrations that took place in the Soviet Union during Reagan's visit which were said to indicate the social atmosphere in the country and above all a new readiness of individual groups to actively defend their rights. The program quoted a calculation published in The Times (London), according to which 200 protests have taken place since February of this year, or two per day.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyev, M 4) drew attention to the Soviet press countercharges answering Reagan's criticism of continuing restriction of freedom of religion and movement, the absence of equality for the national minorities, and the failure to observe the Helsinki Agreement in the first round of talks at the Moscow summit. The beginning dialogue on human rights was considered the most important aspect of this round of talks. The different positions were seen most clearly in a central TV interview with Reagan, who emphasized that both countries have a constitution, but while the government in the Soviet system grants rights and freedoms to the people, it is the people themselves in the American system who grant the government the right to carry out the people's wishes.

4. Emigres. On AT THE BOOKSHELF (Voinovich, M 29:30) the emigre author Vladimir Voinovich read the third part of his story The Cap, a satire about the Writers' Union, which was published in abridged form in the Paris-based emigre journal Kontinent and is scheduled to be published in its entirety soon by the London publishing house Overseas Publications.

5. The 19th Party Conference. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Belotserkovsky, M 7) noticed several new formulations in the theses which suggest a change in the leaders' thinking and policy: the term "ideological renewal" was considered a very bold formulation which seemed to signal pluralism; "real pluralism of opinion" was said to be sensational and was thought to refer to a transitional stage before the advent of simple pluralism; and unique in Soviet history was the term "human cost," referring to the price paid for reaching the goals of socialism. The program also noticed that Gorbachev seemed to have modified his stand on glasnost which was first restricted to the interests of socialism. Now he referred to open discussions on the soil of socialism. The program called for the rehabilitation of the victims of the Brezhnev era who were sentenced for trying to introduce changes now going on and criticized the old cliches sprinkled throughout the theses, in particular the evocation of optimism suggesting that the majority support restructuring which is in direct contradiction to the worries of its honest supporters, the Soviet press, and a report of sociologists printed in Nedelya, No. 18.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Paramonov, NY 5) reviewed Western press reactions to the proposals for discussion at the upcoming special party conference. The Washington Post singled out the two-term tenure restriction for party officials, saying Gorbachev had compromised with conservatives by allowing a possible third term, and wondered about the military reaction to accusations that the past foreign policy led to the escalating arms race. While The New York Times focused on the restrictions of party power that could result from the proposed changes, predicting much opposition to them, The Wall Street Journal interpreted the publication of the proposals as Gorbachev's attempt to strengthen his position and expressed doubt that the theses would be rejected.

6. Atomic Energy. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fishbein, M 6:30) summarized an article in Literaturnaya Ukraina, the journal which first warned of an imminent disaster at Chernobyl, which attacked the bureaucracy for forcing through the building of an atomic energy plant at the famous historical site at Chigirin despite opposition from the public and the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. An inglorious history of erroneous planning, false investments of large sums of money, and grandiose delusions beginning in 1971 was thought to be why the momentum could not be stopped.

7. The Nationalities. FACED WITH A CHOICE (Belotserkovsky, M 10) read the most important passages of a letter to the 19th Party Conference in Moscow which was published in Molodezh Estonii and written by the plenum of the Estonian creative unions. The letter called for more self-management and democracy in the republics, a guarantee of sovereignty in the constitution, the right to travel, the creation of a constitutional court to protect rights from illegal actions of the legal organs, and various changes in the election system.

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Krimerman, M 7) criticized the recent plenum of the CC of the Moldavian CP for the large number of blank spots in their speeches, especially regarding education. The program said that although the Moldavians comprise at least 64 percent of the population of the country, Russian-language instruction predominates over that of Moldavian and Moldavian history is taught only from Russian translations. The program reported that Moldavian nationalist movements had arisen in the centers of higher education in the country and called for the rectification of the unjust situation.

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Fiszbein, M 7:30), a RERUN from May 16, criticized the vagueness of an article in the April issue of the journal Kiev by the writer

Roman Ivanychuk, who bemoaned the fate of Ukrainian writers whose works remain unpublished but skirted the issue of the regime's role in the suppression of Ukrainian literature.

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Malinkovich, M 13) broadcast excerpts from the article by history professor Roman Szporluk on Marx and nationalism in Central Europe, which was recently published in issue No. 17 of the Munich-based emigre journal Forum. Citing passages from the works and letters of Marx and Engels, the author characterized Marx's negative attitude to nationalism, which he considered a false form of consciousness similar to religion. Both Marx and Engels were said to believe the Slavic nationalities of Central Europe were rather primitive and able to play, at most, a secondary role in the movement.

8. Religion. RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Fotiyev, M 7) pointed to the blank spots and inaccuracies of two articles on the Orthodox Church and restructuring which were issued by the news agency Novosti on May 24. According to the program Gorbachev is misusing the Church to gain the goodwill of believers in the West and at home, just as Stalin did during World War II. This was said to be demonstrated by the fact that while the Church can voice the government's "propaganda of pacifism," it is not allowed to express its commiseration to relatives of soldiers killed in Afghanistan. The program called for clarity on the contents of the proposal for a new law on cults.

RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Aksenov-Meyerson, NY 8:30) reviewed two articles appearing in issue No. 2 of The Choice, a literary-philosophical journal published in Moscow, which surveyed the history of Orthodox sophiology, a Christian philosophy which stresses God's presence in the world. The philosophy was said to lead to a world-oriented Christian ecology that promises to save the world from a catastrophe.

9. History. RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Kublanovsky, P 9:30) gave a positive review of the philosophical pamphlet "The Religion of Revolution and the Destruction of Culture" by the culturologist and theologian Vladimir Ilyin which was published posthumously by the YMCA Press in Paris in 1987. The program felt the book was still important for contemporary Soviet society because it traces the influence of Marxist materialism and mechanization on the ideology of the Russian democrats of the 19th century and subsequently the communist revolution. The author argues the case for the independent spiritual nature of culture.

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

1. Hungary. FACED WITH A CHOICE (Zelinger, M 11:30) reviewed the subjects debated at the Hungarian party conference which ended on May 23, concluding that the conference had not met many communists' high expectations of it. Among other things, the program mentioned that nonparty members had participated; that Kadar had torpedoed a proposal to allow factions within the party; and that Prof. Foldesi had criticized the state of human rights in Hungary, saying they are observed only as long as they do not interfere with the preservation of socialism.

2. Poland. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 3:30) read an excerpt from an article by the Polish human rights leader Adam Michnik which was published in the West German weekly Der Spiegel of May 30. Commenting on the recent spontaneous strikes in Gdansk and Nowa Huta, Michnik called them an expression of a true revolutionary situation according to Lenin's own definition and noted that, contrary to the usual practice, there was no anti-Soviet rhetoric, which he attributed to the Poles' support of Gorbachev. Jaruzelski's regime was said to be an unsuccessful communist variant of General Pinochet's government.

3. Yugoslavia. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Bensi, M 5) said the First Conference of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia taking place in Belgrade is attracting much attention from other communist countries, especially the Soviet Union, because they have similar economic, political, and social problems. The program predicted that the conference would yield little concrete results, however, since the party had announced its intention to strengthen its role, precisely the cause of all the problems.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The USA. THE USA TODAY (Paramonov, NY 5) explained why the American welfare program, now amounting to more than 40 percent of the federal budget and exceeding the defense budget, is increasingly being attacked. The program also highlighted the proposal of Harvard professor David Elwood to set an upper limit to the time during which welfare can be received.

THE USA TODAY (Krasin, NY 4:30), drawing on an article in Business Week, examined the sectors of the American economy where small businesses succeed if they can spot new possibilities, take a risk, and react flexibly to new developments and demands of the market.

2. Angola. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanov, P 8), a RERUN from May 26, reviewed a study by the French journalist Branko Lazich, published in Paris by Est et Ouest, comparing the 13-year-long war in Angola with the Soviet experience in Afghanistan and predicting a similar and imminent end.

3. Self-Management. FACED WITH A CHOICE (Belotserkovsky, M 8) broadcast the 10th part of a series of readings from the book Self-Management read by the author Vadim Belotserkovsky. This part explained why trade unions and strikes would be superfluous in a self-managing democratic firm, described the moral effects of people's soldiers who would replace the army and the police, and discussed the essential principle of the individual vote in a truly democratic society that is self-managing.

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

1. The USA. THE USA TODAY (Rubin, NY 4; Kozlovsky, NY 4; and Muslin, NY 4) featured items on the rising number of women in influential government positions and private companies; the growth of Muslim communities, which are predicted to become the second largest religious group in the USA by the 21st century; and the newest development in the field of microelectronics, the portable telephone.

2. Religion. RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Szydlowsky, NY 4:30) noted that the peace movement began in Bethlehem 20 centuries ago with the angels' tidings to the shepherds ("Glory to God on high, peace on earth, and goodwill to men") and suggested that the nonspiritual life of most men, in particular their forgetting the first part of this greeting according to Luke, explains the failure of all peace efforts up to now.

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RADIO FREE EUROPE
RADIO LIBERTY

RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Tuesday, 31 May 1988

L. Mardirossian

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

1. Soviet-US Relations. FACE TO FACE WITH THE EVENT (Roitman, Henkina, Predtechevsky, Fedoseyeva, Bensi, and Matusevich, M 49:30) was a round table discussion devoted to the Reagan-Gorbachev summit meeting in Moscow. The program listed the summit achievements, including the exchange of documents formally putting into force the INF treaty, the final joint statement praising the Moscow summit talks as a step toward more productive US-Soviet relations, and the signing of a various other agreements. The participants then focused on Reagan's and Gorbachev's news conference. Henkina analyzed Gorbachev's unilateral and demagogic approach to the problems he talked over with Reagan, his handling of the Yeltsin case, his view of the upcoming 19th CPSU Conference, and the situation in Afghanistan. Predtechevsky discussed the planned US-Soviet treaty to halve strategic nuclear weapons and both Soviet and US position in the matter. Fedoseyeva praised the gradual betterment in the area of Soviet human rights, but noted the lack of a basic tendency to promote a more fundamental change in Soviet human rights policy. Bensi dealt with the issue of regional conflicts praising Gorbachev's new policy toward Israel, but he said that there is no "new thinking" in his approach to the Afghan resistance movement. Matusevich pointed out that Gorbachev's news conference reflected the "paranoic split between pro- and antirestructuring forces in the Soviet Union" and also discussed the present state of US-Soviet cultural relations in light of recent progress in this area, though, he added, obviously the Soviet side cannot do without demagogy. The international impact of the Moscow summit was stressed. Audio Section material was used.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 3:30), based on articles in The Washington Post and Knight-Ridder Syndicate press material of May 31, cited US officials on progress in the issue of arms control, especially that of land-based mobile cruise missiles. White House spokesman Fitzwater said progress has been made toward an accord on missile test notification. As for conventional forces, the US continues to insist on parity between NATO and the Warsaw Pact forces.

After reporting the signing of various arms control agreements between the Soviet and the US at the Reagan-Gorbachev summit meeting in Moscow, EVENTS AND PEOPLE and AT HOME AND ABROAD (Predtechevsky, M 7) took issue with USA and Canada Institute Director Arbatov's and high-ranking party officials Shishlin's view of the US position on regional conflicts. Arbatov said that the US is no longer interested in settling regional conflicts and Shishlin charged that the US has sought unilateral advantages. The program recalled that the Soviet Union initiated conflicts in Korea, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique, and Nicaragua.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE and AT HOME AND ABROAD (Henkina, M 8) said that unfortunately the Soviet press is full of improper statements about Reagan by various Soviet officials, such as head of the USA and Canada Institute Arbatov, TASS commentator Staroselsky, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gerasimov, APN commentator Beglov, and others. Nancy Reagan's visit to a Moscow school was organized in the spirit of the "Potemkin villages," nevertheless Muscovites view Reagan as their city's second architect after Nixon in 1972 because of huge urban improvements done there in connection with his visit.

AT HOME AND ABROAD (Weinstein, W 3) dealt with an article by Kaiser in The Washington Post of May 30 comparing the current state of Soviet-US relations with that in 1972 when President Nixon visited Moscow.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE and AT HOME AND ABROAD (Predtechevsky, M 10:30) cited comments on the Reagan-Gorbachev summit meeting in Moscow in The Independent, Il Tempo, The New York Times, Le Quotidien de Paris, the Sueddeutsche Zeitung, The Guardian, and The Times (London).

EVENTS AND PEOPLE and AT HOME AND ABROAD (Kirskey, P 6) cited Le Figaro and Le Monde and summed up other French press commentaries on the Reagan-Gorbachev summit meeting in Moscow.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Matusevich and Brown, M 20) was an interview with head of Russian BD News Service Wayne Brown discussing the reasons why he was granted a visa to go to the Soviet Union as a journalist but he was prevented from exercising his duties there. Both the interviewee and interviewer agreed that the Soviet authorities' contradictory attitude toward Brown reflected the tense struggle taking place between pro- and antirestructuring forces. Brown shared his impressions from Moscow where he stayed as a tourist, focusing on a Soviet film describing the conflict between old and younger generations in the spirit of restructuring and openness.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY TODAY (Muslin, NY 6) discussed the prospects of Soviet-US cooperation in space.

2. Afghanistan. AFGHAN TOPIC (Levin, M 8:30) pointed to the Soviet Union's duplicity in the Afghanistan issue in regard to the fact that the Soviet government denied the Mujahidin participation in the Afghan peace talks and insisted that those Mujahidin in Pakistan be interned though Soviet arms supply to the Kabul regime has not been discontinued. The Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan has been intensified in spite of the Mujahidin's resolving to overthrow the Kabul regime after the Soviet withdrawal.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechesky, M 5), a RERUN from May 30, noted that a May 29 Soviet TV broadcast "I Serve the Soviet Union," devoted to the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, failed to discuss the major aspects of the Afghan war and related issues.

3. Dissidents and Human Rights. On May 30 President Reagan hosted a reception at the US Ambassador's residence in Moscow for a gathering of representatives of the democratic movement in the Soviet Union, the unofficial press, and Jewish refuseniks. Among those attending was editor of the unofficial journal Glasnost, Sergey Grigoriants, who gave a telephone interview from Moscow to the Paris correspondent of RL. EVENTS AND PEOPLE, AT HOME AND ABROAD and HUMAN RIGHTS (Mirsky, P 7) broadcast the interview in which Grigoriants dealt with what he said is an unprecedented event in the history of the Soviet Union. He stressed Reagan's praising of the democratic movement and generally the US and other democratic nations' commitments to it. Grigoriants lamented that apparently in Gorbachev's eyes the issue of human rights is still nothing more than a domestic affair. He also noted Gorbachev's remark in an interview in The Washington Post and Newsweek that he had enjoyed financial support of the West are unworthy of a great power leader.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE and AT HOME AND ABROAD (Perouansky, M 7:30) noted that the Soviet press ignored Reagan's call for more religious freedom and a banning of all restrictions on religious activities. Reagan's meeting with religious activists, dissidents and Jewish refuseniks was reported in the Soviet press in a scornful and even offensive tone.

HUMAN RIGHTS (Fedoseyev, M 2) reported that the day after President Reagan's meeting in Moscow with some Soviet human rights activists on May 30 Pravda called on Reagan to stop speculating in the issue of human rights. Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gerasimov said that those invited to the meeting were not "the best of the Soviet public, rather the

contrary." Two of them were Sergey Grigoriants and Lev Timofeyev, respectively the editors of the independent journals Glasnost and Referendum.

HUMAN RIGHTS (Henkina, M 5) was an RL telephone interview with human rights activist Lev Timofeyev in Moscow devoted to President Reagan's meeting with Soviet human rights activist during his visit there. Timofeyev said that the meeting was a symbolic gesture to show attention to the human rights movement in the Soviet Union and that Reagan there personified international public opinion. Timofeyev also praised Reagan's initiatives aimed at promoting human rights and expressed the hope that human rights would improve more consistently in the Soviet Union.

HUMAN RIGHTS (Fedoseyev and Henkina, M 9) profiled prominent Soviet human rights activist and expert in economics, Lev Timofeyev, who was sentenced to six years in labor camps and five years in internal exile in 1978 for publishing samizdat economic studies, such as Technology of Black Market and The Peasant Art of Starving, including of all those social and economic theses officially in use today.

AT HOME AND ABROAD (Chianurov and Fedoseyeva, M 4:30) took issue with staffer of the Institute of State and Law, Viktor Chkhikvadze, and Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gerasimov who asserted in a press conference in Bonn and in a US-TV interview, respectively, that there are no political prisoners in the Soviet Union. Earlier in March in Copenhagen Smolentsev, Chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Court, said that the number of political prisoners in the Soviet Union amounted to 41.

4. Restructuring. ROUND TABLE TALK (Roitman, Bensi, and Belotserkovsky, M 20) was devoted to former Moscow City Party First Secretary Yeltsin's separate interviews with the BBC and CBS in which he said that CPSU CC Politburo member and chief ideologist Ligachev is slowing down restructuring in the Soviet Union and should resign. Ligachev was criticized earlier in foreign media, but only in foreign media, by other Soviet officials. Bensi noted that the Italian press published numerous interviews by Soviet officials advocating restructuring and observed that the reason is their critical view of Ligachev's stance as regard to Gorbachev's new policies. Belotserkovsky dealt with middle-ranking party organizations' selecting antirestructuring CPSU conference delegates. Obviously antirestructuring forces are acting quite openly. The political struggle has involved two factions, though factional conflict is not allowed in the CPSU. Yeltsin's criticism of Ligachev was said to be an unprecedented disclosure about the situation in the Politburo and the Kremlin's number-two man.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE and AT HOME AND ABROAD (Kroncher, M 4:30) commented on Soviet Academician Abalkin's statement that restructuring is not just a reform program but rather a radical renewal of socialist society. The program outlined the fact that no change or renewal can be achieved unless the management system is replaced. Citing an article by in Nedelya, No. 21, condemning the Soviet bureaucracy for various shortcomings, the program also noted that bureaucracy cannot be viewed as the only scapegoat for slow implementation of restructuring policy.

Leafing through the recent issues of Inostrannaya Literatura (Foreign Literature), OVER THE BARRIERS (Faybusovich, M 6:30) drew attention to a new heading "Readers' Letters," pointing out that they deserve interest, though nothing there is new or strikingly impressive. One of the readers questioned official Soviet policy toward foreign literature and another suggested that censorship on Marquis de Sade should be banned. A third reader advocated the traditional Soviet discriminatory outlook on foreign literary works in order to preserve morals. The program said that in reality one gets sick of Soviet writers, like Fadeyev or other representatives of official Soviet literature, after reading, for example, Kafka, Mann, Proust, or Nabokov.

5. The Industrial Management. ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Alexeyeva, W 7:30) gave the gist of a lecture delivered at the Kennan Institute by emigre Soviet sociologist Leonid Khotin from University of California in Berkeley devoted to the theme "The Power of Soviet Enterprises Managers." Based on an opinion poll among the Soviet emigration, Khotin said that actually enterprises managers in the Soviet Union enjoy what he called "dictatorial rights."

6. Agriculture. ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Shragin, NY 8:30) reviewed an article by US scholar Roy Laird in Problems of Communism entitled "Restructuring and Soviet Agriculture," discussing the question of whether high Soviet grain harvests in 1986 and 1987 are the result of Gorbachev's agricultural reform program. Material incentives and "family contracts" recommended by Gorbachev would be inefficient unless the chronic shortage of goods is overcome and the concept of collectivization in agriculture is given up. Moreover, the continuing struggle for power in the Kremlin has been hindering restructuring.

7. Unemployment. ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Simis, W 7) noted that although Soviet economists have feared that restructuring would lead to unemployment, only one decree was issued on the matter by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet; that of February 4 designed to amend Soviet labor legislation in connection with economic management.

restructuring. A new chapter in the decree entitled "Labor Security for Workers Discharged from their Jobs" was viewed as inadequate because of the lack of legislation to secure and implement the right to work. The new legislation seeks only to induce enterprises to retrain workers for new jobs, but unemployment compensation is not to exceed two months or three in particular instances. Obviously the Soviet government has no intention of creating a special aid fund for unemployed workers. Financial and ideological considerations are at stake.

8. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Glezer, NY 6:30) reflected on the current state of art in the Soviet Union in connection with some nonconformist Moscow painters' exhibitions in Europe and the US since the beginning of this year. Unprecedentedly Ogonek and Moskovskie Novosti published enthusiastic articles devoted to recently deceased unofficial Soviet painters and sculptors. Izvestia proposed that a contemporary Russian art gallery be created in Moscow and highly praised various nonconformist painters. West German Deutsche Bank and the French art gallery La France were allowed to buy unofficial paintings and drawings. Last year emigre Soviet art expert from the "third wave," now the owner of two art galleries in New York, Eduard Nakhamkin, visited the Soviet Union and bought there some nonconformist works. The program also highlighted other evidence of liberalization in Soviet art, citing an emigre Soviet painter that the Soviet government is in need of hard currency and that maybe art in the Soviet Union is no longer "ideology." Another reason would be Moscow's desire to display liberalization and to enhance the prestige of Soviet art. It is still too early to talk about freedom in art.

9. Literature. FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 27:30) read the 14th installment of the third part of Solzhenitsyn's The Gulag Archipelago.

10. History. Pegged to the International Defense Day of Children, OVER THE BARRIERS (Glikman, M 5) reflected on a recently published book containing some 400 reproductions of children's watercolors and crayon drawings, among some 1,200 other paintings by artists devoted to the October Revolution, giving an unadulterated picture of what children saw around from 1917 to 1918 in revolutionary Russia: armed men, wounded people, dead bodies, ruins, meetings, street fighting, lines for foods, blood, and red flags.

11. The Nationalities. AT HOME AND ABROAD (Fishbein, M 5) reviewed an interview given by the head of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences' Archeological Institute, Tolochko, to the Kiev-based monthly Lyudina i Svit (People and the World) of May noting that the openness policy has made it possible to speak frankly about the poor state of historical and cultural monuments in the Ukraine. In fact today bulldozers have been replaced by bureaucrats, the program said. Tolochko also said that religion does not disappear in a socialist society.

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

1. Yugoslavia. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 7), a RERUN from May 30, was devoted to the conference of Yugoslavia's Communist League designed "to consolidate the leading role of the party" in the country. The program pointed out that the party monopoly has resulted in political terror and economic and social crises.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

None

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

1. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Pankratov, M 7:30) was devoted to Stockhausen's opera The Seven Days of the World.

2. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY TODAY (Muslin, NY 21:30) discussed recent achievements in thermonuclear energy, artificial gravity, and an international conference in Kiev on the medical consequences of the Chernobyl nuclear disaster.

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RADIO FREE EUROPE
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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Wednesday, 1 June 1988
M. Rudin

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

1. Soviet-US Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Polishchuk, W 5:30) drew on articles in The Washington Post and The New York Times, both of June 1, assessing the significance of the Moscow summit in the future development of US-Soviet relations.

HUMAN RIGHTS (Fedoseyev, M 5) noting official Soviet irritation with the meeting Reagan held with Soviet dissidents, gave excerpts from the American president's speech at the meeting.

HUMAN RIGHTS (Mihajlov, W 5) commented on a remark made to President Reagan during his meeting with students from Moscow University. At the meeting, a student told Reagan that he had met during his meeting with dissidents and refuseniks with someone who had collaborated with the Germans during World War II. The program observed that the Soviet leaders had collaborated with Hitler and signed a friendship pact with him.

FACE TO FACE WITH THE EVENT (Roitman, Henkina, Predtechevsky, Fedoseyeva, Bensi, and Matusevich, M 49:30) was a roundtable discussion devoted to the Reagan-Gorbachev summit meeting in Moscow. The program was a RERUN from May 31.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 5) discussed how American television companies covered the summit in Moscow, noting the high technical level of the programs and the original materials broadcast by the various companies. The program briefly contrasted US and Soviet television, noting the vast differences in the approach of the two. Articles in The Washington Post and The Boston Globe were highlighted.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Volkov, NY 9:30) observed that US-Soviet cultural ties are expanding. The program reviewed the concert given in the New York Metropolitan Museum which featured the works of contemporary Soviet composer Alfred Shnitke and talked about the New York Philharmonic Orchestra and its conductor Zubin Mehta, which is currently on tour in the Soviet Union.

2. Afghanistan. On EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Shuster, Peshawar 5) RL's special correspondent reported that Akhmad Shs said that in no more than two months an interim government of Mujahidin will be announced in one of the territories freed by the resistance and that he will be named head of the new government; noted that the Mujahidin are not in total agreement about the future government, citing Abdul Haq of the resistance as saying that the provisional government should not be created until the fall of the Kabul government; said that Kabul troops are continuing to be armed by the USSR, receiving more sophisticated weapons than before; noted rumors that a military coup might take place during President Najibullah's trip to the US; and reported that Soviet soldiers have allegedly withdrawn from the Panjshir Valley, noting that Soviet leaders had perhaps made an agreement with Commander Masood to let the Red Army retreat peacefully.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 7:30) noted Gorbachev's statements concerning Afghanistan which he made at his press conference on Wednesday. Gorbachev criticized the Mujahidin for firing on Soviet troops as they began their withdrawal from Afghanistan and said that the USSR promised not to become involved in fighting. The program then reported on the military situation with respect to the withdrawal of Soviet troops, focusing on the situation in Kandahar and described briefly the takeover of the provinces by the Afghan resistance. It was noted that TASS confirmed earlier announcements that Najibullah is going on a 10 day visit to the US and Cuba, referring to the rumors in this connection about a possible military revolt in Kabul during Najibullah's absence.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Pimonov, Copenhagen, 3) dealt with the results of a report on the state of the economy in Afghanistan after many years of occupation which was drawn up by the Swedish committee on Afghanistan. The report says that there will be a serious food problem in the near future and that it will take many years for the agricultural situation to be restored. An article in Dagens Nyheter was cited.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 3:30) reported on the press conference of French journalist Alain Guillo in Paris who was released from prison in Afghanistan after serving only nine months of his 10-year sentence under pressure from world public opinion. Guillo talked about how he was tortured in prison and noted the destabilizing effect the withdrawal of Soviet troops is having on the Kabul government.

An interview with American political scientist Constantin Menges, a former worker at the National Security Council, was presented by DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Mihajlov, W 11). Menges focused on Soviet foreign policy in Afghanistan, taking the view that Soviet policy in Afghanistan has not changed since the revolution in 1978 and explaining why the USSR views the agreement reached in April as only a new phase in the conflict.

3. The Leadership. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rahr, M 6:30) noted former Moscow party leader Boris Yeltsin's comments in separate interviews with foreign television companies in which he noted the slow pace of restructuring and said that politburo member Ligachev is slowing reforms in the country and should resign. The program then highlighted statements made by Fedor Burlatsky and Georgy and Alexey Arbatov criticizing Yeltsin's attack on Ligachev and referred to Gorbachev's press conference after the conclusion of his talks with President Reagan, who said, among other things, that Ligachev would not be removed from the leadership.

4. Restructuring. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Paramonov, NY 5:30) highlighted an article in The Times (London) of May 30 which analyzed the kind of policies that should be taken by the West in order to help the USSR with its reform program and gave the substance of an article in The Los Angeles Times of May 31 focusing on the economic aspects of restructuring.

5. Human Rights. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Chianurov and Fedoseyeva, M 7) featured a talk assessing Gorbachev's press conference, in particular his statements on human rights. The program observed that the subject of human rights had a shamefully low place in the Soviet leaders's press conference, noting among other things, that Gorbachev criticized Reagan for his meeting with dissidents and said that under the conditions of glasnost the Soviet press covered the meeting. The program observed that the press gave no more than the official Soviet reaction to the meeting. The program then assessed the role played by the American president in influencing the human rights situation in the USSR and said that although there are positive tendencies in the sector of human rights, mechanisms to control and make the process irreversible are needed.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Polishchuk, W 4:30) gave the substance of an article in The New York Times which discussed how the American branch of Pen Club is fighting to gain the release of writers, poets, and journalists from camps, prisons, and psychiatric hospitals in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. It was noted that Pen Club sent a telegram to Gorbachev in May protesting the one week arrest of Sergei Grigoryants and the confiscation of all his materials for the independent journal Glasnost.

6. The Nationalities. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, M 4) noted that dissident sources report that a general strike had been under way for the past week in Stepanakert, the capital of the disputed Azerbaijan region of Nagorno-Karabakh, and that new demonstrations were held in Erevan where crowds were gathering in the city's opera square. It was noted that the central committee plenum in Azerbaijan expelled the former first secretary of the Nagorno-Karabakh region, Boris Kevorkov, and the former first secretary of the Sumgait city party, Muslin-Zade. The program observed that changes in the party

leadership in Armenia and Azerbaijan are apparently not enough to resolve the conflict.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fishbein, M 7), a RERUN from May 31, highlighted an interview with Petro Tolochko, a corresponding member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, which was published in the Kiev journal Lyudyna i Svit in May. Tolochko talked about protecting religious monuments from destruction in the Ukraine.

7. Corruption. HUMAN RIGHTS (Kaminskaya, W 8:30) drew on an article in Molodezh Estonii which featured an abridged record of a talk in Tallin with journalist Arkady Vaksberg, commenting on his remarks that corruption is prevalent among the higher party leaders in the union republics. The program said that the roots of corruption in the USSR can be found in the structure of a political regime based on the concentration of all power in the hands of one party and was skeptical of Vaksberg's hope that legal reform would be able to create a mechanism that would prevent this phenomenon.

8. Literature. OVER THE BARRIERS (Paramonov, NY 9) featured a review of Anatoly Rybakov's novel Children of the Arbat, which was published in the Sunday issue of The New York Times of May 22. The article observes that Rybakov's novel, which depicts Soviet life under Stalin during 1933-34, is not bad from a historical point of view but leaves much to be desired for its purely literary qualities.

In EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Tolz, Amsterdam 7) RL correspondent reported on work of the international conference dealing with the topicality of contemporary Soviet literature which opened in Amsterdam on May 31. The main goal of the conference is to interpret present processes in the USSR through literature. The program highlighted Soviet writer Vyacheslav Kondratyev's speech on contemporary Soviet literature and World War II and Soviet publicist Anatoly Strelyany's paper on the decrease of censorship in Soviet literature.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Dovlatov, NY 9:30) emigre writer Sergei Dovlatov talked about his impressions of the international literary conference which took place in Lisbon at the beginning of May which he attended. Dovlatov gave a positive and enthusiastic description of the group of writers which came from the Soviet Union, noting that they spoke frankly and honestly.

AT THE BOOKSHELF (Perouansky, M 29:30) presented the fourth program in which emigre writer Vladimir Voinovich read fragments from his novel The Cap which is a satire on the USSR Writers' Union and in part reveals anti-Semitism among Soviet writers. Before the reading, Voinovich said a few words of explanation about the anti-Semitic tendencies found among the Soviet intelligentsia.

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

1. Poland. HUMAN RIGHTS (Shragin, NY 7:30) highlighted an article in The New York Times which analyzed the roots of Poland's economic and political problems, saying that the peoples of Eastern Europe are held captive by the Soviet Union.
2. Yugoslavia. DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Bensi, M), a RERUN from May 31, reported on Yugoslavia's national party conference.
3. The PRC. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 5:30) gave the gist of an article in The New York Times which reported on the continually diminishing role of ideology in China.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. East-West Relations. Drawing on a RAD Background Report of June 1, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 5:30) reported that at the Moscow summit the USSR proposed that both the Warsaw Pact and NATO remove 500,000 soldiers from Europe. It was noted that there is nothing new in the Soviet proposal and that Gorbachev addressed himself to Western public opinion rather than to military and political specialists in the west.
2. Disarmament. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Muslim, NY 4:30) reported on the UN General Assembly session on disarmament which opened on May 31 and will continue for four weeks. The program excerpted Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar's speech at the opening session. The program used AP and UPI reports of June 1.
3. The US. DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Simis, W 8) discussed how American courts provide guarantees against racial discrimination in renting living quarters in the US.

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

None

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Thursday, 2 June 1988

D. Felton

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

1. Soviet-US Relations. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Chianurov and Predtechevsky, M 11:30) drew up a balance sheet of the Reagan-Gorbachev summit. The program gave details of the practical implementation of the INF treaty, and noted agreements on notification of strategic missile tests, and inspection of nuclear test sites. The program observed, however, that trust between the two superpowers has its limits. Gorbachev's proposal on a reduction of the conventional forces of NATO and the Warsaw Pact by half a million men each was not taken up by President Reagan, who pointed out that the question would have to be discussed with America's allies. The program said that while the latter generally support the INF treaty, there are serious objections to an agreement on the liquidation of tactical nuclear weapons. The program noted a certain modification of the Soviet attitude toward SDI, and concluded by saying that if the relaxed atmosphere prevailing at the summit continues for a few more years, the tense nuclear confrontation could disappear altogether.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 12:30) detailed the procedure for the monitoring of the liquidation of missiles under the INF treaty. The program said that while both sides could legitimately compensate for the destroyed missiles, INF procedures could serve as a model for a strategic missile treaty, quite apart from the treaty's psychological importance. A RAD Background Report of June 1 was used.

PRESS REVIEW (EVENTS AND PEOPLE) (Polishchuk, W 6) reviewed American press comment on the latest Reagan-Gorbachev summit, citing The Washington Post, The Philadelphia Inquirer, and The New York Times (Safire), which spoke particularly of President Reagan's position on human rights in the USSR.

PRESS REVIEW (EVENTS AND PEOPLE) (Mirsky, P 6:30) reviewed French press comment on the Reagan-Gorbachev summit. The consensus was that the summit failed to produce any substantial results. The program cited Le Figaro, Liberation, Le Quotidien de Paris, and Le Monde. The program author expressed the view

that the only positive element of the summit promising to give US-Soviet relations a new quality was President Reagan's meeting with Soviet dissidents.

2. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Paramonov, NY 3:30) looked at the situation in Afghanistan in connection with the Soviet troop withdrawal. The program remarked that the Kabul regime is still acting as if it were self-sufficient, with Najibullah planning to visit Cuba and speak before the UN General Assembly. Reference was made to incidents illustrating the unreliability of the Afghan Army. The program mentioned the latest developments in the Soviet withdrawal operation, as well as resistance leader Massoud's reportedly taking over full control over the Panjshir Valley. His future military plans were also mentioned.

MAN AND SOCIETY (Gordin and Shuster, M 27:30), a RERUN from May 12, was entirely devoted to the physical and psychological damage inflicted on children in Afghanistan by the war.

3. Dissidents and Human Rights. DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 2:30; Alexeyeva, NY 8; and Fedorov, NY 6) began by citing reports from the Munich-based Vesti v SSSR (News from the USSR) on hitherto unreported May Day demonstrations by dissidents in the USSR. In connection with this information, the program refuted the claim made recently by Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gerasimov and a staffer of the Institute of State and Law, Chkhikvadze, that there had long been no political prisoners in the USSR. After this, veteran Soviet human rights activist Lyudmila Alexeyeva reviewed the ten available issues of the Soviet independent journal Referendum. A biographical profile was then given of imprisoned Ukrainian philologist and human rights activist Vasil Ovsienko.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Polishchuk, W 5:30), a RERUN from June 1, gave the contents of an article by Walter Goodman in The New York Times on the American PEN Club's campaign in defense of persecuted writers and journalists in the USSR and Eastern Europe.

4. Emigres. OVER THE BARRIERS (Savitsky, P 8:30) included an item on the film The Dancers, directed by America's Herbert Ross, starring Soviet emigre ballet dancer Mikhail Baryshnikov. An excerpt from an RL interview with Baryshnikov was included.

5. The Leadership. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Belotserkovsky, M 8) discussed Yeltsin's interview to the BBC in which he said Ligachev is the person mainly responsible for the lack of progress in democratization. The program described the interview as a major event in Soviet life, and said that at last a real personality with principles and self-esteem has appeared in top party circles. As regards Gorbachev's demand to know what Yeltsin was trying to achieve, since his opinion differed from that of the CPSU CC, the program said such talk

is reminiscent of the Stalin era. The program recalled previous calls by Soviet officials and intellectuals for democratization of the party, noted the de facto existence of factions within the party leadership, and pointed out that if they were to be legalized, these factions could defend the interests of the public and politically activate the latter, as many are now demanding. Without glasnost and free factions, said the program, there can be no true democratization.

6. Glasnost. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyev, M 5:30) commented on Sverdlovsk philosopher Rusakov's question in Sovetskaya Kultura of June 2 as to when Khrushchev's secret speech at the 20th CPSU Congress in 1956, which the rest of the world long knew about, would be eventually published in the Soviet press. The program outlined the contents of the speech, and wondered whether even now, in the era of restructuring, forces defending the structures created by Stalin are really so strong.

7. The Economy. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 4) presented the first program in a series on the "retarding mechanism" in the Soviet economy, which for example rewards workers for producing goods which nobody wants.

8. The Nationalities. DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Seytmuratova, NY 13:30) cited Soviet press and archive material refuting a claim made by TASS last year to the effect that during World War II, Crimean Tatar companies and battalions had been liquidating Russians, Ukrainians, Jews, and gypsies in the Crimea, among other things, by burning them alive.

9. Culture. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Tolz, Amsterdam 4:30) reported on an international conference in Amsterdam on the subject of "The Topicality of Modern Soviet Prose." The program focused on a paper delivered by Soviet writer Boris Mozhayev in which he divided Soviet literature into two main streams, namely that of Novy Mir under Tvardovsky, which includes writers such as Solzhenitsyn, and the grey literature produced by the literary functionaries. The program said Mozhayev's report, full of bitter truths, was rated highly by the audience.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Betaki, P 9) discussed a selection of Bulat Okudzhava's latest poems published in Druzhba Narodov and later in Novy Mir. The program drew attention to Okudzhava's underlying themes of hope and war.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Kublanovsky, P 8:30) discussed a collection of letters by the late Russian writer Igor Severyanin to his patroness Avgusta Baranova just published in Stockholm.

FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 29:30) featured the first installment of excerpts from writer Vladimir Soloukhin's book Laughter Behind One's Left Shoulder, recently published by Posev in Frankfurt.

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

1. Poland. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Chianurov and Belotserkovsky, M 5) discussed the call by Walesa and Solidarity for a boycott of the upcoming local elections in Poland. The program recalled previous effective boycotts, and observed that restructuring has gone much further in Poland than in the USSR, having extended to a reform of the election system. At the same time, the present reforms have not had much effect, and a point has been reached beyond which true democracy, self-management, and market capitalism begin.

2. Eastern Europe. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fistejn, M 10) drew attention to the Soviet media's sparse and utterly misleading reporting on the political, economic and social crisis now being experienced by the East European countries, this despite the fact that the crisis is openly admitted in some of the countries concerned. The program gave Poland, Hungary and Yugoslavia as examples.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The Middle East. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 4) reported on the positions of the interested parties in the Middle East conflict, in particular on the issue of an international conference, in the light of the latest Reagan-Gorbachev summit and Shultz's upcoming tour of the Middle East.

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

1. Religion. JUDAISM (Lvov, Taratuta, and Haskelevich, NY 27) featured items on the condemnation of sorcery in Judaic tradition; the three blessings of Balaam (in the Book of Numbers); and scientific evidence of the biblical Flood.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Friday, 3 June 1988

D. Felton

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

1. Soviet-US Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, M 4:30) dealt with the Reagan-Gorbachev summit as seen by the foreign and Soviet press. The program noted the unusual activity displayed by Soviet journalists, in particular the awkward questions they posed Gorbachev, and the latter's frank and responsible answers. Gorbachev's statements during the summit were described as indicative of the Soviet leadership's enhanced international prestige. The general tenor of Western press comment is that the summit brought no great positive movement in US-Soviet relations. The program cited the Dutch Volkskrant in this connection, which at the same time stressed that the important thing is that such meetings are becoming almost routine.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Chianurov and Predtechevsky, M 12:30) discussed the meetings which took place during the Reagan-Gorbachev summit between US and Soviet Defense Ministers Carlucci and Yazov and other military-political officials. The program pointed to the importance of the behind-the-scenes talks. The Yazov-Carlucci talks were more theoretical, and concerned such matters as Soviet military doctrine, and the question of restructuring the armed forces of the US and the USSR so as to make aggression impossible. Furthermore, defense ministers have little room for maneuver in any case. The program contrasted the present military doctrines of the US and NATO, which are based respectively on deterrence, and crushing the enemy on his own territory should an armed conflict arise. Yazov was quoted as admitting that inertia is the main obstacle to restructuring in the Soviet armed forces. The program remarked that economic savings resulting from the destruction of medium-range missiles are insignificant compared with reductions in conventional forces. As regards Gorbachev's proposal for a reduction of a half a million men on both sides, the program pointed to the problem of the Warsaw Pact's numerical superiority requiring an asymmetrical reduction.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 5) reported on President Reagan's speech in London before the Royal Institute for

International Affairs on his summit with Gorbachev. Reagan was quoted in particular to the effect that the US and her allies should do everything possible to help Gorbachev with his reforms, and that the improvement of relations with the USSR has become possible due to the West's firm policies.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 4) reported on the work of a joint US-Soviet non-commercial, non-governmental conference for fighting alcoholism and drug addiction. The program cited statements made by the founder of this organization, New York priest John Canty, in an interview to The Boston Globe in which he spoke of positive and negative results of the anti-alcoholism campaign in the USSR, which he said can only be successful if it offers people something interesting with which to fill their lives. Canty also expressed optimism on the prospects for the operations of Alcoholics Anonymous in the USSR.

2. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 6:30), citing The New York Times, noted Soviet anger over Mujahidin attacks against withdrawing Soviet forces, and charges of Pakistani military assistance to the Mujahidin. Reference was made to UN official Diego Cordovez's mediation mission in connection with these developments. Reuter's was quoted on the difficulties being encountered by withdrawing Soviet troops as a result of partisan activities.

3. Emigres. AT THE BOOKSHELF (Perouansky, M 30) featured the fifth installment of a reading by Soviet emigre writer Vladimir Voynovich of his story The Cap, published in Kontinent and soon to be issued in London by Overseas Publications. The story is a gloomy satire on the USSR Writers Union, and its hero, the writer Yefim Rakhlin, takes care to write only about "positive characters," and to avoid taking any ideological line.

On OVER THE BARRIERS (Maximov, P 5:30) the chief editor of Kontinent, Soviet emigre writer Vladimir Maximov, reviewed verse by Soviet emigre poet Lev Losev.

4. Jews. JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 2), in a review of events in Israel in the past week, reported that Israeli newspapers stressed the insistence shown by President Reagan during the summit with Gorbachev in respect of the human rights issue, in particular emigration freedom for Soviet Jews. At the same time, there is considerable concern in Israel over the drastic increase in the percentage of emigrating Soviet Jews who do not resettle in Israel. The Israeli proposal to send these emigres directly to Israel via Bucharest has been rejected by the USSR on the grounds that this would restrict the emigres' freedom of choice.

JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Perouansky, M 4), a RERUN from May 31, reported on the Soviet authorities' silence over growing signs of anti-Semitism in the USSR, and Moskovske Novosti's

playing down a recent case of vandalization of a Jewish cemetery in Moscow.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Pimonov, Copenhagen 4:30), citing the Danish newspaper Kristeligt Dagblad, drew attention to the Soviet invitation to international experts to take part in a joint research project to catalogue Jewish literary documents kept in special repositories. Danish Royal Library official Haksan and Danish Chief Rabbi Menchilov were quoted that the Soviet invitation is a sign of glasnost and offers hope for an eventual solution of the problems of Soviet Jewry.

JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Markish, Istr. 11) continued to read from the Russian Jewish journal Voskhod, published in St. Petersburg during the period 1881-1906. The program was devoted to a story by Boris Ferber set in a Russian Jewish village in the 1870s.

5. Restructuring. ROUND TABLE TALK (Roitman, Belotserkovsky and Bensi, M 20), previewing the CPSU party conference, gave Yugoslavia and Hungary as examples of how the one-party system does not work. The program quoted Yugoslav dissident Milovan Djilas and recently elected Hungarian Politburo member Imre Pozsgay in this connection. While the USSR is taking the East European experience into account, it must go still further in its reform program, otherwise chaos, hardship, and other unpleasant consequences will ensue. Yugoslavia has regulated its nationality problem rather more democratically than the USSR, but its example has only limited applicability for that country. Djilas recommends a confederation of free republics as preferable to a hybrid state in which the party's monopoly of power has led to economic disorganization. The undemocratic procedure under which delegates are being elected to the Soviet party conference bodes no good for democratization. Hope lies now with the initiative of the Soviet public. The program cited recent instances of how the Armenians and Crimean Tatars have organized themselves. Finally, it was noted that while the Hungarian party conference did not expressly forbid the formation of factions within the party, the theses issued for the Soviet party conference do.

6. The Economy. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 5) presented the second program in a series on the factors retarding the Soviet economy. The ultimate reason, said the program, for the production of large quantities of unwanted goods and the shortage of high-quality goods for which there is a demand is that the real goal of production in the USSR is the fulfillment of plan indicators.

7. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Barsky, M 7) reported on an exhibition in Frankfurt of paintings by nonconformist Moscow artist Erik Bulatov. The program noted the more positive attitude now taken by the Soviet authorities toward artists such as Bulatov.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Sapguir, P 5) discussed an exhibition in Paris of works by Soviet nonconformist "primitivist" artists.

8. Stalin. In OVER THE BARRIERS (Glickman, M 8) Soviet emigre sculptor Gabriel Glickman told the story of how his teacher, the late prominent Soviet sculptor Matvey Manizer, took a death mask of Stalin.

9. Religion. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rahr, M 5:30) commented on a report by APN's new "religious observer," Igor Troyanovsky, on the return to the Russian Orthodox Church of two of the Kiev Cave Monastery's churches, the Church of the Erection of the Cross, and the Church of Saints Joachim and Anna. The program drew attention to Troyanovsky's revelation that in 1961, the monks of the Kiev Cave Monastery were expelled under a pretext, and his reference to the authorities' present reluctance to allow the monks to resume their activities. The program pointed out that Troyanovsky failed to mention petitions for the Monastery's return to the Church by the general public and surviving monks of the Monastery, and the appeal to Gorbachev by Archbishop Feodosy of Astrakhan and Yenotayevsk.

THE MILLENNIUM OF THE CHRISTIANIZATION OF RUSSIA (Rahr, M 17) reviewed some of the literature published in connection with the millennium of the Christianization of Russia. The program focused on an article signed "V.Z" (Moscow) in the Paris-based Vestnik Russkogo Khristianskogo Dvizheniya (Herald of the Russian Christian Movement) on the circumstances of the baptism of St. Vladimir, as well as books published in Western Germany.

THE MILLENNIUM OF THE CHRISTIANIZATION OF RUSSIA (Rahr, M 29:30), a RERUN from 25 December 1987 pegged to the return of some monasteries to the Russian Orthodox Church, outlined the history of monasticism in Russia.

THE MILLENNIUM OF THE CHRISTIANIZATION OF RUSSIA (Rahr, M 10:30) featured the third and final installment of an account of the wanderings of early 18th-century Kiev pilgrim Vasily Grigorevich (Barsky).

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

1. Yugoslavia. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Chianurov and Roitman, M 5) highlighted Yugoslav dissident Milovan Djilas's speech at Maribor University in which he talked of his relations with Tito, and placed the blame for Yugoslavia's present crisis on the party's monopoly of power. The program commented that the problem is also confronting countries such as Hungary and the USSR, and suggested that it would be a good thing if the Soviet leadership would take account of what Djilas had to say.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. East-West Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mihajlov, W 4:30) focused on NBC commentator John Chancellor's remark in connection with the Reagan-Gorbachev summit that the cold war has ended, and has been won by the democratic world. The program said that not all Americans would agree with this assessment, and pointed to such trouble spots as Ethiopia, Angola and Nicaragua, and to the still unsatisfactory situation in the USSR.
2. The Middle East. JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 9), in a review of events in Israel in the past week, examined reaction to the implications of the Reagan-Gorbachev summit for the Middle East situation, including the Soviet position on an international Middle East conference as outlined by Gorbachev. The general impression is that the Soviet position vis-a-vis Israel has softened. The program noted increasing unofficial contacts between the USSR and Israel, Shamir's rejection of the ideal of an international conference, and Peres' impression of the USSR's more balanced approach to Middle East problems.
3. France. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 4) previewed the first round of parliamentary elections in France. The program noted that while public opinion polls predict a victory for the Socialist Party, the socialists themselves are skeptical.

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

1. Philosophy. OVER THE BARRIERS (Salkazanov, P drew attention to a book by Jacqueline de Romilly recently published in France which "rehabilitates" the ancient Greek Sophists.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Sunday, 5 June 1988

M. Rudin

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

1. Soviet-US Relations. THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Predtechevsky, M 20) excerpted comments on the results of the Reagan-Gorbachev summit from El Pais, Svenska Dagbladet, Die Welt, The New York Times, The Baltimore Sun, The Times (London), and the Sueddeutsche Zeitung.

2. Soviet Union-Israel. In connection with the summit results, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Miloslavsky, J 2) mentioned Gorbachev's readiness to normalize relations with Israel if the Israelis participate in an international peace conference on the Middle East and the arrival of Richard Schifter, US Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights, in Jerusalem to discuss those results connected with Soviet emigration. The program was a RERUN from June 4.

3. Dissidents and Human Rights. THE FORTUNES OF SIBERIA (Krasin, W 8), a RERUN from May 29, presented extracts from former political prisoner Semen Badash's account of his life in the prison camp system in the Soviet far east, Kolyma, My Kolyma.

4. The System. FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 29:30) read an article by the prominent Moscow scholar and essayist Gregory Pomerantz entitled "Pluralism or Empire," which was published in the 12th issue of the independent journal Glasnost and republished in the Russian-language Paris-based weekly Russkaya Mysl. Pomerantz examined the possible choices for the creation of a political structure for the Soviet Union, looking at the historical experiences of other countries and Russia.

5. The Environment. THE FORTUNES OF SIBERIA (Kushev, M 11), a RERUN from May 29, examined a whole range of pollution issues affecting Siberia and lamented that many of the ecological mistakes of the past are currently being repeated in the name of economic development.

6. Siberia. THE FORTUNES OF SIBERIA (Kushev, M 7:30), a RERUN from May 29, compared the level of capital investment in Siberia

with the value and volume of the raw material which Siberia provides for Moscow.

7. Music. In OVER THE BARRIERS (Yurenen and Mitina, M 30) an RL employee, who is retiring from the Russian Service after many years of service, a part of them as editor of the music program SOUND OF STRINGS which was broadcast from 1971-79, said good-bye to RL's radio listeners by playing the songs of her favorite bards, such as Okudzhava, Galich, and Vysotsky.

8. Sport. WORLD OF SPORT (Rubin, NY 7) discussed the case of Soviet basketball player Ulyana Semenova who was sent to play for a Spanish team for one season. According to an article in Izvestia, Semenova received an embarrassingly low salary from the Soviet state sports committee. These charges were subsequently refuted by the Soviets sports committee.

9. Religion. In connection with the return of sacred places from the Kiev Cave Monastery to the church, THE MILLENNIUM OF THE CHRISTIANIZATION OF RUS (Rahr, M 30) dealt with the history of the Kiev Cave Monastery by reading from a study on the monastery on the eve of the Bolshevik takeover by the late Prof. Nikodimov, who was a legal consultant to the monastery. The program featured RERUNS from 4, 11, 25 April 1986 and 9 May 1986.

10. Totalitarianism. SOVIETOLOGISTS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Shragin, NY 20) continued to give excerpts from a study by Hannah Arendt entitled The Sources of Totalitarianism which was published in 1951. The book examined and compared the totalitarian regimes under Stalin and Hitler.

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

1. Yugoslavia. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Chianurov and Roitman, M 5), a RERUN from June 4, highlighted Yugoslav dissident Milovan Djilas's speech at Maribor University in which he talked of his relations with Tito, and placed the blame for Yugoslavia's present crisis on the party's monopoly of power. The program commented that the problem is also confronting countries such as Hungary and the USSR, and suggested that it would be a good thing if the Soviet leadership would take account of what Djilas had to say.

2. Cambodia. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 4:30), a RERUN from June 4, summed up the prospects for a peaceful resolution of the situation in Cambodia.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The Middle East. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Miloslavsky, J 7), a RERUN from June 4, analyzed the reasons for the poor prospects

that Secretary of State Shultz's new proposal for regulating the situation in the Middle East will be accepted, despite movement in the Soviet position on an international peace conference. An overview of the current situation in the occupied territories was also given.

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

1. Sport. WORLD OF SPORT (Rubin, NY 13) featured an item on the coming Summer Olympic Games in Seoul, noting last minute attempts to urge North Korea to participate in the games. The program also reported on the assortment of food sold at American stadiums during games.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Monday, 6 June 1988

D. Felton

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

1. Soviet-US Relations. THE USA TODAY (Rubin and Paramonov, NY 5 and 5) discussed reaction in the US and the USSR to the Reagan-Gorbachev summit. The program said that press coverage of the summit provided Americans with a good deal of information about the Soviet Union. The program cited The New York Times (including Philip Tobman, Steven Roberts, and Bill Keller), The Christian Science Monitor (Charlotte Salikowski), and The USA Today on the changed attitude of Reagan and Gorbachev toward each other, what the summit achieved and what it did not achieve, and President Reagan's performance in the USSR as the "great communicator."

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 2:30) gave the text of a skit on President Reagan's love of Russian proverbs published in Moskovske Novosti of June 5.

2. Afghanistan. In EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Shuster, Pueta 5:30) RL's special correspondent Savik Shuster reported from the Pakistani border town of Pueta on the military situation in Afghanistan in connection with the Soviet troop withdrawal. Citing resistance sources, Shuster pointed to the resistance's tactics of refraining from storming cities such as Kandahar but instead keeping the pressure on the Kabul forces throughout the country. He mentioned partisan activities against the withdrawing Soviet troops, bombing raids by the Afghan airforce against partisan positions, and the continued exodus of refugees.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Bensi, M 4) pointed to the continuing exodus of refugees from Afghanistan, which has even increased in the last few days, due to continued hostilities despite the Soviet troop withdrawal. The program spoke in this connection of Afghan bombing attacks aimed at stopping partisan activities.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 10) spoke in highly positive terms of a recent Soviet TV program in the series "I Am Serving the Soviet Union." The program, on the withdrawal of Soviet

troops from Afghanistan, is very much in the spirit of glasnost, and is in striking contrast to previous programs in the series. It includes frank interviews given by officers and men in which they describe their everyday problems, including poor medical and other facilities, bureaucracy, etc. The only interviewee who did not respond to the invitation to glasnost was the commander of Soviet forces in Afghanistan, Lieutenant-General Gromov. Further, it was not explained that the reason why the partisans have been attacking withdrawing Soviet forces is that the USSR excluded them from the Geneva talks.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 1:30). continuing to leaf through old Soviet newspapers, cited from a speech published in Izvestia of 5 June 1968 delivered by King Zahir Shah of Afghanistan during a visit to the USSR in which he spoke of the friendship between the two countries. Eleven years later, the program commented, Soviet troops invaded Afghanistan.

3. Dissidents and Human Rights. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Perouansky, M 7) reported on the recent spate of unofficial demonstrations in Moscow, including ones by the "Democratic Union," the "Civic Dignity" group, Armenians, and Crimean Tatars. The restraint shown by the militia was especially noted. The program quoted The Times (London), Reuter's, and an article by The Baltimore Sun's Moscow correspondent Scott Shane.

PRESS REVIEW (EVENTS AND PEOPLE) (Predtechevsky, M 2) cited extensively from an article in The Economist which noted an improvement in the human rights situation in the USSR under Gorbachev, said that a legal reform will be the test of his human rights policy, and spoke of the restricted freedom of believers.

4. Emigres. AT THE BOOKSHELF (Perouansky, M 29:30) featured the sixth installment of a reading by Soviet emigre writer Vladimir Voynovich of his story The Cap, published in Kontinent and soon to be issued in London by Overseas Publications. The story is a gloomy satire on the USSR Writers Union, and its hero, the writer Yefim Rakhlin, takes care to write only about "positive characters," and to avoid taking any ideological line.

5. The Upcoming Party Conference. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Belotserkovsky, M 10), citing from the Soviet press, pointed to the generally undemocratic procedure under which delegates to the conference have been elected. In many cases, the party apparatus has overruled attempts to put forward reformists. At the same time, a passive attitude has been displayed by many lower organizations. The program concluded that serious and irreversible democratization can hardly be expected if the majority of those in the party's headquarters stand to lose their power as a result of democratization. The program pointed out that Lenin himself insisted that the majority of CC members

should be ordinary party members, workers, etc. A CC expanded along these lines could be a temporary revolutionary parliament for restructuring.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Malinkovich, M 4:30) discussed the sharp pre-conference debates as illustrated by an article by Alexander Gelman in Moskovske Novosti. The program spoke of the confrontation between the two main blocks, the conservatives and the supporters of restructuring, and noted that party organs have been blocking the election of the latter as delegates to the conference. Reference was made to Gelman's warning of the party's doom if the conservatives win the day; in such a case, the healthy forces could leave the party. The program said hope for the victory of progressive forces lies in the fact that the conference is to be held under conditions of glasnost. Possible results of the conference are a separation of party and state, genuine power for the soviets, and the transformation of the USSR of a state governed by law.

6. Restructuring. FACED WITH A CHOICE (Belotserkovsky, M 8), a RERUN from June 2, discussed Yeltsin's interview to the BBC in which he said Ligachev is the person mainly responsible for the lack of progress in democratization. The program described the interview as a major event in Soviet life, and as regards Gorbachev's demand to know what Yeltsin was trying to achieve, since his opinion differed from that of the CPSU CC, noted the de facto existence of factions within the party leadership, and pointed out that if they were to be legalized, these factions could defend the interests of the public and politically activate the latter, as many are now demanding. Without glasnost and free factions, said the program, there can be no true democratization.

FACED WITH A CHOICE (Bensi, M 7:30), a RERUN from June 2, gave the abridged text of the interview given by Mikhail Poltoranin, former editor-in-chief of Moskovskaya Pravda and now chairman of the Moscow city party organization of the USSR Union of Journalists, to Corriere della Sera on the background to Yeltsin's ouster.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Tolz, M 6) excerpted an RL interview with Soviet writer Anatoly Strelyany, a participant in an international conference in Amsterdam on the subject of "The Topicality of Present Soviet Literature," in which he gave his impressions of three years of restructuring. Among other things, Strelyany expressed regret that the average Soviet citizen seemed more interested in having a good boss than greater civil and economic rights. This, he said, shows a lack of democratic culture and awareness of the importance of freedom. Strelyany also criticized the lack of glasnost in the USSR regarding nationality questions such as the Mountainous Karabagh issue.

FACED WITH A CHOICE (Belotserkovsky, M 2) said the Reagan-Gorbachev summit has shown the slow rate at which the

disarmament race is being wound down, but restructuring urgently needs the resources which would be released by reducing the military-industrial complex. The program said the USSR really needs to conduct unilateral disarmament, as urged by Sakharov, which would accelerate the process of mutual disarmament, and open the way to increased trade and Western credits.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 3), in a review of the Soviet press, cited readers' letters in Ogonek, No. 21, calling for a restoration of the power of the soviets, and in Argumenty i Fakty, No. 22, proposing that a commission be formed to investigate the blunders committed during the "stagnation" period.

PRESS REVIEW (EVENTS AND PEOPLE) (Predtechevsky, M 2) cited from a lengthy article in the New Republic which pointed to the ideological restrictions on glasnost and suggested that the reform movement in the USSR is motivated by a fear that the country's general economic inefficiency could threaten the effectiveness of its military machine.

7. The Economy. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 5) featured the third program in a series on factors retarding Soviet economic development. The program explained how the centralized plan, in an attempt to replace the market and the consumer, is forced to restrict itself to overall economic indicators, such as gross production, which results in a shortage of wanted goods and a surplus of unwanted goods.

8. The Nationalities. THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Malinkovich, M 13; Alexeyeva, W 8:30; and Fiszbein, M 8:30) began by giving examples of how in Estonia, the Estonian-language press is much franker on recent Estonian history, in particular Estonia's annexation by the USSR, than the Russian-language press. This was followed by the text of an appeal by a joint plenum of the boards of Estonia's creative associations to the Estonian party, state and government leadership and to the Estonian intelligentsia expressing dissatisfaction over the implementation of the restructuring campaign in Estonia, and demanding national rights for Estonia and glasnost on its affairs. The program concluded by amplifying an article in Literaturna Ukraina of May 19 on the difficulties experienced by talented young Ukrainian writers during the "stagnation" period.

9. Culture. RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Nazarov, M 8) discussed Soviet writer Vladimir Soloukhin's new book Laughter Behind My Left Shoulder, just published by Posev but still banned in the USSR, in which he recalls his childhood in a Russian peasant family with its traditional, religious way of life destroyed by collectivization.

10. Religion. ROUND TABLE TALK (Roitman, Rahr, Bensi and Malinkovich, M 20) pointed in connection with the millennium of

the Christianization of Russia to the need to abolish the legal and constitutional restrictions on the church's activities in order to guarantee freedom of conscience and genuine separation of church and state. In addition, said the program, a distinction should be made between the state and the party, which alone would be responsible for ideological questions. The program described the relationship between church and state in Italy as exemplifying the situation in democratic countries, and said the Soviet regime's non-recognition of the Evangelical Christian Baptist Churches and the Ukrainian Catholic Church is testimony to its ideologization, which in fact is in line with the Russian imperial tradition.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Rahr, M 4:30) showed how the present Soviet laws and Constitution discriminate against believers. Now, however, as the Church celebrates the millennium of the Christianization of Russia in the era of restructuring, there are hopes of a broadening of believers' rights.

RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (O. Antic, M 11:30) reported on the various events taking place in the USSR and abroad in celebration of the millennium of the Christianization of Russia. RLR Research Report of May 30 was used.

11. History. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 2), continuing to leaf through old Soviet newspapers, cited Pravda of 6 June 1928 on the appearance in court of engineer Leonard Kuzma in the "Economic Counterrevolution" show trial in the Donbass. The program commented that it was easier for Kuzma to deny the charges leveled against him because he was not a member of the party.

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

1. Eastern Europe. FACED WITH A CHOICE (Belotserkovsky, M 4) drew attention to sharp criticism of the performance of the Yugoslav communist party at its recent three-day conference, Solidarity's call for a boycott of the upcoming Polish local elections, and top Hungarian party official Imre Pozsgay's statement in an interview to the Italian newspaper Repubblica that Hungary is experiencing a crisis of its system and that a one-party system is not inevitable. These developments, said the program, indicate that the socialist camp is experiencing a growing crisis and is threatened with political instability. In their reforms, the three countries mentioned have reached a point beyond which lies genuine democracy in both the political and economic spheres; marking time no longer produces any effect.

2. Poland. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Henkina, M 6:30), citing the Polish press and an article by Jackson Dill in The Washington Post of June 6, pointed to the catastrophic state of the Polish

health service, and the Polish government's reform plans, which include higher pay for medical personnel and contributions to medical care by patients.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Pimonov, Copenhagen 2:30) reported on a hunger strike by Polish political asylum-seekers in Copenhagen. The program quoted a Danish official on a lack of evidence that those concerned had been or were threatened with political persecution.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The Middle East. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 5) commented on the fourth round of talks between Shultz and the leaders of Jordan, Syria, Israel, and Egypt on the question of a Middle East settlement. The program gave background on the American plan for an international conference, and Arab and Israeli objections.

2. France. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanov, F 4:30) discussed the results of the first round of the French parliamentary elections. The poor performance of the French CP and the National Front was noted.

3. The US. THE USA TODAY (Krasin, W 4; Rubin, NY 4; Muslin, NY 3; and Dovlatov, NY 4) included items on the latest inflation figures in the US; the results of a study commissioned by Congress on the psychological state of war veterans; hypermarkets; and the difficulty of identifying foreign tourists in the US, a country of virtual "foreigners" itself, contrasting with the situation in the USSR.

4. Self-Management. FACED WITH A CHOICE (Belotserkovsky, M 6:30) featured a reading by Vadim Belotserkovsky of the 11th installment of his book Self-Management in which he talks about self-management in large but decentralized enterprises, and how workers could influence the direction of technological development in the interests of themselves and the environment.

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

1. Religion. RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Aksenov-Meyerson, NY 7:30) reviewed a book entitled Eastern Christianity and Politics in the 20th Century published early this year in the US by Duke University Press on the major political role played by the Orthodox church in various countries.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Tuesday, 7 June 1988

J. Benson

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

1. Soviet-US Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 4:30) highlighted President Reagan's speech at an international gas conference on June 6 in which he summed up the important aspects of the Moscow Summit. Among other things he mentioned the treaty to liquidate intermediate and short-range nuclear missiles, the progress made in other questions of arms control, the agreement on a joint control experiment, improvement of cultural exchanges, agreement to build information centers in each other's country, the exchange of opinions on regional conflicts, the striking changes in the Soviet Union, and the promising results on human rights.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Polishchuk, W 4:30) compared the basically optimistic reactions in the American press from June 5 and 6 to the meagre results of the Moscow summit and Reagan's strong stance on human rights. The Wall Street Journal emphasized that the Soviet Union is now more predictable and relations between the two countries consequently more stable. The Los Angeles Times (R. Barnett) criticized US government officials for ignoring that the Soviet Union was less a threat now than the American dependence on the world economy. The Washington Post stressed the ground for hope in a new era of relations with the liquidation of nuclear missiles, the beginning reform in the East, and the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan.

2. USSR-UN. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Genis, NY 5:30) drawing on an article from The New York Times of June 4, discussed the positive reactions to the Soviet announcement that Soviet

citizens can now sign long-term contracts with the UN. However, many unresolved problems were said to remain, such as the international status of these employees, the past history of their involvement in espionage, their responsibility to the UN but their appointment by the Soviet Ministry of Defense in contradiction to UN regulations.

3. Foreign Trade. ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Gregory, M 5), a RERUN from May 20, gave the contents of an article by Clive Cookson in The Financial Times on the prospects for the development of trade between the USSR and the West in the light of restructuring.

4. Afghanistan. In EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Shuster, Peshawar 4) an RFE special correspondent reported an interview with resistance commander Djallaludin Khakami who told of the Muhajidin's plans to liberate the town of Gardez in order to prevent the evacuation of the Kabul forces after the Soviets have left and the forced resettlement of the population. He also revealed that the Muhajidin precipitated the Soviet withdrawal from Khost by blocking their supply road to Gardez.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechinsky, M 8:30) reviewed the recently published Rand Corporation analysis of the Soviet military failure and political defeat in Afghanistan. The reasons given included incorrect war tactics, inappropriate weapons for the area, the mendacity of the war propaganda, a generation conflict in the army, widespread access to narcotics, poor hygienic and medical conditions, and the cruelty of orders directly contradicting international rules of warfare. These led to demoralization of the soldiers and a decline in discipline. An article from The New York Times from June 5 was used.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, M 5:30) highlighted articles in the Western press from June 6 on Afghanistan. The Washington Post (S. Rosenfeld) criticized the Soviets for suggesting the Afghanistan solution can be applied to other regional conflicts and for accusing Pakistan of breaking the treaty. The Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung agreed that these charges were unfounded and drew attention to how Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Vorontsov's statements that the Kabul regime is not a Soviet client contradicts his reasoning for the Soviet intervention in the first place. The Economist concentrated on practical and political steps to resolve the refugee problem.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 4) drew attention to the main conclusions of a recently published study by the Agency for Aid to Afghan Refugees on the present state of agriculture in Afghanistan. As a result of the Soviet policy of scorched earth, bombing, and mining, agricultural productivity was said

to be at least 50 percent below the prewar level and consequently insufficient to support the present population, much less the refugees. It was predicted that it would take 2-3 years to rebuild the infrastructure, but only provided peace reigned. The Christian Science Monitor of June 6 was cited.

5. Dissidents and Human Rights. FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 30) gave the 15th installment of the third part of Gulag Archipelago.

6. Restructuring. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 3:30) excerpted a reader's letter in Pravda of June 2 which criticized the unanimity on decisions of the Supreme Soviet and stressed the new importance of dissenting public opinion, agreeing with an article in Izvestia of the same day which attacked the formality of rubber-stamping and playing at democracy in the current soviets and called for totally new ones.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Gladilin, P 6) remarked that the recent polemic between the journals Ogonek and Literaturnaya Gazeta (especially the issue from May 18) illustrates an aspect of restructuring that was apparent during the so-called "period of stagnation". Just as people were then openly critical about everything not impinging on their profession, about which they were reticent, so too Literaturnaya Gazeta was said to propagate restructuring about everything but literature, where, the program, said the journal has shown its true reactionary colors.

SPECIAL FEATURE (Tolz, M 34) broadcast an interview given by Soviet journalist and writer Anatoly Strelyany at the international conference on the "Topicalness of Modern Soviet Literature" sponsored by the East Europe Institute of Amsterdam University from May 30 to June 2. Strelyany expressed his belief that the restructuring and democratization of Soviet society will ultimately succeed, despite the resistance of the bureaucracy, a widespread ideological prejudice against the principles of economic independence, and the general low level of democratic culture in the country. As an example of the latter, he said that the common Soviet man needs justice more than freedom. Strelyany also expressed concern about the unforeseeable costs of restructuring, said nationality problems are a result of the leaderships' errors, and agreed that more information on the activity of hither governmental and party organs and officials is needed.

7. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 4:30) broadcast a translation of an editorial in The New York Post from June 3 which criticized the Soviet Union for refusing accreditation to three RFE journalists to cover the Moscow summit. The decision, suspected to have been made at a very high level, was said to correspond to the continuing Soviet policy of jamming RFE programs which contradicts international agreements, as well as the Soviets' own alleged glasnost policy.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 1) read an article praising glasnost as the guarantee of action and diligence which appeared in Izvestia in 1978 during the period of stagnation.

8. The Economy. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Malinkovich, M 7:30) reviewed an article in No. 23 of Moskovskiye Novosti which predicted the creation of mixed state-shareholder firms on the model of Hungary, the separation of party and government functions, and a synthesis of socialism and capitalism if the reformers prevail and the CPSU Conference. The Program criticized the author's failure to directly call for limited party control of the economy and a transfer of firm management to the workers. The program considered the party's preservation of dual power to contradict restructuring.

ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Krasin, W 7:30) expressed amazement that a discussion about the formation of the soviet economic system in issue No. 2 of the journal Voprosy Ekonomiki resorted to Stalinist rhetoric praising the heroic achievements of the 1930s and 1940s. The program accused the economists of intentionally suppressing the truth that the majority of these so-called "heroic feats" in the construction of mining and wood-processing industries were performed by prison labor.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 4:30) traced the vicious circle of the Soviet centrally planned economy, showing how its reliance on production indicators that are based on ruble values can be manipulated so that the plans are always met while consumer goods shortages and/or gluts of unwanted and shoddy merchandise result.

ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Krasin, M 7) summed up an article in the American journal Soviet Economy (1987) which profiled the Soviet economists shaping Gorbachev's economic reforms: Aganbegyan, Zaslavskaya, Bogomolov, and Abalkin.

9. The Nationalities. While regretting its primitive anti-Russian sentiments, THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Strunskis, M 6) expressed understanding for the complaints about the Russification of the Baltic republics contained in a letter to President Reagan dated May 1988 and signed by about

one-hundred citizens of Soviet Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. The letter appealed to the president to remind Gorbachev of the pertinent provisions of the Helsinki agreements and to ensure that the question of the republics' annexation by the USSR be raised at the upcoming meeting of the UN General Assembly. The program then featured a talk with RFE Latvian Service staffer Strunskis about the appeal. Strunskis talked about the signatories, who include ordinary people who have not previously appeared in samizdat documents, and agreed that the tone of the letter was not quite appropriate, however, he said, it is justified by the facts. The program drew attention to the appeal's statement that there can be no real peace as long as one state was under the power of another, and to its epigraph, citing Gorbachev, that without freedom of choice there can be no future for mankind.

10. Espionage. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 9:30) reviewed the recent American publication entitled The Spy Who Hid, a biography of the former American citizen Edward Howard who was employed by the CIA and the KGB and now resides in the Soviet Union. The program remarked on how easy it is for the KGB to spy in democratic countries and said the recent reference to "losses in foreign policy" in the Soviet media refer to the high costs of espionage.

11. Literature. OVER THE BARRIERS (Kublanovsky, P 9) drew attention to the state of Soviet and foreign publications of the works of the poet Nikolay Zabolotsky, noting, in particular, the mixture of silence verging on blasphemous lies and new facts in the Soviet editions, especially on Zabolotsky's repression during the Stalin era. After sketching the poet's biography, the program stressed that only one complete truth about Zabolotsky's fate makes his creative evolution comprehensible.

12. Religion. In connection with the millennium celebration, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fotiyev, M 3:30) expressed approval that the draft of a new decree on the management of the Russian Orthodox Church will broaden the duties of priests, but strongly criticized the absence of any church representatives on the commission to create a new law on cults. In addition the program agreed with Anglican Archbishop Robert Runcie, who remarked on the disparity between the outward pomp of the millennium celebration and the tragic fate of the Church, and reported on a private service held by priests who had been removed from their church duties because of their human rights activities.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rahr, M 10) discussed the life and deeds of the nine Russians who were recently canonized by the National Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church, noting that none were chosen from the twentieth century. The program criticized the Church's silence on recent history as being unnatural, abnormal, and unjustifiable, calling for complete replacement of top Church officials as the only means for a true renewal of the Church.

13. History. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 3) continued leafing through old Soviet newspapers, this time an account in Pravda of 7 June 1928 of the defense of engineer Kuzma at the so-called "Economic Counterrevolution" trial. Kuzma, accused of sabotage in the Donbass, area for using machines that were unsuitable, argued that he was simply acting in a thrifty manner since the machines had already been paid for.

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

1. Yugoslavia. ROUND TABLE TALK (Roitman, Fistejn, and Bensi, M 20) surveyed the recent political developments in Yugoslavia, backgrounding the country's economic crisis, the Party's loss of credibility, the resolutions of the Party conference in Belgrade, nationality problems, and Milovan Djilas' speech before students in Maribor criticizing the Party.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The US. ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Simis, W 6:30) elucidated the positive and negative aspects of America's lowest unemployment level since 1974.

2. Angola. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 3) interpreted signs at the Moscow summit that the Soviets are ready to use their influence in Angola to achieve peaceful regulation of the conflict. An article from The New York Times (Keller) of June 6 was used.

3. France-Japan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 5) cited reports in Le Figaro and Le Monde, as well as news dispatches of AFP, all from June 7, on the visit of the Japanese Prime Minister in Paris, mentioning, in particular, the lopsided trade balance between France and Japan, the plans for a Japanese cultural center in Paris, an exhibition on Japanese cultural influences on Europe, and the Japanese announcement of financial aid to African countries.

4. France. OVER THE BARRIERS (Savitsky, P 12) recalled the student revolt in May, 1968 and noted the positive effects the student movement had on society, despite the revolt's failure.

5. Sweden. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Pimonov, Copenhagen 4:30) detailed the political scandal in Sweden revolving around a private investigation funded by the Social-Democratic Party to clarify the killing of Prime Minister Olaf Palme in 1986. The Berlingske Tidende was cited.

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

1. Science and Technology. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY TODAY (Muslin, Sirotin, and Vail, NY 28) featured items on the advent of hydrogen-powered aircraft engines; the increasing production of robots, despite unrealized prognoses; and the closing down of a recently finished atomic power station in New York which lacked adequate evacuation plans for the nearby population.

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RADIO FREE EUROPE
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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Wednesday, 8 June 1988
M. Rudin

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

1. Soviet-US Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mihajlov, W 7) commented on the statements made by Gennady Gerasimov, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman, who said on American television that nothing new took place at the Moscow summit, although the positive impulses in the relations of the two countries increased. It was noted that members of a conference devoted to the results of the Moscow summit, organized by an American research institute in Washington, also came to a similar conclusion.

2. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 8:30) reported on the latest developments in Afghanistan, noting Najibullah's statements before the UN General Assembly disarmament session in which he condemned Pakistan for continuing to aid the resistance; dealt with the Soviet difficulties of withdrawing troops from Kandahar; cited an article in Izvestiya on the death of three Soviet officers during an attack by the resistance on Soviet troops; and reviewed Reuter and UPI dispatches on the fighting in Kandahar and in the northeast of the country.

In EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fistejn and Shuster, M and Peshawar 9:30) RL's special correspondent in Peshawar said that besides the Afghan refugees in Pakistan there are about two-million internal refugees who left their places of dwelling for cities or areas that have been less touched by the war. Moreover, the number of refugees going to Pakistan and to the big cities in Afghanistan is growing even at the present. The program noted that members of the UN in New York confirmed reports that the withdrawal of

Soviet troops is continuing at the rate laid down by the Geneva agreement; said that Soviet troops are experiencing difficulties leaving Kandahar where they are being attacked by the Mujahidin; and talked about Soviet prisoners of war, observing that the figure of 311 mentioned by the Soviet press seems rather high and that the Afghan resistance still does not have a unified policy with respect to Soviet prisoners of war.

RUSSIA YESTERDAY, TODAY, TOMMORROW (Shuster, M 17:30) featured an interview with Prof. Bennigsen, the last he gave to RL before he died on June 3, in which he spoke about developments in Afghanistan. Bennigsen observed that Soviet miscalculation in Afghanistan was mainly due to the absence of good specialists; spoke of the similarities and contrasts between the withdrawal of French forces from Algeria, Americans from Saigon, and Soviets from Kabul; agreed with resistance leader Zia-ul-Haq's suggestion that Shevardnadze promised the Kabul regime that Soviet forces would not fully withdraw from Afghanistan; observed that a political and military defeat in Afghanistan could have a terrible effect for the Soviet regime with respect to the Muslims in Soviet Central Asia; said that the Soviet leaders might use the tactic of "freezing the war," whereby Soviet troops would after evacuating large territories in the south and east remain in Kabul and in other major bases in the north; and analyzed why the Afghan people were able to stand off a super power.

3. In Memory of Prof. Alexander Bennigsen, a Leading Orientalist and Specialist on Islam Who Devoted Many Years to the Study of the History of the Muslim Nations in Russia and the Soviet Union. RUSSIA YESTERDAY, TODAY, TOMMORROW (Gregory and Wimbush, M 9), a RERUN from June 4, dealt with Bennigsen's life and works and then featured RL director Wimbush who spoke briefly about his teacher, advisor, and personal friend. The program also featured the last interview given by Prof. Bennigsen to RL. For a summary see Afghanistan (Shuster, M 17:30).

4. Restructuring. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Kroncher, M 6) commented on an article by Academician Tatyana Zaslavskaya's article in Izvestia of June 4 which deals with bureaucracy in restructuring. The program agreed with Zaslavskaya's description that the peak of this bureaucracy is found in the very top of the Soviet leadership -- in the Central Committee. Zaslavskaya suggests that bureaucracy can be overcome by the division of power and recommends that the role of the soviets be increased.

ROUNDTABLE (Perouansky and Kroncher, M 20) featured a talk about various developments in the reform of the economic sphere, observing alarm that Soviet officials want the national income

to grow by five percent; dealt with the new law on cooperatives, noting that Soviet officials feel that cooperatives are a big chance for the Soviet economy; and commented on an article by Tatyana Zaslavskaya in Izvestia of June 4, which, in part, discusses bureaucracy as being the main foe of restructuring, and an article by economist Vasily Selyunin in the fifth issue of the journal Novy Mir who said that already Lenin was partially to blame for the decline of the Russian economy.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Chianurov, M 6) observed that if the Soviet leaders want to achieve successful results with restructuring, they should cut down on the military budget which greatly exceeds the defense needs of the country. The program used the advance text of a RAD Background Report of June 6.

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Shragin, NY 10) referred to a number of resolutions pertaining to the economic and legal spheres which were adopted under the reform process, observing how all of them contain a braking mechanism. The program explained why a multiparty system is necessary for the democratization process in the USSR and said that if it is not incorporated into the system it will make the legislative process ineffective. The Soviet leaders are willing to sacrifice a great deal for restructuring, noted the program, but are not willing to give up their power.

SPECIAL PROGRAM (Tolz, M 34), a RERUN from July 7, broadcast an interview with Soviet journalist and writer Anatoly Strelyany in which he expressed his belief that the restructuring and democratization of Soviet society will continue despite the resistance of the bureaucracy, the widespread ideological prejudice against the principles of economic independence, and the general lower level of democratic culture.

5. The Nationalities. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Gregory, M 4) dealt with the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh region, noting Soviet foreign spokesman Gennady Gerasimov's statements at a press conference on Tuesday at which time he said that the trip of a group of press representatives to Armenia has been cancelled because demonstrations and protests are continuing in Yerevan, mentioned that Reuter's Moscow correspondent talked to a worker of a Yerevan newspaper who said that for the last 10 days hundreds of people are participating in demonstrations, referred to a recently published thesis of the CC of the CPSU devoted to the nationality question, and cited an article in Sotsialisticheskaya Industriya of June 4 assessing the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh region.

6. Human Rights. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Matusevich, M 4) highlighted an article by a deputy of the Swedish parliament Kerstin Ekman in Dagens Nyheter about the situation of Jews in

the Soviet Union today. Among other things, the article observed that the policy of glasnost has paradoxically promoted the flourishing of anti-Semitism.

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Shragin, NY 8:30) first recapitulated how Soviet authorities harassed the newly created Democratic Union, an organization which strives for a multiparty parliamentary democracy, and then observed that the communist party and Gorbachev are braking the restructuring process. In this connection the program noted that the Soviet leaders still hide from the nation information about public sentiment in the country by not writing about the creation of the Democratic Union and do not tolerate a multiparty system. The program cited Gorbachev's interview in The Washington Post and Vesti iz SSSR.

7. Religion. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 4:30) noted that a group of Christian believers held a press conference in Moscow on June 7 and that dissident priest Gleb Yakunin told journalists that he and his followers sent a message to Patriarch Pimen and to the delegates at a church council in Zagorsk urging them to condemn the dictatorship of Josef Stalin and said that the church must announce which side it is on. The members of the press conference also criticized the selection of delegates for the council being held in Zagorsk.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fotiyev, M 4) highlighted an interview with Metropolitan Filaret in Ogonek. Metropolitan Filaret drew attention to the discrimination against believers which can be observed today and described how the bureaucratic actions of the leaders lead to the destruction of religious monuments.

8. The Millennium of the Christianization of Rus. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 6) previewed the visit to the USSR of the Vatican delegation headed by Vatican Secretary of State Cardinal Casaroli to participate in the commemoration of the Kievan Rus Christian millennium. It was noted that Casaroli is expected to meet with Gorbachev and give him a message from Pope John Paul. The program cited l'Unita on the contents of the Pope's letter. The program used a CND report from Rome of June 7.

9. Accidents and Catastrophes in Soviet Transport. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 10:30) noted last Saturday's freight train explosion in Arzamas and that a special relief fund has been set up to provide aid to the people who have been affected. The program briefly reviewed accidents involving airliners, ships, and trains, discussing the reasons for the high percentage of accidents which occur in Soviet transport.

10. The Press. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 10:30) read articles from old and current issues of the Soviet press, excerpting an article in Pravda of 8 June 1968 featuring Dubcek's speech at a plenum of the CC, Nina Andreyeva's article

in Sovetskaya Rossiya of March 13 on the role of the party in restructuring, Izvestia of 8 June 1978 on the explosion in the Moscow metro and a samizdat statement by the Moscow Helsinki group about the Soviet handling of the Moscow metro explosion, an article in the 23rd issue of the Moscow News describing the demonstration of unofficial groups in Moscow on May 28, and an article in Molodezh Estonii of May 21 about the problems of restructuring.

11. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Yurenen, M 2) reported that the 21st and 22nd issues of the journal Ogonek featured Fazil Iskander's story, which had been published in 1979 in the unofficial almanach of Moscow writers, entitled Metropol; cited an interview in El Pais with Soviet critic and philosopher Yuri Koryakin, a champion of restructuring, who pointed out similarities between the great Spanish artist Goya and Gorbachev; and read a poem by I. Moritz devoted to the legacy of the Brezhnev times which was published in the 21st issue of the journal Ogonek.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Gorbanevskaya, P 9:30) reviewed a book which features talks between well-known Russian pianist and conductor Vladimir Ashkenazy, who has been in the West for the past 25 years, and his impresario Jasper Parrott. The book was recently translated from English into French and published in France in 1988.

In AT THE BOOKSHELF (Perouansky, M 30) Russian writer Vladimir Voinovich continued to read fragments from his book The Cap, which is a satire on the USSR Writers' Union and talks about anti-Semitism among the Soviet intelligentsia. The book was published in an abridged form in the 55th issue of the journal Kontinent and was published in full by the London publishers Overseas.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Glezer, NY 8) reported on the life and works of Leningrad nonconformist artist Evgeny Mikhonov-Voitenko whose art is being exhibited at the Jersey City Museum of Contemporary Russian Art in Exile.

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

1. East European Cultural Notes. OVER THE BARRIERS (Yurenen, M 1) reported that the Bulgarian Telegraph Agency announced a planned restructuring in the cultural sphere in Bulgaria and noted the appeal of 150 Polish writers in Rzeczpospolita asking Polish authorities to reinstate the Polish section of PEN Club which the government banned in 1983.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Smolsky, M 4:30) discussed the opening at the Academy of Arts in East Berlin of the exhibition of West German draftsman and satirist Klaus Streck. The program focused on a discussion that took place there concerning the problems of freedom of the arts in East Germany. The program was based on a DPA dispatch of June 3.

2. Yugoslavia. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Mihajlov, W 4) profiled Yugoslav dissident Milovan Djilas who gave a speech at Maribor University after a 35-year ban.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The Middle East. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 5) reported on Secretary of State Shultz's fourth Middle East mission and the opening of the Arab summit in Algiers which was called by Algeria in response to the conflict between Israeli soldiers and Palestinian civilians in the occupied territories. The program used articles in The New York Times of June 7 and a Reuter dispatch of June 8.

2. France. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanov, P 5:30) previewed the second round of parliamentary elections in France, reporting on the political scandal which may have an influence on the results of the voting.

3. The US. DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Morozov, NY 9:30) featured an interview in Russian with Mr. Gus Taylor who is vice-president of an international trade union of workers who sew women's clothes. Mr. Taylor described the setup and work of the trade union which is situated in New York.

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 Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Thursday, 9 June 1988
D. Felton

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

1. Soviet-US Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 4:30) gave the contents of an interview given to RL by American labor productivity expert Jack Grayson in which he spoke of Soviet interest in his recommendations on how to raise labor productivity in the USSR. Grayson stressed the importance of material incentives and consideration for the demands of the consumer, but pointed out that under the existing central planning system these recommendations can only bring limited success in the USSR. A CND report from Washington of June 8 was used.

2. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Muslin, NY 3:30) reported on Najibullah's speech before the UN General Assembly in which he charged Pakistan with violating the Geneva agreements and his press conference statements in which he refused to specify possible Afghan countermeasures, outlined his views on Afghanistan's political prospects, and said he would welcome US reconstruction aid. The program noted that Najibullah's speech was boycotted by many Western and Muslim states.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 10) commented on frequent references in the Soviet press to the country's "internationalist warriors," their hard lot in Afghanistan, and the lack of sympathy they often receive upon their return home. Those who in the past saw action in Spain, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia are were also mentioned. The program remarked that nothing is said, however, about the sufferings inflicted on the recipients of this "brotherly assistance."

3. USSR-Asia. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 3:30) cited US Defense Secretary Carlucci's statements in Tokyo on the continued Soviet threat to Asian countries.

4. Foreign Policy. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Muslin, NY 1) reported on Shevardnadze's proposal at the UN General Assembly session that all foreign military bases be liquidated by the year 2000. A CND report from New York of June 8 was used.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Henkina, M 6:30) took issue with the new Soviet propaganda concept of "interdependence" replacing that of "coexistence." The program expressed particular criticism of CPSU CC official Vadim Zagladin's interpretation of the term to mean that it will be impossible to avoid a kind of cooperation which will make the US dependent on the USSR.

5. Dissidents and Human Rights. DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Alexeyeva, W 8 and Fedorov, NY 8) examined data given by Pravda on unofficial associations in the USSR, amplifying it with information from other Soviet sources. The program found the number of 30,000 such associations given by Pravda to be far too small. After this, the program featured an account by former Soviet political prisoner Yuri Fedorov of the maltreatment of political prisoners in Soviet strict-regime camps in refutation of the favorable picture painted by Soviet state prosecution official I. Rakhmanin in a polemic exchange with The New York Times.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Polishchuk, W 4) reported that at an international conference of information bulletin publishers in Washington, a large group of American journalists collected money for printing equipment for the Soviet unofficial journal Glasnost, the editorial offices of which were recently ransacked by the KGB.

6. Emigration. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Silnitskaya, W 3:30) took issue with a claim by the head of the USSR Interior Ministry's Visa and Registration Department (OVIR), Kuznetsov, that 15-20 percent of American citizens wanting to leave the US were refused permission on the grounds that they possessed military or economic secrets. The program pointed to Soviet arguments given to explain the restrictions on emigration from the USSR (possession of military or economic secrets, prevention of a "brain drain"), and cited statements made to RL's correspondent by a US immigration official in a telephone interview in which he explained that Americans are perfectly free to leave the country, there is not even any agency to which they need apply to for permission, and in the case of those in possession of secrets, limitations on their foreign travel are governed by the conditions of their work contract.

7. The 19th Party Conference. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Malinkovich, M 8:30) took issue with a claim by TASS commentator Boris Prokhorov that the election of delegates to the conference was taking place in a democratic fashion. The program said that, in fact, the results of the elections were worse than expected, since the party apparatus generally succeeded in blocking candidates supporting restructuring. The results were bad enough in Moscow; they were still worse in the provinces. The program reported on open manifestations of public displeasure over the election of opponents of restructuring. At the same time, the program felt that the reformists still have a chance, since the functionaries have no program, will be compelled to discuss the CPSU CC's conference theses, and are not used to taking the initiative. The program found particularly interesting recommendations by Prof. Klopov published in Moskovskiy Novosti, No. 23, concerning glasnost for the conference proceedings and the invitation of specialists to take part in discussions concerning their field.

PRESS REVIEW (EVENTS AND PEOPLE) (Gregory, M 4) cited comment on Gorbachev's chances of success at the conference in the face of conservative opposition in The Chicago Tribune (Moscow correspondent Schenker), The Los Angeles Times (Moscow correspondent Parks), and The New York Times (Moscow correspondent Tobman).

8. Restructuring. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Mirsky, P 4) gave the contents of an article in the French newspaper Liberation on a debate in the USSR over the possibility of the emergence of a multiparty system in the USSR, an idea fiercely rejected by the conservatives.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Gladilin, P 9) gave examples from Soviet publications showing how literary supporters of restructuring have gone over to the offensive against the conservatives. At the same time, the limits to restructuring have also become apparent.

9. The Economy. MAN AND SOCIETY (R. Shapiro, Isr. 4:30), a RERUN from February 11, reported on concern in official Soviet circles and in the press over the sluggish public reaction to the new law on individual labor activity. This is blamed particularly on resistance on the part of local officials, and also on the numerous prohibitions and restrictions in the new law. The root of the problem, said the program, lies in the fact that the leadership is reluctant to surrender even a tiny part of its power.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 4), in the final program in a series on the mechanisms retarding the Soviet economy, said that these mechanisms can only be broken by abolishing the entire

existing system of economic management. Simply replacing or adapting individual elements of this system, as is now being done, is not enough.

10. Society. MAN AND SOCIETY (Gordin, M 8), a RERUN from February 11, condemned the inhumanity of an article in the Latvian party newspaper Sovetskaya Molodezh to the effect that women alcoholics should be prevented from having children and of readers' reactions to it.

11. The Environment. MAN AND SOCIETY (Wolfson-Komarov, Isr. 5), a RERUN from February 11, commented that the newly created Soviet environmental protection committee has no teeth, although it will doubtless have the useful effect of generating more environmental complaints. The program showed how concern for the environment is, in fact, a good way of raising economic efficiency.

12. The Nationalities. ROUND-TABLE TALK (Roitman, Fedoseyev, and Malinkovich, M 20) discussed the conclusions of a state commission that there are no grounds for giving the Crimean Tatars autonomous status. The discussants differed on the extent to which the divergent Soviet figures on the resettlement of Crimean Tatars in their homeland can be regarded as positive, and rejected the commission's claim that its conclusions were in line with Lenin's nationality policy. Reference was made to the May demonstrations by the Crimean Tatars, and an excerpt was given from their appeal to Gorbachev last April. The question of finding a suitable form of autonomy for the Crimean Tatars was discussed, and the restrictive nature of the passport system governing their repatriation was noted. An excerpt was given from an article by Soviet bard Bulat Okudzhava, published in the latest issue of Russkaya Mysl, calling for a state-run repatriation program in which all the Soviet nationalities would assist. In conclusion, the discussants expressed the hope that the commission's decision will not be the last word on the subject.

DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 12) gave the text of an editorial statement in the unofficial Moscow journal Referendum, No. 8 (AS-6212), calling for the release of Armenian human rights activist Paruyr Ayrikyan. The program cited information in Vesti iz SSSR (News from the USSR) on the continued interrogation of Ayrikyan and noted the foundation in Moscow in May of a committee for the defense of Ayrikyan, including human rights activists from Armenia, Moscow, Sverdlovsk, the Ukraine, and the Baltic republics.

13. Soviet Disinformation on AIDS. MAN AND SOCIETY (Plakkhin, W 9), a RERUN from February 11, said that the Soviet propaganda claim that AIDS was produced artificially in the US for

bacteriological warfare purposes has been rejected, not only by the international AIDS conference held last May in Washington, but also by Soviet specialists themselves. The program suggested that this disinformation is designed not only to discredit the US but to neutralize Western press reports on the Soviet production of bacteriological weapons. The program asked how all this fits in with Soviet calls for intensified international cooperation on AIDS.

14. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Kublanovsky, P 9) reviewed Bella Akhmadulina's story "Grandmother," published in Oktyabr, No. 3, together with her story "Many Dogs and a Dog." The program author recalled that the latter originally appeared in the unofficial literary almanac Metropol many years ago, and expressed satisfaction that at last, the prose works of poetess Bella Akhmadulina are being made available to the broad Soviet public.

FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 30) featured the second installment of Soviet writer Vladimir Soloukhin's new book Laughter Behind My Left Shoulder, just published by Posev but still banned in the USSR, in which he recalls his childhood in a Russian peasant family with its traditional, religious way of life that was destroyed by collectivization.

15. Religion. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rahr, M 10) contrasted the present peace and quiet which now exists in state-church relations in the USSR at the highest level with an appeal by the formerly repressed Father Adelgeym to a Russian Orthodox Church meeting in the Troitse-Sergiyeva Monastery in which he spoke of the gross social discrimination against priests, in particular in the form of unjustifiably heavy taxation and the deprivation of normal social benefits. Adelgeym said this violates socialist legality and could result in a critical situation for the Church as a whole. The program said the appeal has a discordant ring against the background of the celebrations of the millennium of the Christianization of Russia.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 2:30), in a review of the Soviet press, drew attention to an interview in Moskovskaya Pravda of June 5 with Archpresbyter Matvey Stadnyuk and the chief doctor of a Moscow clinic, Anatoly Solovev, in which it was revealed that Moscow parishioners would be caring for seriously ill patients of the clinic on a voluntary basis. In an introduction to the interview, reference was made to the Russian Orthodox Church's tradition of caring for the sick. The program said this development shows the way to a constructive pluralism and indicates the role which the Church could play in a democratic Russia.

16. History. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 2), continuing to leaf through old Soviet newspapers, cited from Pravda of 9 June 1928 on engineer Alexander Nekrasov's refusal to plead guilty at the trial of alleged "economic counterrevolutionaries" in the Donbass. The program pointed out that Nekrasov's nonparty status made it easier for him to take this firm stand.

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

1. The Italian CP. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 5:30) pointed to the crisis being experienced by the Italian CP, characterized by declining voter support. The program said the party is going the same way as the French and Spanish CPs and suggested as reasons for the PCI's crisis the lack of political prospects for a communist party in a Western industrial country and the destruction of the myth surrounding the USSR.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. Nicaragua. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 4) reported on the lack of success at the present round of peace talks between the Sandinist government and the Contras. The two sides' mutual recriminations were noted. The Washington Post of June 9 and The New York Times of June 7 were used.

2. France. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanov, P 6) previewed the second round of the French parliamentary elections.

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

1. Religion. JUDAISM (Lvov, Weil and Haskelevich, NY 10, 12:30, and 5) included items on the six cities of refuge mentioned in the Book of Numbers, the late cantor Ben Zion Kapov-Kagan, and the biblical account of the Flood.

2. History. OVER THE BARRIERS (Vasily Betaki, P 9) reviewed a book by US historian Curtis Cate on the Napoleonic wars in which he rejects the Marxist determinist interpretation, actually based on Tolstoy's War and Peace, and speculates on what would have happened if Napoleon had not attacked Russia.

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RADIO FREE EUROPE
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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Monday, 27 June 1988

D. Felton

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

1. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 5:30) gave facts on the ravages caused by Soviet forces in Afghanistan in connection with a TASS rejection of a VOA broadcast on the subject as "slanderous." Afghanistan, said the program, is one of the areas least affected by glasnost.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gordin, M 4) featured an RL telephone interview with Hans-Gerd Poettering, an official of the European Parliament's commission on Afghanistan, in which he said he had received information that the Soviets have started removing gold artifacts from the Afghan National Museum in Kabul. Either the Soviets simply want the artifacts, said Poettering, which would be the most unpleasant explanation, or the USSR wants to take the artifacts to a safer place in view of the increasingly intense fighting around Kabul. In the latter case, he said, such a precaution could have been rendered superfluous if the USSR had allowed Afghanistan self-determination and Najibullah had given the Afghan people freedom of political choice. Should the USSR not reply to the European Parliament's enquiries, said Poettering, it would appeal to the UN for help.

2. Soviet-US Relations. THE USA TODAY (Rubin, Dovlatov, Gendler, and Muslin, NY 27:30) commented on an article by Vladimir Semenov, a correspondent of Literaturnaya Gazeta in the US, entitled "The American Behind the Wheel" which is probably the first positive article about the US to appear in a Soviet newspaper. However, although the article contains much favorable and realistic comment, it also contains hasty

generalizations and over-dramatization of the role of the automobile in the US. Although the article seems to mark the end of Soviet stereotyped reporting on foreign countries, Semenov could not refrain from a condescending, didactic tone. RL staffer Rubin recalled meeting with Semenov in RL's studio during the Los Angeles Olympics, after which he misrepresented RL staffers in his report as "CIA colonels and lieutenant-colonels." If Semenov has started to write in such a different tone about the US, said the program, then he must be acting on top-level instructions. Commenting on Semenov's references to the overmotorization of America, Gendler philosophized on how, in fact, Henry Ford, by producing cheap cars for the masses, was more of a social reformer than Lenin.

3. USSR-Canada. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Matusevich, M 4:30) took issue with a charge by Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister Vorontsov that Canada's expulsion of Soviet diplomats for espionage was an example of "old thinking" on the part of the Canadian leadership and constituted an "insult" to the USSR. The program said the real insult is committed by countries such as the USSR which inflate their foreign missions with overpaid agents.

4. Dissidents and Human Rights. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Henkina, M 5:30) noted that while the militia did not interfere with an unofficial demonstration in Leningrad and a meeting in Moscow's Dynamo stadium, in which Sakharov took part, it did, in accordance with special Moscow regulations, prevent the holding of a demonstration on Pushkin Square, and the demonstrators were mistreated. The program said recent interviews given by Soviet law enforcement officials illustrate the authorities' barely restrained aggression toward not only unofficial demonstrators but those who question the constitutionality of the restrictive Moscow regulations.

5. Emigres. AT THE BOOKSHELF (Perouansky and Voynovich, M 20 and 12:30) gave the slightly abridged text of an article by film director Eldar Ryazanov in Moskovskiy Novosti of June 19 entitled "Magnanimity" in which he calls for the rehabilitation of Soviet cultural representatives who had in the past been subjected to repression and forced to emigrate. Ryazanov makes especial reference to Soviet emigre writer Vladimir Voynovich and expresses the hope of being allowed to film his novel The Life and Extraordinary Adventures of the Soldier Ivan Chonkin. The program then featured an RL interview with Voynovich, recovering from a heart operation, in which he said that he was touched by Ryazanov's article, which was the first positive reference to him in the Soviet press since 20 years. Voynovich said the title of the article, however, was inappropriate, since magnanimity can only be shown to criminals, etc. He agreed with Ryazanov's condemnation of the Soviet authorities' practice of

depriving Soviet citizens of their citizenship, and said that he would accept Soviet citizenship if it was returned to him, but only if the USSR had by then become a state which had stopped repressing its citizens. Voynovich felt that Ryazanov's article was no indication that "Chonkin" would in fact be filmed in the USSR, but it probably would be in the West.

6. The 19th CPSU Conference. FACED WITH A CHOICE

(Belotserkovsky, M 9) described how the party nomenklatura has manipulated the elections of delegates to the conference in its own interests. The program spoke of the psychological effect of this "preliminary" victory, in which the nomenklatura has demonstrated its power to the rank-and-file party members. The program spoke of the danger that Gorbachev will be cut off from the people; that restructuring will be discredited; and that healthy forces will desert the party, as playwright Alexander Gelman warned in Moskovskiy Novosti. Nevertheless, said the program, in the three years since Gorbachev's coming to power, miracles have been occurring, such as in Armenia and the Baltic republics, and if the conference takes place under conditions of glasnost, the champions of democratization will be able to appeal directly to the people.

ROUND TABLE TALK (Roitman, Fistejn and Malinkovich, M 20) gave a preview of the conference. Reference was made to an officially allowed meeting of delegates in Moscow at which a petition was accepted concerning a memorial for the victims of Stalinism, the militia's vain attempts to break up a meeting of the "Democratic Union" and a demonstration by Crimean Tatars in Tashkent. The program described as a dampener for those with liberal hopes, statements made on Soviet Central TV by Pravda chief editor Viktor Afanasev which amount to "anti-theses" for the conference. In particular, Afanasev insists that the party retain its power monopoly. He is against a "popular front," although one already exists in Estonia; such a "revolution from below" has been encouraged by Gorbachev. The program outlined the platform of the prorestructuring forces, which includes the separation of party from state, and a state based on legality. The program said that while the results of the elections of conference delegates are disappointing, the cause of restructuring could be furthered by the involvement of the masses. While the present Soviet system could be called "Stalinism with a human face," the task facing the party conference is to effect a transition to "socialism with a human face." In this connection, the program pointed to parallels and differences between the Prague Spring and present developments in the USSR. In Czechoslovakia the reformers enjoyed tremendous support from the masses; in the USSR the reformers are surrounded by a sea of party conservatives. While the conference theses and Afanasev's statements exclude the possibility of alternative socialist or social-democratic

parties, even Afanasev realizes that the party must surrender at least a little of its power. Should the party surrender its power, the careerists would not join it, and the party would then have to develop its ideas and present them for the judgement of society. Many conference supporters realize that the democratization of the USSR cannot be achieved simply through the democratization of the party. Presidential rule could meet with the support of the masses.

FACED WITH A CHOICE (Polishchuk, W 4:30), a RERUN from June 21, summed up Western press comment, in particular by The Washington Post's Moscow correspondent Lee, on the conference's prospects. Falin's latest interview given to Western correspondents in Moscow indicates that opposition to Gorbachev by the party bureaucracy is so strong that he will probably have to agree to a slower pace of implementation of his reform program. A particularly keen controversy may be expected over the question of the party's role in Soviet society.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Weinstein, W 6) gave the contents of an article by The Washington Post's Moscow correspondents Remnick and Lee which describes the upcoming conference as of tremendous political importance since it signifies the beginning of a genuine polemic within the party, and no one can predict its outcome.

FACING THE EVENT (Roitman, Belotserkovsky, Malinkovich, Matusevich, and Henkina, M 20) discussed the first part of Gorbachev's speech at the conference. The program said that Gorbachev's proposal for the head of a soviet to be also the head of the respective party organ contradicts his recommendations on the separation of executive and legislative power and on the separation, at least partially, of party and state. Gorbachev said nothing about restoring to the soviets their representative character. His goal of resuscitating the power of the soviets is, however, a noble one. The combination of party with executive power could, if the soviets were democratically elected, mean that executive power would be under the control of society. Should the party surrender some of its power to the soviets, this would be a reaction to the latest increased activity of the Soviet public. The program criticized Gorbachev's hasty references to human rights, to the rights which Soviet citizens have come to take for granted. One of the discussants pointed out, however, that in the past, desultory public statements by Gorbachev have nevertheless been followed by positive action. It was noted that Gorbachev drew applause by his insistence that democratization should not be used to redraw inner-Soviet frontiers or form opposition parties. Gorbachev's statements on foreign policy were seen as a retrogression from recent statements by other Soviet officials.

7. Restructuring. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Belotserkovsky, M 10) discussed Pravda chief editor Viktor Afanasev's statements on Soviet TV on June 26 in which he insisted that the party had to remain responsible for all spheres of life in the USSR and an article in Pravda of the previous day by a certain Kuznetsov sharply criticizing an article by historian Yuri Afanasev in which the latter expressed his support for democratization, glasnost, a plurality of opinions, etc. The program described these utterances as a cause for serious concern.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 5:30) commented on Pravda chief editor Viktor Afanasev's statements on Moscow TV insisting that the party continue to be responsible for everything. The program pointed particularly to the adverse consequences of the party's economic strategy, or, to be more precise, the party's centralized rule. Soviet scholars were quoted on the largely cosmetic nature of the present economic reforms. Afanasev's statements, said the program, could be designed to dampen excessive expectations of the party conference.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Malinkovich, M 4:30) expressed concern over Pravda chief editor Viktor Afanasev's insistence that the party continue to control all aspects of Soviet life since it indicates that no substantial political changes will take place in the USSR in the near future. So far there has been talk of restricting the power of the party and of placing it under the control of society and of the law. The party's position has turned against restructuring. As regards Afanasev's argument that in a socialist society there is no reason for the emergence of other political parties, the program pointed out that this is contradicted by the situation in many socialist countries.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Belotserkovsky, M 5:30) also found Afanasev's statements alarming. He seems to have learnt nothing, said the program. For example, his insistence that the party should take account of all the interests of all the peoples of the USSR is practically unworkable. The program contrasted his position with that of the historian Yuri Afanasev.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 2:30), in a review of the Soviet press, cited an article in Vechernyaya Moskva of June 16 proposing that some of the candidates for the position of deputy should be put forward by the public organizations which have recently emerged in the USSR, and in the case of victory for a block, nonparty specialists should take over some ministries. After this, the program cited a letter in Pravda Ukrainy of June 17 condemning the practise of affixing labels to political opponents which existed during the Stalin and "stagnation" periods.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fiszbein, M 8) gave excerpts from an article by Ukrainian political economist Vladimir Chernyak in Literaturna Ukraina of June 16 entitled "Democracy and Bureaucracy" in which he called for a rapid restructuring, with political reforms to precede economic ones, and the liquidation of the present class of bureaucrats who were sabotaging restructuring because it threatened their interests and power. The program author justified giving excerpts from the article on the grounds that the newspaper in which it was published is a regional, non-Russian-language publication not generally accessible to the average Soviet reader.

8. The Nationalities. THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Malinkovich, M 5; Krimerman, M 6:30; Simis, W 7:30; and Fiszbein, M 10:30) began by commenting that the only thesis of the upcoming 19th CPSU Conference really dealing with the nationality question is vague, but there are, nevertheless, hopes that the issue will be seriously raised at the conference by the Estonian, Armenian, and possibly the Latvian delegates, the first two being under pressure from their peoples in the form of "national fronts." The Estonian demands, said the program, could well serve as a model for other republics. The bulk of the party apparatus, however, will probably oppose restructuring in internationality relations. The program, also cited Literaturnaya Gazeta on the persecution of liberal, patriotic Moldavian writers and, in particular, the Kishinev weekly Literatura shi Arta, by the Moldavian authorities. The program then commented on a reader's letter to Moskovskiye Novosti proposing the removal of the space for nationality from passports and questionnaires. The program said that indeed, according to Soviet law, a person's legal status is determined by his citizenship, not his nationality. The real reason for recording a Soviet citizen's nationality is that it facilitates discriminatory practices. The program gave examples of such discriminatory practices, which also violate international agreements signed by the USSR. In Western democratic countries, it was pointed out, a person's status depends only on his citizenship. The program noted that in the USSR the criterion for nationality is racist. It was suggested that it would be a good thing if in the USSR, citizenship should be based on a person's nationality republic, instead of being "Soviet." The program concluded with excerpts from an article written in 1915 by Academician Vladimir Vernadsky entitled "The Ukrainian Question and the Russian Public" which was published in the June issue of the Kiev journal Vitchyzna. The program said that this article, which says that the recognition of Ukrainian national rights is inevitable, is just as relevant today.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 2), continuing to leaf through old Soviet newspapers, cited a report in Pravda of 27 June 1938 on the enthusiastic vote for Stalin in the Volga-German ASSR. This, said the program, did not prevent the ASSR from being disbanded only three years later.

9. Religion. RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Szydlowski, NY 15) reported on a symposium on the millennium of the Christianization of Russia recently held near New York. The program referred in particular to papers delivered by Father Ioann Meyendorf, Rector of St. Vladimir's Seminary, in which he welcomed the changes in church-state relations in the USSR, and by Prof. Dimitri Pospelovsky, who also spoke of a real improvement in the position of the church and believers, a result of broader glasnost, but also pointed to the silence of the Moscow Patriarchate's publications regarding the past persecution of the Church; to the inadequate number of operating churches in the USSR; to Gorbachev's relative silence on the church and religion, an exception being his speech in Tashkent in 1986 on the need to uncompromisingly fight religion; to Ligachev's attacks against writers urging tolerance toward religion; and to the large number of statements in the Soviet press in defense of religion.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Polishchuk, W 6) reported on a conference in Williamsburg on religious freedom in the US. The program made especial reference to statements by evangelist Billy Graham, recently back from the USSR, who said he was convinced of the Soviet leadership's serious intention to guarantee the freedoms laid down in the constitution and was greatly impressed with the depth of religious belief in the USSR, and the chairman of the recently formed Soviet human rights commission, Fedor Burlatsky, who spoke of a new law to be passed in the USSR which will radically change the relations between the state, church, and society and acknowledge the church's role in strengthening world peace and social morality. The program took issue with Burlatsky's reference to the rights enjoyed by the church under Lenin. Reference was also made to readings by formerly imprisoned Soviet poetess Irina Ratushinskaya of her poetry in which she speaks of her belief in God.

RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Aksenov-Meyerson, NY 8) cited from a book by still imprisoned Russian Orthodox Church deacon and former staffer of the Moscow Patriarchate's publishing department, Vladimir Rusak, on the heavy restrictions imposed by the authorities on the Patriarchate's publishing activities.

10. History. FACED WITH A CHOICE (Belotserkovsky, M 12:30) gave the second half of the personal recollections of Petr Siuta, a participant in the June 1962 unrest in Novocherkassk touched off by a decision to drastically raise food prices and lower wages.

The workers' demonstration was bloodily suppressed. Unfortunately, said the program, glasnost in the USSR still does not extend to such happenings. Siuta's recollections were published in the independent Moscow bulletin Express-Khronika.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Tolz, M 7:30) commented on an appeal by the deputy chief editor of the CPSU journal Kommunist, Otto Latsis, for the civil, as opposed to the political, rehabilitation of Trotsky. The program expressed the view that this, however, can hardly be expected to put an end to the controversy in the Soviet press over Trotsky, who is still held up as an "enemy of the people," although certain credit may now be given to him. Trotsky is attacked as a teacher of Stalin. The program rejected the argument that Trotsky did not need to be rehabilitated because he was not a victim of Stalin's show trials.

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

1. Eastern Europe. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, M 4:30) pointed to nervousness and uncertainty in government and dissident circles alike in the East European countries over the possible implications of the 19th CPSU conference. Governments are adopting a wait-and-see attitude and have slowed down the pace of their reforms. Symptomatic of the concern of the East European regimes is the recent intensified persecution in Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia of dissidents, human rights activists, and striking workers. The program cited Polish and Hungarian dissidents Jacek Kuron and Miklos Haraszti.

2. Czechoslovakia. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 3), continuing to leaf through old Soviet newspapers, cited an article in Izvestia of 26 June 1968 in support of the "people's militia" in Czechoslovakia. In explanation of the background to this article, the program quoted from the memoirs of Prague Spring activist Zdenek Mlynar, entitled A Cold Wind from the Kremlin, on a campaign of provocation calling for the dissolution of the "people's militia" initiated within the Czechoslovak state security service.

3. Yugoslavia. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 20) recapitulated the developments before and after Yugoslavia's expulsion from the Cominform 40 years ago and placed it in the general context of postwar Soviet-Yugoslav relations. The program said Yugoslavia's bold stand against Stalin destroyed the latter's myth of invincibility and paved the way for such developments as Eurocommunism. The program cited Gorbachev's statement during his visit to Yugoslavia to the effect that both countries had much to learn from each other and noted that many of the Yugoslav positions of 1948 have now been taken over by the USSR.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. New Caledonia. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanova, P 6)
reported on the acceptance by the two opposing political groups
in New Caledonia of the French government's proposal for a
resolution of the dispute on the territory's status.

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

1. Religion. RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Fotiyev, M 5)
reported on an Orthodox-Catholic theological conference held in
Finland. The program mentioned that the Russian Orthodox Church
was represented by Archbishop Kirill of Smolensk and Vyazma.

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RADIO FREE EUROPE
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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Tuesday, 28 June 1988

M. Rudin

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

1. The Party Conference. ROUNDTABLE (Roitman, Henkina, Malinkovich, and Belotserkovsky, M 20) featured a discussion assessing various aspects of Gorbachev's keynote speech at the party conference, focusing on the Soviet leader's remarks with respect to plans to restructure the Soviet political system and the nationality question. One discussant observed that Gorbachev's speech does not pave the way for a democratization of the system, but rather indicates an insignificant liberalization.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Nadirashvili and Malinkovich, M 9) discussed that part of Gorbachev's speech at the party conference which pertained to the restructuring of the political system. It was observed, among other things, that if Gorbachev's proposals are accepted at the congress and realized in the future, it would signify more optimal decisions and a better system of management rather than democratization of the system because the masses of the people would still be excluded from the sphere of management. One discussant was skeptical about Gorbachev's proposal concerning the creation of a Congress of People's Deputies, which would be partially made up by members from public organizations, pointing out that these organizations are controlled by the party apparatus and are not really independent.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Limberger and Belotserkovsky, M 7) commented on Gorbachev's statements concerning internal party democracy. The program listed three points which must be implemented in

order to democratize the party -- the division of power into legislative and executive organs, the election of the legislative organs of people not in the party nomenklatura, and freedom for factional activities in the party -- discussing to what extent Gorbachev talked about these topics in his speech.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 6:30) assessed Gorbachev's proposal at the conference to create a Congress of People's Deputies. It was said that the idea to give people a chance to effectively influence their country's politics is very commendable, but that seen in the context of Gorbachev's remarks ruling out opposition parties it would signify that the real power would still remain in the hands of the party leadership.

HUMAN RIGHTS (Fedoseyev, M 6) commented briefly on Gorbachev's speech at the Soviet party conference. The program observed that although Gorbachev spoke of the "leading role" of the party he at the same time spoke of the "word of the people" as a decisive factor. The program cited an article by leading publicist Yury Feofanov in Izvestia which assessed the "Theses" published by the CPSU Central Committee in May and spoke of the creation of a state under law in the Soviet Union.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Rahr and Roitman, M 7) said Gorbachev's speech was bombastic and not constructive and that more was expected of a party conference speech. The program also noted that Gorbachev's statements about the nationality question were very superficial and that he made no mention of the Nagorno-Karabakh question and the appeal of the creative unions of the Baltic republics.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Chianurov, M 5:30) commented on Gorbachev's statements concerning the food problems in the USSR and the ways of improving it, saying that one of the main measures which will have to be taken by the government is to cut down on the country's high military expenditure which is one of the highest in the world. The program used an RLR Research Report of June 28.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 3:30) focused on that part of Gorbachev's address dealing with economic reform, noting Gorbachev's confirmation of plans to increase retail prices for food products. The program cited the Soviet press on the causes of the high costs for the production of agricultural commodities.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Weinshtein, W 5:30) cited comments in The Washington Post previewing the upcoming party conference and The Los Angeles Times (Mandelbaum) on whether the US is interested in seeing the restructuring process succeed in the USSR.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanova, P 4) excerpted French press comment on the party conference in Moscow from l'Humanite, Le Quotidien de Paris, and Le Monde.

2. Restructuring. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 5:30) noted that among the preparatory conference meetings which took place was a press conference dealing with democratization and glasnost attended by Pravda chief editor Victor Afanasev; Kommunist chief editor Nail Bikkenin; and Vladimir Karpov and Mikhail Ulanov, leaders of two cultural unions. The program drew attention to some of the moments not covered up to now by the Soviet media.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Genis, NY 2:30) drew on a Reuter dispatch of June 27 which reported that the Soviet journal Novy Mir is holding talks with Alexander Solzhenitsyn about the possibility of publishing his Cancer Ward and The First Circle in the Soviet Union.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 4) noted that a book by American professor Robert Slusser entitled Stalin in October, which criticizes Stalin's role in the October revolution, will be printed by the Soviet government publishing house Progress. An American scholar was cited as saying that the publication of the book is of great significance. The program used a UPI dispatch of June 26.

HUMAN RIGHTS (Kaminskaya, W 9) commented on an article in Izvestia of May 31 which featured a talk between that newspaper's observer Yury Feofanov and Doctor of Law, Soloveva, who discussed the reasons why the Soviets never became organs of state power. The program said that the only way to turn the Soviets into democratic organs would be to establish a democratic regime based on the principles of division of power and real pluralism.

3. Soviet-US Relations. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY TODAY (Muslin, NY 3) noted that Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs, Simons, told members of the congressional subcommittee on science that US security interests would not be jeopardized through scientific cooperation with the USSR and said that the Moscow summit brought about an agreement on cooperation in the transport sphere and an expansion of the framework of the space agreement of 1987. The program also reported on a joint Soviet-US experiment which will confirm theoretical concepts about the sources of energy in the sun and stars.

4. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 5:30) said there is a stalemate in Afghanistan and the situation is very obscure. The program noted that Kabul sent its 34th note of protest to Pakistan accusing it of violating the Geneva accords; referred

to articles in the Soviet press on the fate of Soviet soldiers who vanished without a trace; reported on military developments in Kabul and Kandahar; and observed a slow, and for the most part, bloodless infiltration of the resistance into various central regions which the Kabul troops are evacuating or fleeing from. The program used an article in The New York Times and a UPI dispatch.

5. The Economy. ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Simis, W 7) noted that a prominent Soviet economist Academician Abalkin spoke at the Kennan Institute in Washington in March about the perspectives of the economic reform in the USSR and said that a price reform must be carried out in the near future. The program noted, against this background, Gorbachev's announcement in May that a price reform will be postponed until 1991-1995 and presented the comment of American specialists on Gorbachev's decision.

ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Krasin, W 8) said that the results of the first experiments of renting land by contract in the agricultural sector have been successful and that it can be a solution to solving the food problem in the USSR. The program cited an article in Selskaya Zhizn and noted that the CC of the CPSU discussed the results of the experiment in the middle of May.

6. Emigration. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gordin, M 4:30) talked to the chairman of the national group of Germans from the USSR which held its 21st congress in Wiesbaden, West Germany, devoted to the problems connected with the integration of emigrants from the USSR and the situation of Germans in the Soviet Union. The two main reasons for the emigration of Germans from the USSR is the absence of the possibility of studying the German language and the absence of religious freedom, noted the chairman.

7. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Gladilin, P 7:30) observed that recent articles in Literaturnaya Gazeta and an article by Soviet film director Eldar Ryazanov in Moscow News of June 19 suggest that there might be a shift in the Soviet position on Soviet writers who left the USSR.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Kublanovsky, P 10) discussed the life and works of Moscow poetess Inna Lisnyanskaya on the occasion of her 60th birthday. Lisnyanskaya's works have not been published in the USSR during the past 10 years.

8. Literature. FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 29:30) presented the 18th installment of the third part of Alexander Solzhenitzyn's 1980 edition of The Gulag Archipelago.

9. The Press. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev and Rahr, M 12:30) took a look at old and current issues of the Soviet press, excerpting the 25th issue of Ogonek on the millennium of the Christianization of Rus; the 25th issue of Nedelya on the necessity of renewing the Soviet party and state apparatus; Pravda of 28 June 1938 on the elections to the Supreme Soviets of the RSFSR, the Ukraine, and Belorussia; and Pravda of 28 June 1948 on how West Berlin was affected by the stop of interzonal trade. The program also cited a book by former Soviet prisoner, Sergey Myuge.

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

1. Hungary and Romania. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fistejn, M 8) reported on the demonstrations that took place in Budapest protesting against Romanian leader Ceausescu's plans to destroy Romanian villages inhabited for the most part by ethnic Hungarians.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The Results of Pope John Paul's Five-Day Visit to Austria was discussed by EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fotiyev, M 4).

2. France. HUMAN RIGHTS (Savitsky, P 10:30) discussed the preelection campaign in France and the results of the elections as a lesson in democracy.

3. ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Alexeyeva, NY 7) featured an interview with American Congressman Tony Hall who talked about the work of the congressional committee dealing with hunger problems in the modern world. Congressman Hall is chairman of one of the subcommittees.

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

1. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Savitsky, P 10) talked about this year's traditional festival of painting in Paris.

2. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY TODAY (Muslin and Morozov, NY 17 and 7:30) featured a talk with a member of the public organization, the Sierra Club, about the protection of the environment in Alaska; discussed the findings of the American interplanetary probe Pioneer 10; and included brief news items pertaining to the scientific and technological world.

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RADIO FREE EUROPE
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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Wednesday, 29 June 1988

M. Frost

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

1. Soviet-US Relations. HUMAN RIGHTS (Silnitskaya, W 7) covered the Director of the US Information Agency Charles Wick's report to a Congressional foreign relations subcommittee in which he stated that media and cultural relations between the USSR and the USA have significantly improved since Gorbachev came to power in 1985. A CND report from Washington of August 12 was used.

2. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 8) reported on the current situation in Afghanistan, the activities of the resistance fighters around Kabul, and the need to avoid the establishment of a radical Islamic regime once the Soviet troop withdrawal is completed.

3. The 19th CPSU Conference. FACING THE EVENT (Roitman, Henkina, Malinkovich, and Belotserkovsky, M 20) relayed the program participants' impressions of the first two days of the party conference. The program mentioned the incomplete media coverage of the event in the USSR, expressed general approval over the style of the conference and the fact that several delegates openly criticized policies proposed by the leadership, and discussed the prospects for greater party democracy and press freedom.

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Shragin, M 15) commented on aspects of Gorbachev's opening address pertaining to political pluralism in the USSR. The program stated that Gorbachev's insistence that political reforms are only permissible when compatible with "the

the goal of strengthening the development of socialist society" does not substantially differ from articles on civil freedoms and political rights enshrined in Stalin's and Brezhnev's constitutions of 1936 and 1977 respectively. The obsession with creating, maintaining, and strengthening a socialist society, regardless of the economic and social consequences, is still paramount in the USSR.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Belotserkovsky, M 8) referred to the antidemocratic nature of Gorbachev's proposal to unite the functions of party first secretaries with those of the chairmen of the soviets. The formal subjugation of the soviets to party instances, the program commented, whatever Gorbachev's motives, represents a step backward from the plans to democratize the party and the country.

ROUND TABLE (Roitman, Malinkovich, and Bensi, M 20) discussed the first day's proceedings of the 19th CPSU Conference and presented a round up of Western press reaction to Gorbachev's opening address. The discussants expressed dismay at the paucity of Soviet press coverage of the conference which belies the promotion of glasnost by the very same conference. Commenting on various aspects of Gorbachev's address, the program stated the need for the strict division of party and government functions and a genuine multiparty system not modelled on the spectacularly unsuccessful Yugoslav system.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 6:30), a RERUN from June 27, assessed Gorbachev's proposal at the conference to create a Congress of People's Deputies. It was said that the idea to give people a chance to effectively influence their country's politics is very commendable, but that seen in the context of Gorbachev's remarks ruling out opposition parties it would signify that the real power would still remain in the hands of the party leadership.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Malinkovich, M 6) reacted to Gorbachev's statement made in his opening address to the party conference that party and state functions must be strictly divided "in accordance with the Leninist conception of the role of the communist party as the political avant-garde of the people." The program commented that Gorbachev's proposals on structural reforms of the soviets do not guarantee the election of officials representing independent social organizations. Using an article from The Washington Post, the program asked whether the aim of these proposals is to concentrate power even more in the hands of the party apparatus.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 4:30) responded to the section in Gorbachev's opening address to the conference referring specifically to economic reforms and pointed out the problems

involved in attempting to push a package of economic reforms through a centralized command economy controlled by an obdurate bureaucracy.

HUMAN RIGHTS (Fedoseyev, M 5:30) focused on Gorbachev's statements on political reform made during his opening address to the conference and commented that until civil rights are regarded as inviolable human rights and not as concessions presented periodically by the party, both society and the individual will continue to underperform.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Henkina, M 6) reviewed on the proceedings of the party conference and expressed skepticism that a discredited party can fulfill the necessary leadership role in bringing the country out of the social and economic blind alley in which it currently finds itself.

PRESS REVIEW (EVENTS AND PEOPLE) (Vainshtein, W 5) presented commentaries on the party conference from The Washington Post, The New York Times, and US news agencies.

PRESS REVIEW (EVENTS AND PEOPLE) (Bensi, M 7) presented a round-up of commentaries on the party conference from the Western press in Repubblica, Il Giornale Nuovo, The New York Times, the Sueddeutsche Zeitung, and the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung.

4. The Nationalities. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fishbein, M 6:30) broadcast the text of an appeal with more than 4,000 signatures to be presented to the 19th CPSU conference by the Ukrainian poet Boris Oleynik. The appeal set out the reasons for a moratorium on the construction of atomic reactors in the Ukraine.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Rahr and Oganessian, M 6) commented that Gorbachev's opening speech failed to satisfactorily address the critical problem of Mountainous Karabagh. The program predicted further disturbances in Armenia as a consequence of the leaderships refusal to grant any of the demands of the Armenian population in Mountainous Karabagh.

5. The Baltic States. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Rahr and Strunskis, M 3:30) observed that Gorbachev failed to address the problems of the Baltic States in his opening speech to the party conference and made no reference to the blank spots in Soviet history concerning the annexation of the Baltic States in 1940.

6. Glasnost. HUMAN RIGHTS (Shragin, 12) discussed the case of a Tbilisi resident who informed the Supreme Soviet of his decision to relinquish his Soviet citizenship in protest over the ineffectiveness of the glasnost and restructuring campaigns

to improve his material conditions. The program reported the resident's accusation that "absolute lies have been replaced by half-truths" and commented that, with regard to events in Stepanakert, the Soviet press was extremely tardy in reporting events in the region.

7. Emigres. On AT THE BOOKSHELF (Voinovich, M 29:30) the emigre writer, Vladimir Voinovich read the first part of the story The Cap, about a special type of soviet writer who avoids all politics by writing only about good, heroic, and professional people; connives for awards; and swaps medals, but, unfortunately, can neither listen to criticism nor write. The program was RERUN from May 25.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Mirsky, P 15) broadcast a radio essay by a former Moscow critic and publicist Nikolay Tulpinov who sought political asylum in France in March of this year. Tulpinov reflected upon the pace of literary developments in the USSR since the advent of glasnost and discussed the eccentricities of Soviet publishing policy.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Vail, NY 4:30), referring to an article from The New York Times of June 29, announced that the USSR has not entered into negotiations with Alexander Solzhenitsyn to publish his works in the USSR, as previously reported by some Western news agencies.

8. The Law. HUMAN RIGHTS (Kaminskaya, W 8) analyzed an article appearing in Pravda on May 19 which proposed reforms of the judicial system to ensure that judges are not influenced by local party organs. The program admitted that the proposals are a step in the right direction, but argued that the series of half-measures discussed in the article are no guarantee of an independent judiciary.

9. History. RUSSIA YESTERDAY, TODAY, TOMORROW (Tolz, M 8:30) reviewed an article appearing in the Minsk newspaper Literatura i Mastatso dedicated to the atrocities perpetrated against the Belorussian populace by Stalin's security forces from 1937 to 1941. The program cited excerpts from the article of eyewitness reports of the execution at night of thousands of people and praised the efforts of the two Belorussian archeologists who discovered mass graves in the forests around Minsk. The full horror of the Stalin era, the program commented, is gradually being revealed to the people by responsible organs of the Soviet press.

RUSSIA YESTERDAY, TODAY, TOMORROW (Babenyshev, NY 11) reviewed an article appearing in Nash Sovremennik on the demographic losses and disruption caused by the Civil war of 1918-1921. The program took issue with many of the author's conclusions as they

were based on an incorrect interpretation of demographic data available and dismissed his argument that terror in the USSR has been traditionally perpetrated by non-Slavic and non-Russian elements in Soviet society.

RUSSIA YESTERDAY, TODAY, TOMORROW (Geller, P 8) cited excerpts from an article appearing in Novy Mir tracing the current crisis in the Soviet economy back to the first years of the Soviet state when Lenin resorted to economic and other forms of terror to stay in power. The program detailed Lenin's role in the establishment of the counterespionage service and concluded that Lenin, not Stalin, was the father of terrorism in the USSR.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Tolz, M 7) reviewed the recent publications of three military historians appearing in the Soviet press and concluded that despite the valiant efforts of some outstanding historians, military history is in desperate need of restructuring if the truth about the losses incurred in World War II and the purges are to be brought to light.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 2) presented an excerpt from Pravda from 29 June 1948 on the state of the Yugoslav Communist Party.

10. The Arts. OVER THE BARRIERS (Glezer, P 7:30), continuing the series on masters of the the Russian avant-garde, presented a portrait of the life and work of the Moscow artist Vladimir Yakovlev.

11. Religion. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Rahr, M 3) noted that Gorbachev devoted less than 90 seconds of his three-hour speech to Church-state relations in a country with an estimated 70 million believers. The program called for greater freedom of religious expression in the USSR.

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

1. Eastern Europe. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Chianurov, M 4:30) discussed the repercussions of Gorbachev's opening address at the party conference on the countries of Eastern Europe. RAD Background Reports from June 28 were used.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. Central America. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Polishchuk, W 5) reported on Shultz's diplomatic mission to Central America. The program used articles from The Washington Post and a CND report from Washington of June 28.

2. France. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanov, P 4:20) described the composition of the new French government.
3. The UN. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Vail, NY 4:30), using material from The New York Times from June 27 and a CND report from New York of June 28, covered the proceedings of the third special UN session on disarmament and reported that despite the absence of a joint resolution on disarmament the talks proved to be useful and were conducted in a positive atmosphere.
4. Angola. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Polishchuk, W 4:30), based on reports from UPI, The New York Times, and Reuters from June 28, covered the Cuban troop reinforcements to Angola at a time when sensitive negotiations are taking place to arrange an end to the civil war in the country.
5. The US. DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Simis, W 7), using an article from The Washington Post from June 1, explained the current controversy over the teaching of religion in schools in the US.
6. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Maltsev, M 4) reviewed an evening of poetry, written and performed by the celebrated Italian actor Vittorio Gassman in Milan.
7. Religion. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fotiyev, M 4:30) reported on the pope's appointment of 22 new Catholic cardinals.

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 Daily Broadcast Analysis
for Thursday, 30 June 1988
R. Moroe

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

1. Soviet-Israeli Relations were discussed on EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Nudelman, Isr 5) in the context of an International Film Festival in Jerusalem. Soviet presence at the festival may be viewed as one more step toward the development of cultural rapprochement in Israeli-Soviet relations.

2. Foreign Policy. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD and EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 5) reported that Aftonbladet's statement reporting Soviet submarines' continuing violation of Swedish territorial waters was rebuffed by Gerasimov who said that it was a "mere fantasy." On the same day, he stated that the 1981 Soviet violation of Swedish waters was not intentional, but was due to a navigation system failure. He also rebuffed the newspaper's quotation of a Soviet official who said that he could not exclude Soviet submarine operations in Swedish waters in view of past Soviet foreign policy guidelines. He said he believed there are no Soviet submarines in Swedish waters now because the Soviets have realized that mistakes can lead to an international scandal.

3. Afghanistan was discussed on THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD and EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyev, M 6) in the context of Soviet leader Gorbachev's speech at the 19th CPSU Conference. His words "the Geneva accords and the beginning of the withdrawal of our military contingent from Afghanistan became a major international landmark in the cause of political settlements of regional conflicts" were quoted and commented on. The program argued that Gorbachev's definition of the Afghan War as an

International phenomenon is only partially correct. It is also an internal problem since a whole generation of the Soviet youth has gone through eight years of the war and young men still continue to die. The program said that the USSR neither lost nor won the war but it has at last realized its mistake. One can agree with Gorbachev's words that the USSR made a wise decision to withdraw but the whole story of Afghanistan should be brought into the open.

4. The Party, the State, and Glasnost. FACE TO FACE WITH THE EVENT (Chenkin, Roitman, Fistein, and Matusevich, M 20) noted the complex course of the 19th CPSU Conference which entertained two major themes: to find a solution to the differentiation of party and state functions and an attempt to regulate the mass media. Gorbachev's earlier speech suggesting the merger of the posts of first party secretary and Supreme Soviet chairman caused the delegates' criticism, including the Soviet Institute of the Economy director, Abalkin. Another proposal suggesting the combination of the first party secretary and the executive committee chairman was similarly rebuffed. The program turned to glasnost and commented on Soviet Writers' Union Chairman Karpov's speech defending party control and an aggressive one by writer Bondarev who attacked the entire field of literary criticism. The program concluded with the reaction to an article in Ogonek by special investigators of the RSFSR Procurator's Office accusing certain delegates, whose names were not given, of bribery. The Credentials Committee was asked to start an investigation.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Belotserkovsky, M 10) commented on an outspoken speech by Ulyanov on the electoral term and glasnost in the press. He unprecedentedly insisted on one electoral term for every Soviet official regardless his rank and the approval for the second term by a vote of the two-thirds in a referendum. He then proposed an exception for Gorbachev, explaining that the "democratic turnpikes" are still undeveloped. The program noted his naivete when he unintentionally laid the first brick of a personality cult foundation. Ulyanov's problem emerged later when he suggested that the press be guarded as a counterforce in a one-party system. Gorbachev's contradicting remark that "one monopoly should not be substituted by another" and that a newspaper cannot be made a "social tribune" made Ulyanov retreat.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 8:30) discussed the general atmosphere at the conference and Gorbachev's platforms. Amid the unprecedented outspokenness and sincerity of certain party delegates, Gorbachev's smooth but noncommittal speech came as a disappointment giving rise to an opinion that he might have compromised with the conservatives. Sharply attacking liberal scientist Abalkin, Gorbachev accused the latter of being blind

toward the achievements brought about by perestroika and for resisting the merger of the party and Supreme Soviet Chairman posts into one. The proposal has been objected to by other party delegates who resist the spread of the party apparatus influence for they see in it an impediment to restructuring.

5. An Overview of the 19th Party Conference. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Belotserkovsky, M 4) and EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Belotserkovsky, M 7:30) noted the unprecedented course of the conference which heard many critical and outspoken presentations, including mentions a taboo phenomenon, such as the direct criticism of the General Secretary's proposals. There were no purposeful discussions of major timely issues, such as the democratization of the party and the nationality issue. While criticizing the diffusion of the party daily agenda the program recalled factional party conferences in the past where each faction represented by Lenin, Trotsky, etc. used to submit their proposals and debated their pros and cons.

6. The Party Conference Aftermath: the Nationality Issue. Although the issue of interethnic relations in the USSR was discussed at the conference, THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD and EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Malinkovich, M 4) noted that it lacked concreteness on specifics. Gorbachev's speech contained generalized expressions, demonstrating his avoidance of discussing the reasons for the acute interethnic conflicts which were brought into the open by glasnost. He made no mention of the situation in Armenia, neglected Estonian and Latvian proposals calling for a self-managed autonomous status, and ignored the Crimean-Tatar issue. Instead, Gorbachev stressed that "economic and social internationalization could not be avoided and any aspiration for national seclusion will lead to the economic and spiritual impoverishment." In other words, do not hope for self-determination.

7. Stalinism and the 19th CPSU Conference. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD and EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Tolz, M 4:30) discussed Stalinism and socialism and pointed to an unprecedented statement by the author of Stalin's biography, Colonel-General Volkogonov, that "Soviet society is split" in "its views on Stalin's personality." He then calmed people by saying that "it is not split in choosing Socialism." In his opinion indigenous Socialism, which should have been but has not developed in the USSR, gave place to Stalin's "barrack" Socialism, and it now is the time to build "good" Socialism. In an interview at the conference Prof. Volobuyev reflected the difficulty of offering any possible alternative to "bad Socialism," so the issue continues to be raised, but not solved.

FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 10) questioned the principles of selection of the 19th CPSU Conference delegates by way of discussing pro-Stalinist delegate General Kornilov's views, expressed in his 27-page-long foreword to a book published by

the Sverdlovsk publishing house entitled The Burning Heart. He traced the history of the Ural VCHKa-RGB "heroics" in the 1920s and 1930s in unmasking the enemies of the people, who were, in fact, forced to confess to crimes which they never committed, and the "glorious deeds" of VCHKa agents during notorious collectivization. The question was raised how Kornilov got nominated to the party conference by the Sverdlovsk Regional Party Committee members who preferred this pro-Stalinist candidate over reform advocate Yeltsin.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 4) discussed the 18th party conference held in Moscow on 15-20 February 1941. The conference heard Malenkov's presentation on "The Tasks of the Party Organizations in Industry and Transport" and another by Voznesensky on "The the Economic Results for 1940 and the Plan of the Soviet Economic Development for 1941." From the 18th party conference resolution it becomes clear that the party had exceeded its authority. The program pointed out an interesting detail that, despite the tense international situation in February of 1941 just four months before Nazi Germany's declaration of war on Russia, a discussion of the international situation did not take place.

8. The Socialist-Capitalist Dilemma faces thousands of people heading toward the West and Soviet emigre publicist Tulpinov, who asked for an asylum in France on March 4, is no exception. OVER THE BARRIERS (Mirsky, P 8) featured Part 2 of a series, based on his writings, entitled "In this Cramped and Comfortless World: the Nostalgic Notes of a Political Emigre." Western life with its unlimited opportunities and freedom ironically raises "concerns" in immigrants about to how to deal with it. All of a sudden they are "deprived" of a need to constantly fight for what is now given to them for free.

9. The 19th CPSU Conference: the Economy. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD and EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 4) noted many sharp and correct remarks at the conference calling for taking power to manage industrial complexes from the hands of the apparatus officials.

The economy and economic policy were discussed on FACE TO FACE WITH THE EVENT (Roitman, Kroncher, and Bensi, M 20) which summarized the speeches, including the one by Gorbachev, on the economy and its prospects. Only a few speakers pointed out that under existing conditions a political approach to economic problems might not be good. The program agreed with Soviet economist Shmelyev who, in support of Abalkin's earlier speech, noted the unlikelihood of achieving qualitative and quantitative indices simultaneously and pointed out that one can not possibly pursue a high rate of economic growth and conduct restructuring at the same time. Subsequently Abalkin was sharply attacked by

Gorbachev for his negative criticism of the perestroika results. The program then assessed Western press reaction to the conference and pointed to its emphasis on the political developments of conference rather than the economic. Stressing the development of social pluralism in the Soviet society the media believe that Gorbachev is trying to rearrange the political structures of society.

11. The Availability of Food, the Black Market, and Privileges come under criticism in the Soviet press. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 1:30) continuing to review current Soviet newspapers, cited Nedelya's 25th issue which carried an article by electrician Misyureva who was outraged at the never-ending sugar deficit and the continuing black marketeering. Another angry consumer, in an article in issue No. 25 of Ogonek, expressed a great deal of resentment toward certain aspects of the special privilege system for top members of the state and party apparatus.

The Soviet consumer and his future was discussed on MAN AND SOCIETY (Gordin, M 7:30), a RERUN from June 21, in the context of Soviet leader Gorbachev's speech at the 19th party conference in which he equated the issue of raising people's living standards with other tasks of paramount importance in the restructuring process. Commenting on his interpretation of the reasons for years of neglect of people's needs, one cannot help but question whether the party has been deluding the Soviet people for decades and where the guarantees are that under Gorbachev everything will be better. Three restructuring years have not yet brought improvements in the supply of foodstuffs and articles of general consumptions.

12. The Living Standard and Daily Life. The interdependence of the people's labor and their living standard was the topic of MAN AND SOCIETY (Shapiro, Isr 6), which reviewed Soviet people's unproductiveness through the spectrum of their meager daily life. In comparison with the West, the USSR has for years been so preoccupied with building up and investing in its military and heavy industry that it has practically overlooked the peoples' needs. Having at last realized that people who are continuously fed on slogans will not work better, the Soviets have started to look into the development of the housing and light industries, although one cannot restructure the distorted economy overnight.

MAN AND SOCIETY (Gordin, M 8:30), a RERUN from June 24, discussed the distressful situation of Soviet women and the reasons for it. The questions raised on the program included the issues such as unequal pay, manual labor, and poor labor protection. If Pravda's article of July 11 can be trusted, the process of freeing women from manual labor will be accomplished no earlier than 50 years from now, which means that they will have to bear their lot as best as they can.

13. Society. MEN AND EVENTS (Gordin, M 6), a RERUN from June 28, discussed the reasons behind the increasing divorce rate in the USSR in comparison with the same problem in the Western world. The difference is quite revealing. While the Western couples give their reasons for divorce, in general, as personal grounds, Soviet couples face alcoholism, housing problems, and financial difficulties.

IN THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, W 3) referred to a recent unprecedented event in the USSR, a beauty contest. One can understand the sensation caused in the country where only work achievements are acknowledged. A woman's beauty, which was ignored there, particularly under Stalin, found its appreciation only in the movie industry. Even there beautiful actresses' roles were restricted to classical and historical films portraying the "rottening" world of the bourgeoisie.

14. The Restructuring of the Soviet Writers' Union is encountering the resistance of high-ranking defenders of totalitarian structures, although glasnost has revealed its uncreativity. OVER THE BARRIERS (Yurenen, M 8) assessed a speech by Soviet Writers' Union Chairman Karpov, a delegate to the 19th party conference, on the subject of "Democracy and Glasnost -- the Most Important Conditions of the Development of the Social Activity of the Working People." Moscow radio correspondent Novitskaya in her press conference coverage passed over Karpov's speech in silence for she must have been confused by his argument that he saw the meaning of this establishment's future existence in protecting the system of the Writers' Union privileges.

15. Armenian Unrest continues to grow involving many of Armenian and Azerbaijani people who have reacted to the unprecedented Nagorno-Karabagh events in accordance with their traditions. DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 9:30) indicated. Based on a samizdat item (AS-6231), the program read the text of a collective letter sent by 68 employees of the Institute of Mechanics, affiliated with the Armenian Social Sciences Academy, to the editorial staff of Izvestia. The letter discussed the issue of Nagorno-Karabagh and the fragmentary coverage of Armenian events in the Soviet press and pointed to the fact that what is happening in Armenia is a test to perestroika.

The Armenian-Azerbaijan dispute was a focus of DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 14:30). Based on samizdat materials (AS-6227) it carried an historical reference on the national and territorial demarcation and administrative division of the Caucasus which was carried out under complicated internal and external conditions of the 1920s. The forced national and territorial demarcation was implemented during the period of the

foreign intervention and the reigns of local nationalist governments. In this respect one should admit that the existing administrative and territorial borders between Armenia and Azerbaijan, which are borders established with the help of Turkish invaders in 1918-1920, do not meet the standards of justice.

16. The Crimean Tatars. DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Seytmuratova, NY 6) read the text of Crimean Tatar movement activist Djemilev's telephone interview with a New York RFE-RL correspondent. It dealt with the announcement on June 9 by the State Crimean-Tatar Commission, which was created to study the Crimean-Tatar issue and their demands on the reestablishment of their autonomous status. The announcement, which stated that there were no grounds for such a decision, was strongly denounced by the Crimean Tatars and prompted Djemilev's interview in which he asserted the validity of his people's demands.

17. The 100th Birth Anniversary of Writer Sergey Shurshun, an artist with rare poetic talents, was marked on OVER THE BARRIERS (Sapguir, P 6). Le Monde's description of him as a "master of abstractionism, the least known in this century, but despite this, one of the most magnetic ones," is in accord with the program's assessment of his creative work.

18. History. Continuing to leaf through old Soviet newspapers, THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 3) cited from Pravda of 30 June 1938 which described a mass demonstration in Moscow rejoicing over the victory of the Stalinist bloc of communists and nonparty people in the Supreme Soviet election. Pravda of 30 June 1958 printed the speech by the First Secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party, Gomulka, to Gdansk shipyard workers in which he recalled the death sentence passed on Hungary's former Prime Minister, Imre Nagy, and justified it saying that the very fate of Hungary's social structure was at stake.

19. Culture. FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 20) featured the fifth installment of Soviet writer Vladimir Soloukhin's new book Laughter Behind the Left Shoulder, just published by Posev but still banned in the USSR, in which he recalls his childhood in a Russian peasant family. By way of recalling his family's traditional and religious way of life he describes the life of Russian peasants in the NEP period before forced collectivization.

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

1. The Romanian-Hungarian Controversy was discussed on THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD and EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Chianurov, M 4), which reported last week's demonstration in Budapest protesting against the Romanian government's decision to demolish

seven-thousand villages, many inhabited by ethnic Hungarians. Insulted by the Budapest demonstration, Romanian leader Ceaucescu called it a display of Hungarian nationalism, chauvinism, and anti-Romanian feelings and ordered the closure of the Hungarian consulate in Cluj-Napoka, an event quite unprecedented for a Socialist country. The program then gave a tour d'horizon of the two neighbouring countries relations, revealing that the dispute between Romania and Hungary is similar to the one between Soviet Armenia and Azerbaijan.

2. Hungary. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregoriy, M 4) noted the presence of pluralist opinions at the Hungarian parliamentary session linked to the election of nonparty member scientist Straub to the post of Hungarian President. The event itself is almost unprecedented for a socialist country. The program then highlighted the election of several new faces in the Hungarian leadership and noted Hungarian parliamentarians' discontent with the present electoral system which they demonstrated at the session. Meanwhile, the Hungarian government was reported to have approved of certain changes in the system last week and a new law will soon be published in the press.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The US, Israel, and Security-Building Measures in the Middle East. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnicky, NY 4:30) reported Israeli Minister of Defense Rabin's visit in the US and discussed reasons for the signing a US-Israel joint memorandum in near future regarding the elaboration and testing of antimissile systems in Israel. The rising potential danger of missile and chemical attacks on Israel from Arab countries necessitated the decision. The US is expected to finance 80 percent of the project cost, whereas Israel will cover the remaining 20 percent. Saudi Arabia has recently purchased ballistic missiles from China and now Syria is attempting to buy Chinese surface-to-surface missiles. In the talks with Rabin Shultz underlined US concern over ballistic missiles being in Arab countries' arsenals.

2. France. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanov, P 4:30) reported that the prime minister delivered a speech to the National Assembly on June 29 in which he expounded the program of the government which he formed on June 28.

3. The FRG. The cosmopolitan aspects of Munich were dealt with by OVER BARRIERS (Faibusowitsch, M 8), Part 3. The city of Munich, in the course of its history has experienced Roman and Slavic influences, and, after 1948, during the economic wonder, opened its gates to immigrant workers who later stayed for good.

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

1. Religion. JUDAISM (Lvov, NY 9) discussed the importance of an oath and vow in the ethics of Judaism by way of explaining the meaning of the commandment which reads "do not pronounce the name of God wrongly for God punishes those who call upon Him falsely."

JUDAISM (Taratura, NY 9) discussed the responsibility for the vows taken by women and the esteemed role of a woman in ancient Israel.

JUDAISM (Haskelovich, NY 9:30) explained the meaning of 17 Tammuz, the day of fasting and mourning.

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