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DAILY BROADCAST  
ANALYSES

RL - Russian  
(1989 Jan. - March)



RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis  
for Sunday, 1 January 1989  
M. Rudin

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

1. Soviet-Chinese Relations. SPECIAL PROGRAM (Predtechevsky, M 1) briefly reviewed the rapprochement between China and the Soviet Union in 1988.
2. The Constitution. LAW AND SOCIETY (Kaminskaya and Simes, W 20) continued assessing the results of the nationwide debate of the proposed additions and amendments to the Soviet Constitution, focusing on the law dealing with the elections to the Congress of People's Deputies. It was noted that the law does not respect the principle of "one man, one vote" and does not guarantee voters the real right to propose candidates, in particular, opposition candidates.
3. The Nationality Question. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Malinkovich, M 8) dealt with Lenin's views on the nationality question, observing that Lenin's policies are similar to the radical reforms being proposed by the Baltic republics today. Among other things the program discussed the reasons why the all-Union Congress of Soviets, which confirmed the formation of the USSR, and the union treaty differed on the treatment of the nationality question from an article which Lenin started writing the day after the congress, and noted that concerning the Georgian question Lenin took the side of the Georgian nationals and not Stalin's.
4. The Latvian Journal "Liesma" on Alexander Dubcek. EAST EUROPEAN VARIANTS (Fistejn, M 5:30) said that this was the first time that the Soviet press has depicted Dubcek and the events of the Prague Spring in a positive light. The program was a RERUN from 30 December 1988.



5. Literature. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 11) featured an interview conducted at the BD's Paris office with Leningrad poet Victor Krivulin, who in the past was the editor of several samizdat journals and whose works were not widely published in the Soviet Union. Krivulin focused on the goals of the Leningrad independent association called "New Literature," which among other things plans to create an independent press that would give meaning to the spiritual and cultural process taking place in the USSR today and to introduce into the restructuring process those writers who were not allowed to be published in the past. A two-volume book of Krivulin's works has been published in Paris.

FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Kushev, M 30), a revised RERUN from 17 July 1988, presented a story by Varlam Shalamov from the Kolyma Tales entitled "Major Pugachev's Last Battle."

6. The Red Army. COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Tyulpinov, P 17) reviewed the book Betrayal of the Homeland by emigre historians and publicists Yury Alexeyev and Vitaly Rapoport. The book recalls the trial in 1937 of eight Red Army commanders accused of betraying the homeland. Certain aspects of the case, especially information concerning its background, are still not discussed by the Soviet media today.

7. Sports. In a program devoted to the most significant sports events in 1988, WORLD OF SPORT (Rubin, NY 15) recalled the successes of Soviet athletes at the Olympic Games in Calgary and Seoul.

8. Milovan Djilas' Book "The New Class" was reviewed by COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Krasin, W 8) on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the Russian-language publication of the book in the US. According to Djilas the development of communist society leads to the formation of a new exploiting class -- the "new class."

9. New Year's Day Program. SPECIAL PROGRAM (Perouansky and Voynovich, M 49:30) presented a one-act humorous play by Vladimir Voynovich entitled "Fictitious Marriage." The play takes place in Moscow.

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

1. Yugoslavia. EAST EUROPEAN VARIANTS (Fistejn, M 1) noted the resignation of Prime Minister Mikulic and his cabinet.

EAST EUROPEAN VARIANTS (Fistejn, M 6:30), a RERUN from 27 December 1988, examined the situation in Yugoslavia against the background of an article in the party newspaper Borba calling for the resignation of the Mikulic government.

2. Poland. EAST EUROPEAN VARIANTS (Fistejn, M 8) a RERUN from 22 December 1988, reported on the personnel changes in the Polish leadership and assessed the recent PUWP CC plenary session.

3. Environmental Pollution in Eastern Europe was discussed by EAST EUROPEAN VARIANTS (Fistejn, M 6:30). The program was a RERUN from 29 December 1988.

4. The PRC. SPECIAL PROGRAM (Predtechevsky, M 19) reviewed the most significant domestic and international events in China in 1988, drawing on the advance text of a RAD Background Report of 8 December 1988.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

None

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

1. Impressions of the British and Britain by Moscow literary figure Anatoly Strelyanyi, who recently traveled throughout the country, were presented by OVER THE BARRIERS (Strelyanyi, L 10). Strelyanyi also noted his meetings with Russian emigres living in Britain.

2. Bertrand Russell. OVER THE BARRIERS (Pyatigorsky, L 10) highlighted an interview with the late philosopher which was conducted in 1963 and rebroadcast recently by the BBC.

3. The Victorian Age in British History and a book on the period by British historian and sociologist Briggs were reviewed by OVER THE BARRIERS (Rayfield, L 10).

4. Sports. WORLD OF SPORTS (Rubin, NY 5), in a year-ender, assessed the results of the Olympic Games in Calgary and Seoul, and recalled the doping scandal in Seoul.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

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Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Monday, 2 January 1989

M. Frost

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

- \* 1. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 5:30) discussed the Kabul regime's declaration of a unilateral cease-fire. The program described the move as a propaganda exercise designed to embarrass the resistance movement, which has refused to recognize the cease-fire. The best way to end the 10-year-old Afghanistan tragedy would be for the USSR to reconvene direct talks with the resistance leaders, since Najibullah is no longer a viable political figure.

2. The Nationalities. THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Malinkovich, Laur, Krichely, Strunskis, Yurasas, Kulmagambetov, and A. Levin, M 30) reviewed the major events in the Soviet republics in 1988. The program presented correspondents' reports on the most significant events of the year related to the movements for national self-determination and economic autonomy in Armenia, Georgia, the Baltic republics, and Belorussia.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 5) presented a telephone interview with one of the editors of the independent Moscow weekly Ekspress-Khronika, Sergey Lezov, who discussed the current political situation in Armenia and the significance of the special commission headed by Andrey Sakharov which is currently touring the Transcaucasus. Lezov said that there is little chance of a solution to the Nagorno-Karabagh problem until Moscow tackles a whole series of issues concerning the Soviet empire.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 7) interviewed the chief editor of the unofficial Moscow journal Glasnost, Sergey Grigoriants, on the circumstances of his arrest for allegedly illegal filming in the streets of Yerevan and on the current situation in Armenia. Speaking before a scheduled press conference in Moscow, Grigoriants described the embryonic movement for national self-determination in Armenia and characterized the decision of most Western countries to approve the 1991 human rights conference in Moscow as an "insult" to the people of Armenia.

BALTIC BEACON (Rahr, M 7) presented an excerpt from an article in Sovetskaya Latvia on inter-nationality problems in the republic. The program noted that euphemisms such as "absolutely understandable difficulties" and "deformations in the principles of Lenin's nationality policy" mask the fact that in a democratic society the party responsible for such gross mismanagement of immigration policy would have been forced to resign years ago.

BALTIC BEACON (Rahr, M 5) broadcast a positive review of the unofficial press in the USSR published in the Riga edition of Sovetskaya Molodezh and the journal Daugava.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 4:30), via a telephone connection with the Riga correspondent of Ekspress-Khronika, broadcast an open letter by two high-ranking Russian members of the Riga medical establishment apologizing for the treatment of Latvia and Latvians by the Soviet "occupation" forces. The open letter called for the full restitution of Latvian rights and for measures to increase the indigenous population of the republic.

Referring to an article in Komsomolskaya Pravda, BALTIC BEACON (Rahr, M 7:30) pointed to the discontent within the Lithuanian SSR over the failure of perestroika and glasnost to alleviate restrictions on religious freedoms during the millennium of the Christianization of Russia.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 5) presented a roundup of views on nationality problems from Literaturnaya Gazeta and Vek XX i Mir. Despite a wide variety of opinions on how best to resolve nationality issues, all the contributors to the debate were in agreement that the greatest obstacle to just solutions is totalitarian dogmatism.

On the occasion of the 66th anniversary of the founding of the USSR, THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 4:30) presented a commentary by Yury Mitiunov, a member of the Democratic Union based in Moscow, in which he asserted that very little unity

exists between the republics of the Soviet Union. Mitunov drew a parallel with the process of European unification and noted the essential difference that the European countries involved in the process have stable democratic structures, a fact which will help to ensure success of the process.

3. Dissidents and Human Rights. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Sinyavsky, M 5) broadcast an obituary of the poet and prose writer Yuly Daniel, who recently died in Moscow. The program author recalled his friendship with Daniel and referred to the infamous 1966 trial in which the two writers were sentenced to prison camp terms for allowing their work to be published in the West.

On THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Voynovich, M 4) the program author recalled his friendship with the recently deceased Yuly Daniel and praised the writer's courage and literary talent.

4. Restructuring. Pegged to the fourth anniversary of the introduction of restructuring in the USSR, FACED WITH A CHOICE (Belotserkovsky, M 8) asked why Soviet economists have not examined the Yugoslav example in the self-management of industrial enterprises. The program also described the success of self-managed enterprises in the US and enumerated the economic and social benefits to be derived from such organizations, in which the workers themselves take full responsibility for all stages of production.

5. Emigres. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Malinkovich, M 6) commented on an article in Sovetskaya Rossia of 21 December 1988 attacking the respected emigre historian and Germanicist Lev Kopelev. The aim of the article was to discredit Kopelev in the USSR because he is a rallying point for prorestructuring forces in the West. The program then broadcast a letter of protest over the article addressed to Sovetskaya Rossia by the leaders of the Green Party in the FRG.

6. The Party. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Henkina, M 6) examined a January 2 interview in Pravda with a highly ranked party member who discussed ways to restore the avant-garde role of the party in Soviet society as conceived and realized by Lenin in his lifetime. The program said that for many people the campaign of terror started as early as 1918 and that, given the tragic history of the USSR over the last 70 years, the Soviet people have good reason to keep the party in the rear-guard of society.

7. The Earthquake in Armenia. Drawing on articles from The Wall Street Journal and Der Spiegel, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 7:30) commented on Defense Minister Yazov's criticism of the role of the civil defense services in the aftermath of the earthquake in Armenia.

8. Culture. THE RUSSIAN IDEA (Tolz, M 28), a RERUN from 21 August 1988, continued a discussion of the possible definition of the "Russian Idea."

9. Religion. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 4:30) broadcast the third installment of an article by Gleb Anishchenko the coeditor of the unofficial Moscow journal Vybor, who stressed the importance of religious renewal in achieving a sense of unity in the Soviet Union.

Citing excerpts from the works of Tolstoy and from the Bible, RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Nazarov, M 10) commented on the current debate in the Soviet Union over capital punishment and presented the Christian argument for the abolition of the death penalty.

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

1. Czechoslovakia. FACED WITH A CHOICE (Belotserkovsky, M 22) broadcast a slightly abridged version of the "2,000 Words" document, which allegedly provoked the Brezhnev leadership to order the 1968 occupation of Czechoslovakia. The manifesto, written by Ludvik Vaculik, was recently republished in the Czech emigre journal Problems of Eastern Europe.

2. Yugoslavia. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 7:30) discussed the results of a recent opinion poll conducted in the Slovene republic which indicated that a vast majority of the population is in favor of a multiparty system and that less than 10 percent are willing to elect Communist Party deputies. The program placed this trend toward political pluralism in the context of the economic and political upheaval in the country and mentioned that political pluralism is rapidly taking constitutional shape in Hungary.

#### C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. Britain. On the occasion of the release of British official documents from the year 1958, THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Pomerantsev, L 6) discussed the most interesting cases to be declassified and asked why the Soviet Union does not also instigate a "30-year rule" with regard to classified documents.

2. The US. THE USA TODAY (Vail, Morozov, and Genis, NY 27:30) presented a roundup of the latest news from the US and reviewed the problem of homeless people in the US in general and New York in particular.

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

1. Religion. RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Tulpinov, P 10) presented excerpts from the British author Clive Lewis's latest book, The Essence of Christianity.

RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Aksenov-Meyerson, NY 8) explored the ideas expounded by Paris-based Prof. Olivier Clement on the role of the Orthodox Church in a secular society.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis  
for Tuesday, 3 January 1989  
D. Felton

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

1. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Vail, NY 4) reviewed the latest developments in and around Afghanistan, including an AP report that the mass withdrawal of Soviet troops will resume on January 15, the Kabul regime's new measures to protect its members, the decision by the ruling party to change its name, the continued military activity, and the agreement reached in Peshawar by the Afghan resistance alliance to form a council to run the country.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyev, M 3:30) backgrounded the tough mission of First Deputy Foreign Minister and Ambassador to Afghanistan Vorontsov in Iran and Pakistan to try to reconcile the positions of the sides involved in the Afghan conflict.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 2:30) featured an RL interview with French doctor Antoine Cruot, who worked in Afghanistan, in which he described the Soviet actions in that country as a crime against humanity.

2. Dissidents and Human Rights. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 5:30) gave the text of an open letter (AS) by 15 Leningrad writers (M. Chulaki, et. al.) to Leningrad State Prosecutor Verevkin, dated 18 December 1988, expressing concern over the threat of criminal proceedings against members of the city's Democratic Union on the basis of Article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code on "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda."

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 3:30) aired a telephone call from Moscow from Yury Mityunov, who read the first part of an article he wrote on the recent celebration of the anniversary



of the creation of the Soviet secret police at the latter's headquarters in Moscow. The article recalls the repressive role of the secret police throughout its history.

FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 29:30) featured the 40th installment of the third part of Solzhenitsyn's book The Gulag Archipelago. An explanatory excerpt was given from Jacques Rossi's Spravochnik po Gulagu (A Handbook on the Gulag), issued by Overseas Publications in London in 1978.

3. Unofficial Publications. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD and EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyev, M 5) included a review of the latest issues of unofficial Leningrad periodicals telephoned in from that city by Dmitry Volchek, who focused on the memoirs of a recently released dissident published in Chasy, reports of recent developments on the unofficial Leningrad scene in Vestnik Soveta po Ekologii i Kulture (Herald of the Council for Ecology and Culture), and the new journal Demokratiya i My (Democracy and Ourselves).

4. Restructuring. HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE USSR (Malinkovich, M 30), a RERUN from 24 December 1988, featured an RL interview in Munich with Soviet historian Natan Eydelman on the subject of restructuring. Eydelman pointed to the parallels between present-day restructuring and the reforms carried out in Russia in the 1860s and 1870s.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Malinkovich, M 7) said that in a critical area of restructuring, namely the submission of candidates for the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, the process of glasnost and democratization is clearly faltering. The new electoral law filters out candidates in such a way as to preclude surprises for the powers-that-be, and there has been a lack of glasnost and democratization concerning the election campaign and the question of which public organizations can put forward candidates. The program pointed to imbalances in the list of these organizations.

5. The Economy. Commenting on the government's resolution "On Regulating Individual Forms of Activity of Cooperatives," EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 5) took issue with statements made in Izvestia of January 2 by government official Igor Prostakov, who claimed that ideological restrictions on the development of cooperative activity were necessary because aspects of this activity were annoying people. The program remarked that in fact the cooperatives have developed not so much into a competitor for state enterprises but into another monopoly whose products can only be afforded by the well-off. The economic system

itself, the program said, is demoralizing Soviet society ideologically, socially, and morally, and it is time to replace it with a free market.

ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Krasin, W 6), a RERUN from 27 December 1988, cited an article in the eighth issue of the Soviet journal EKO by economist Orlov on the traditional, deep-rooted practice of falsifying statistics in the USSR. The program found Orlov's proposed remedy unconvincing.

ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Merkin, W 6), a RERUN from 27 December 1988, showed how the Soviet concept of egalitarianism results in the suppression of private enterprise.

6. Agriculture. ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (R. Shapiro, M 8), a RERUN from 27 December 1988, explained that the restructuring measures being carried out in Soviet agriculture are having little effect because they are halfhearted and inconsistent. The directive, centralized planning system remains in effect, and there are no laws regulating relations among participants in the agricultural production process.

7. The Nationalities. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 2:30) gave the text of an article in the Moscow independent journal Glasnost on the case of Igor Muradyan, one of the leaders of the Karabakh Committee arrested last December. The article expressed the view that the objective of transferring Muradyan and other Armenian activists to Azerbaijan was to have them killed by the Azerbaijanis. It also explained that Muradyan has been charged merely for publicizing concrete information on excesses committed in the Azerbaijani city of Kirovabad against Armenians and Russians.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 5) featured an RL interview with French doctor Antoine Cruot, a member of a French team rescuing victims of the earthquake in Armenia. Cruot spoke in particular of the unpreparedness of the local authorities.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kushev, M 6) presented the text of a report telephoned in to RL from Novosibirsk by independent journalist Alexey Manannikov in which he detailed the demands for Siberian autonomy made by a "Democratic Union" based in Novosibirsk. A resolution passed by this union speaks of Siberia's semicolonial status, particularly under the Soviet regime.

8. Society. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Henkina, M 6) commented on a report delivered by Vasily Belov at a meeting of the board of the RSFSR Writers' Union in which he criticized both Kommunist and RL for their attacks against manifestations at the meeting. The program congratulated Kommunist for its stand.

9. Military Affairs. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 11:30) and THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Predtechevsky, M 5) discussed the USSR's planned troop reductions and troop withdrawals from Eastern Europe in connection with Defense Minister Yazov's attempt to allay the fears of Soviet officers and men in the GDR on this score. The program noted the high proportion of officers in the Soviet armed forces, enabling rapid mobilization, and pointed out that the proclaimed departure from an aggressive military concept and the broadening of the duties and rights of noncommissioned officers would result in still more officers being threatened with dismissal. The program spoke of the problem of finding jobs for these officers, the kind of troops which might be withdrawn (Christopher Donnelly of the Sandhurst Military Academy in Britain was quoted), discrepancies in Soviet statements on parity between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, and talk in the East European countries on troop reductions. The program said the troop reductions would only be of value if guaranteed by international treaties and subject to verification.

10. Health. MODERN MEDICINE AND HEALTH (Muslin, NY 2:30) reported on a statement issued by an unofficial Ukrainian human rights group to the effect that a mysterious epidemic which struck over 130 children in the western Ukrainian city of Chernovtsy is connected with a leakage of highly toxic substances from one of three military installations located on the periphery of the city. The program noted statements in Pravda suggesting that the group's statement was incorrect and by Literaturnaya Gazeta and USSR Deputy Health Minister Baranov admitting high levels of pollution.

11. Propaganda. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Pimonov, Copenhagen 4:30) gave an obituary of the Danish cartoonist Herluf Bidstrup, who has died in Copenhagen at the age of 76 and whose cartoons appeared in Pravda, Izvestia, and other Soviet newspapers.

12. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Barsky, M 8:30) reported on a paper delivered by Moscow avant-garde poet and Director of the Moscow Poetry Club Dmitry Prigov at the Ruhr University in Bochum, West Germany. Among other things Prigov spoke of the chances of Moscow's unofficial culture emerging from the underground, the problems of the evolution of Russian avant-garde culture under the Soviet regime, and the conceptualist character of Russian art. Prigov described his task as demythologizing the Soviet people's awareness of reality.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Geller, P 10:30) continued a series on Stalin in Soviet literature. The program was pegged to the sudden withdrawal last October of an issue of Novy Mir promising the

publication of Solzhenitsyn's works. The program recalled a similar case in 1926 when an issue of the same journal was withdrawn because it included Boris Pilnyak's Story of an Unextinguished Moon, in which the Soviet heroes of that time are compressed into a solitary figure embodying total power.

13. Religion. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 4) cited a report in the Moscow weekly Ekspress-Khronika on an appeal by Orthodox believers in Latvia for the return to the Church of the Orthodox cathedral in Riga. The report speaks of the uncooperative attitude of the leaders of the Latvian Orthodox Church.

14. History. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 5:30) excerpted an article by Roy Medvedev in Moskovskiye Novosti in which he rejected attempts to place the blame for Stalin's misdeeds on his accomplices, such as Kaganovich and Yakovlev.

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

1. Cuba. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (P. Vail, NY 5:30) reviewed American press comment on the 30th anniversary of Fidel Castro's coming to power in Cuba. The program cited articles in Time, The Washington Post, and The New York Times which pointed to the growing political isolation of Castro's orthodox communist regime.

2. Yugoslavia. ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Shragin, NY 5), a RERUN from 27 December 1988, gave the contents of an article by Zagorka Golubovic of Belgrade University attributing Yugoslavia's present economic crisis to inconsistencies within the political and economic system. The article was published in the Washington-based Russian-language journal Problemy Vostochnoy Yevropy (Problems of Eastern Europe).

#### C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. India-Pakistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 5) backgrounded the surprising rapprochement between India and Pakistan reflected in Indian Prime Minister Gandhi's visit to Pakistan to attend the SAARC conference.

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

1. Medicine. MODERN MEDICINE AND HEALTH (Muslin, NY 2:30) reported that US medical experts have succeeded in infecting genetically altered mice with AIDS.

MODERN MEDICINE AND HEALTH (Morozov, NY 11:30) featured an RL interview with Dr. Louis Kate, head of a Chicago center for the study of twins, on the increased rate of birth of twins in the US, the possible reasons for this development, and the problems it brings.

MODERN MEDICINE AND HEALTH (Muslin, NY 2) included an item on the discovery in the US of a gene which could be instrumental in more effective ways of treating such ailments as schizophrenia and Parkinson's disease.

MODERN MEDICINE AND HEALTH (Muslin, NY 9:30) talked about the use of computers in the production of dental prostheses.

2. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Matuzok, Osaka 9) discussed the work of Ishimutso Morito, the founder of Japanese satirical cinema, and his latest film Bakairo.

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Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis  
for Wednesday, 4 January 1989  
M. Rudin

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

- \* 1. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 6:30) discussed First Deputy Foreign Minister Vorontsov's difficult mission to settle the situation in Afghanistan. The program noted Vorontsov's visit to Iran, where he met with Iran-based Afghan resistance groups; his arrival in Islamabad, where he will meet with Pakistani officials and possibly with Afghan resistance leaders for further talks on a future Afghan coalition government; and his statement that he does not know if Soviet troops will complete their withdrawal from Afghanistan by February 15. The program also discussed the agreement of the Afghan Resistance Alliance to form a governing council to assume power in post-Soviet Afghanistan. The program used an AFP dispatch and a CND report from Peshawar, both of January 3.
- \* 2. Human Rights. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Fedoseyeva, M 6) dealt with the US agreement to attend a human rights meeting in Moscow in 1991. The program gave reasons why the US decision is both good and bad, emphasizing that by agreeing to go the US is by no means acknowledging that the Soviet Union's human rights record is clean. The program also noted that one important point to be resolved is a mechanism for studying the cases of people whom the US considers to be political prisoners but have been charged with criminal offenses.
- 3. The Russian Popular Front. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Skurlatov, M 3:30) featured a telephone interview with an activist of the Russian Popular Front in Moscow, Valery Skurlatov, who said that the main goal of the front is to help progressive forces save the country from economic, social,

moral, and political disintegration. Moreover he said that the front has dissociated itself from leftist and rightist extremism and will act according to constructive and specific programs.

4. Armenia. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Kuznetsov, M 4:30) featured a telephone interview from Moscow with Sergey Lezov, a member of the unofficial Moscow publication Express-Khronika, about official Soviet press coverage of developments in Armenia. Lezov noted that the Soviet press has labeled the national and democratic movement in Armenia as extremist and nationalist and then started saying that nationalists and extremists were only weapons in the hands of corrupt forces attempting to retain power. He observed that the Soviet people accept the official version of developments in Armenia because there are no alternate sources of information and that the intelligentsia is not really trying to understand what is happening in Armenia and is focusing on how the developments will reflect on Gorbachev's reforms.

5. The Nationalities. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Malinkovich, M 6) commented on an article in Pravda on a discussion held by a number of Moscow scholars about the prospects for the development of internationality relations. The discussion was pegged to the anniversary of the formation of the USSR. The program criticized the discussion for having, with one exception, only members from all-Union institutes and for determining from the start what is right and what is wrong (the wish to turn the USSR from a union government into a "union of governments" is wrong), and noted that the theorists were apparently alarmed by Estonia's and Armenia's position on the nationality question. In this context the program assessed the position of the Central Committee on the nationality question.

6. Nationalism. THE RUSSIAN IDEA (Tolz, Corti, Paramonov, and Faibusovich, M and NY 28), a RERUN from 27 August 1988, discussed the meaning of nationalism and its place in the "Russian idea," examining its historical, political, and religious aspects.

7. "Literaturnaya Gazeta". Pegged to the replacement of Alexander Chakovsky by Yuri Voronov as chief editor of Literaturnaya Gazeta, OVER THE BARRIERS (Paramonov and Vail, NY 9) assessed the past achievements and possible future direction of the literary journal. The program said that the significant role played by Literaturnaya Gazeta during the "stagnation period" cannot be underestimated.

8. Gorbachev's Announced Arms Cuts. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 5:30) highlighted an article in The Washington Post of January 3 which presented the opinions of American military specialists about the possible US response to the arms reductions announcement by Gorbachev recently at the UN. Some experts suggest that the US should reciprocate by making a partial troop withdrawal from Europe.

9. A. An Interview with Tamara Grigoryants. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 8:30) featured an interview conducted in the BD's Paris office with the wife of Sergey Grigoryants who is the chief editor of the information bulletin Glasnost. Tamara Grigoryants described the condition of her husband, who has been released after serving a 30-day sentence in Yerevan on trumped-up charges of trying to penetrate a military installation; talked about her work as an editor for Glasnost; and observed that even such outspoken journals as Ogonek and Moscow News wait until Glasnost takes the risk of publishing something particularly controversial before following suit.

10. Boris Yeltsin's Appearance Before Teachers and Students of the Komsomol Academy. SPECIAL PROGRAM (Malinkovich, M 29:30) excerpted an article from Molodaya Gvardiya which gave Yeltsin's answers to a number of questions dealing with his life, his work, and his views about the changes in the Soviet political system. Yeltsin, a former candidate member of the Politburo and a former First Secretary of the Moscow Party Committee, is the Deputy Chairman of the State Committee for Construction. The program was a RERUN from 31 December 1988.

11. Restructuring. DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Shragin, NY 6), a RERUN from 24 August 1988, took issue with Gorbachev's advocating the role of the CPSU as the only ruling political organization in the Soviet Union and expressed doubt that any substantial changes in the election system would be possible unless the one-party political structure is replaced. The program also recalled significant events in the communist world in 1988.

In a program recalling the most significant events in 1988, DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Bensi, M 9) examined the possibility of introducing a multiparty system in the Soviet Union, highlighting an article by Malov in Argumenty i Fakty. The program was a RERUN from 23 March 1988.

12. The Economy. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Kroncher, M 5:30) examined a new decree which prohibits the export from the USSR of some goods in short supply, such as televisions, refrigerators, children's clothes, coffee, and



caviar. The decree, which will become effective February 1, applies only to foreigners as a law concerning Soviet citizens was passed a long time ago. The program said that the new decree will not have a positive impact on the Soviet citizen.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Aksyuchits, M 5) featured a telephone interview with Victor Aksyuchits in Moscow about a decree that the USSR Council of Ministers adopted on 29 December 1988 on the "regulation of the activity of cooperatives." Aksyuchits noted that many of the prohibitions (such as many forms of medical services, the restoration of icons, and the production of religious items) were placed on the work of cooperatives at the request of various government ministries and departments. However, the main motive behind other limitations (such as the organization of general education schools and film and video production) is the government's wish to retain ideological control over certain activities.

13. The British Press on Soviet Events. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Pomerantsev, L 4) gave excerpts from articles in The Times (London) on developments in Afghanistan and on Gorbachev's initiatives and how the West can reciprocate, The Financial Times on relations between the USSR and its CMEA partners, and The Daily Telegraph on the visit to Moscow of Soviet emigre writer Andrey Sinyavsky.

14. Solzhenitsyn. OVER THE BARRIERS (Paramonov and Vail, NY 9:30) highlighted an article in The New York Times which discussed the meetings held in Moscow on 10 and 11 December 1988 to mark the 70th birthday of Alexander Solzhenitsyn. In connection with the question of whether the Soviet authorities will allow the publication of Solzhenitsyn's works in the Soviet Union, the program observed that by insisting that The Gulag Archipelago be the first work published, Solzhenitsyn is challenging the basis of socialist pluralism.

15. The Security Organs. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Mityunov, M 3:30) presented a telephone interview from Moscow with Yury Mityunov, a member of the unofficial Democratic Union who continued to discuss the history of the security organs in the Soviet Union. Mityunov observed that as long as there is a monopoly on the truth, power, and economic activity in the Soviet Union, the security organs will continue to thrive.

16. History. RUSSIA YESTERDAY, TODAY, TOMORROW (Babenyshev, NY 14:30) surveyed articles by Soviet historians and writers assessing the collectivization of agriculture in the Soviet Union. The program pointed out that the official Soviet view on collectivization is not totally negative. Articles in the Soviet press were cited.

RUSSIA YESTERDAY, TODAY, TOMORROW (Guberman, M 13:30) discussed the fate of artist, musician, and priest Nikolay Bruni, who was shot in a Gulag camp in 1938.

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

1. Hungary. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Polishchuk, W 2:30) discussed Hungary's radical economic reform, noting that the Soviet Union is supporting the reform plan and is waiting to see the outcome of the reforms before taking steps in the direction of a market economy. The program used an AP dispatch of January 3.
2. Yugoslavia and Other Communist Topics. DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Bensi, M 7), a RERUN from 1 June 1988, reported on the 1988 LCV conference and recalled the most important developments in the communist world last year.
3. Eastern Europe and Defense. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 6:30) reported on Polish Defense Minister Siwicki's announcement that Poland will reduce its armed forces and cut military spending; noted that Czechoslovakia also said that it plans to reduce its military forces, although it gave no details; observed that a substantial amount of military spending in East European countries and the Soviet Union is hidden in the civilian sector; and described how this concealment complicates the control of the implementation of the promises given by Warsaw Pact leaders. The program used a UPI dispatch of January 3.
4. The Italian CP. DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Bensi, M 6:30), in a program highlighting the most important events in the communist world in 1988, examined the reasons for the resignation of PCI Secretary-General Natta. The program was a RERUN from 15 June 1988.
5. Tibet. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Polishchuk, W 4:30) reported on the latest demonstrations in Lhasa against Chinese rule in Tibet. The program also noted that Tibetan exiles living in India were alarmed that Prime Minister Gandhi signed a statement recognizing Chinese sovereignty over Tibet. The joint Chinese-Indian statement was signed during Gandhi's recent trip to Beijing. The program drew on articles in The New York Times of January 3 and The Washington Post of January 1.

# C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. US-Libyan Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 5) reported on the incident in the Mediterranean in which the US shot down two Libyan jet fighters and discussed US allegations about a chemical weapons factory near Tripolis. The program cited articles in Pravda and Krasnaya Zvezda of January 4 criticizing the possibility that the US might bomb the factory.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyeva, M 2:30) excerpted statements by Assistant Secretary of State Holmes and the Chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee Nunn defending the US downing of two Libyan jet fighters. Voice cuts were given by the program.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 3) talked by telephone with Hermann Eilts, a former US Ambassador to Egypt and Saudi Arabia and presently the director of the Center for International Affairs at Boston University, about how the US action in the Mediterranean might affect US relations with Arab countries.

2. Turkey on the Armenian Genocide Issue. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Potiyev, M 3) reported that Turkey plans to open Ottoman-era archives that it hopes will provide historians with the proof that Turkey did not commit genocide against the Armenians during World War I. The program also noted an Amnesty International report which said that Turkey has not taken any steps to eliminate human rights abuses in the country. Reuter dispatches were used by the program.

3. Human Rights. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Vail, NY 4) reported on the findings of the annual Freedom House report dealing with the state of human and civil rights around the world.

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

1. Coney Island. OVER THE BARRIERS (Dovlatov, NY 9) described the amusement park at Coney Island in New York. The program noted the influx of Russian emigres to nearby Brighton Beach in the 1970s.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Thursday, 5 January 1989

N. Petroff

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

1. Afghanistan. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Bensi, M 4) reported on the recent talks held in Islamabad between Soviet Ambassador to Afghanistan Vorontsov and high Pakistani government officials concerning the political future of Afghanistan. The program noted that although these discussions were in some sense useful, they would have been more productive if they had included leaders of the Afghan resistance movement. Vorontsov had earlier made a step in the right direction when he agreed to meet with the resistance leaders. However, there still exists a wide chasm of disagreement between the two major antagonists that needs to be bridged. Moscow insists that whatever form the future government of Afghanistan takes it must retain the present leadership in the country's power structure. For their part the Mujahidin are solidly united in their unequivocal rejection of even entertaining a suggestion of including the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan in any future broad-based government of national reconciliation.

A roundtable discussion carried on FACTS AND OPINIONS (Roitman, Bensi, and Fistejn, M 20) focused on the current Soviet diplomatic efforts to negotiate a political settlement to the Afghan conflict. The program observed that the Soviet Union's goal of trying to achieve politically that which it lost militarily is unrealistic. The continued Soviet attempt at insuring the future participation of the Najibullah regime in a coalition with resistance forces is doomed to failure. The Afghan resistance movement is firmly united on one point -- its unconditional rejection of Najibullah and his regime.

2. Human Rights. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Anishchenko, Moscow 5:30) reported via telephone from Moscow that a growing dispute between two literary critics concerning the unofficial group known as "Memorial" has found its way into the pages of Literaturnaya Gazeta. The disagreement between Anatoly Lanchukov and Igor Zalatusky centers on the question of who should be immortalized as victims of Stalin's internal genocide that the "Memorial" group plans to commemorate in a monument it is erecting. Zalatusky argues that it is absolutely imperative to first determine the background of all the victims of tyranny so that no one who had earlier earned the unenviable distinction of being a torturer and executioner of the Bolshevik regime or had actively supported the initial phases of Stalin's holocaust should suddenly claim posthumous absolution by virtue of mistaken inclusion into the ranks of millions of innocents destroyed by Stalin and his henchmen.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Hendler, NY 5) commented on President Reagan's decision to have the US participate in an international human rights conference scheduled to take place in Moscow in 1991. Both the president and Secretary of State Shultz agreed that significant achievements have been made in the area of human rights in the USSR that helped clear the way for the US to support Gorbachev's proposal for hosting the conference in Moscow.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Manninkov, Moscow 5:30) aired a telephone report that presented an updated chronicle of human rights activities, political arrests, and abuses of human rights in Leningrad, Vilnius, Tbilisi, and Moscow. The report is scheduled to be published in the next edition of the unofficial Moscow journal Glasnost.

DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyev, 29:30), a RERUN from 30 December 1988, discussed the future of samizdat in the era of glasnost and perestroika.

3. Law and Society. A Moscow source, commenting for THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Mityunov, Moscow 5:30), said that the trial of Yuri Churbanov was a convenient peg for the Soviet media to launch a full-scale attack on the Brezhnev era of stagnation. However, the press in too many instances succumbed to publishing gossip about the corrupt Churbanov-Brezhnev life-style, an approach that lost all sense of proportion and objectivity. At one point Churbanov was even being compared to Yezhov and Beria. What was most alarming was the fact that in its obsessive zeal at mudslinging the press failed to reveal that the most extensive criminal investigation in recent Soviet history was in many instances carried out in flagrant disregard of established legal procedure and openly abused accepted rules of conduct.

4. The Economy. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Kroncher, M 5:30) explored the question of whether or not economic life for the average Soviet citizen has shown any significant improvements since the beginning of perestroika. The program observed that that the quality of goods produced for the Soviet domestic market has steadily worsened while prices have increased. The consumer, who is becoming ever more selective, refuses to throw away his meager wages on substandard goods that were produced with the sole purpose of fulfilling some state-controlled plan and not for meeting the needs of the ordinary man and woman.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Pimonov, Copenhagen 7) gave the text of an article by Soviet economist Ruslan Khazbulatov recently published in a Danish newspaper in which he called on the Soviet government to open up free economic zones which, he believes, would help the Soviet Union win entry into the world economy.

5. Perestroika. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 4:30) reported that in a recent letter addressed to Gorbachev six prominent cultural figures blamed the inability of Gorbachev's policy of perestroika to make any significant progress on what they termed the "dictatorship of mediocrity." The letter's authors suggested that Gorbachev should try to solicit the assistance of the best and brightest of Soviet society in order to get the country out of its doldrums and forge ahead with its restructuring program.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Aksyuchits, Moscow 4:30) summarized an article by Andronik Migranian from the December 1988 issue of the unofficial Moscow journal The 20th Century and the World, which investigated the problems preventing the USSR from joining the European community of democratic states. The article also analyzed the process that would be necessary to transform the Soviet Union from a totalitarian dictatorship into a full-fledged European democracy.

6. Unofficial Organizations. INFORMAL GROUPS BULLETIN (Alexeyeva, W 29) surveyed how the Soviet press has been reporting on informal groups in various parts of the USSR. The program also reported on a newly organized informal political group in Alma-Ata.

7. The Nationalities. BALTIC DIARY (Rahr, M 20) discussed the pro and cons of a suggested proposal, espoused by several national groups, for the creation of territorial armies in the Baltic states; reported the proposals at the conclusion of the conference of the unofficial People's Forum which met recently in Riga; and highlighted a letter sent to Literaturnaya Gazeta objecting to the printing of an uncomplimentary cartoon of Lenin in a recent edition of the Latvian journal Rodnik.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Muslin, NY 3:30) reported that a group of American seismologists and construction engineers who just returned from a fact-finding tour of Armenia after the recent earthquake there said that they concluded that the real reason for the astronomical number of deaths was the abysmally low quality of housing that would not have withstood the mildest of tremors.

8. Literature. OVER THE BARRIERS (Yurenen, M 29:30) presented a talk with Evgeny Popov, visiting editor of the avant-garde literary journal Metropol, who described the recent celebrations marking the journal's 10th anniversary. Popov remarked that the four-day festivities were given full coverage by the Soviet media. He observed that the literary significance of Metropol cannot be overestimated. The journal was, Popov said, the earliest attempt at uniting the efforts of many of the country's most talented writers in the "struggle with stagnation during the period of stagnation."

FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 29), a RERUN from 13 January 1979, continued broadcasting an abridged version of Alexander Solzhenitsyn's book The Calf and the Oak.

9. The Media. The coeditor of the unofficial journal Glasnost provided a Soviet press review via telephone for THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Volchek, Moscow 5). Articles in Pravda, Ogonek, and Krasnaya Zvezda were cited.

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

None

#### C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

- \* 1. The US-Libyan Incident. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyeva, M 1:30) noted the Arab League's reaction to the downing of two Libyan fighter jets by US warplanes.
- \* THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Mirsky, P 3:30) highlighted French reaction to the US downing of two Libyan fighters.
- \* EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, NY 5) reported that US congressional leaders reacted favorably to the downing of two Libyan MiG fighters by the US over the Mediterranean.
- \* THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Roitman, M 1:30) reported on downing of two Libyan MiG-23 fighters by US Navy jets while on maneuvers in the Mediterranean.

2. Incidents Involving African Students in China. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rubin, NY 5) reported the recent highly publicized altercations between Chinese and African students studying in China.

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

1. Religion. JUDAISM (Lvov, NY 27:30) reviewed the history of Ieshibots in Russia; featured a discourse on the theology of Emil Fachenheim; and gave readings from the Torah.

2. Ballet. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dedulin, P 8) reviewed the recent Paris ballet festival that brought together some of the world's best and most famous dancers.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis  
for Friday, 6 January 1989  
D. Felton

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

1. Afghanistan. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Smith, Islamabad and Fedoseyeva and Predtechevsky, M 6) presented a report by RFE/RL's correspondent in Islamabad on the visit to the Pakistani capital by Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister and Ambassador to Afghanistan Yuly Vorontsov for talks with Afghan resistance representatives and Pakistani government officials. The program noted that the talks produced no concrete results due to the Soviet insistence on inclusion of members of the present Kabul regime in a future Afghan government, although resistance representative Mojadidi expressed readiness to discuss an agreement not to attack the withdrawing Soviet forces. The program said that Pakistan also insists on the replacement of the present Kabul regime. In conclusion the program reviewed a report in Time on how the Mujahidin are selling captured Soviet military equipment in order to reduce their dependence on the Pakistani authorities for supplies.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rubin, NY 4:30) gave the contents of an article by the Moscow correspondent of The New York Times, Bill Keller, on disturbances caused in Tashkent on January 3 by a group of Afghan students at a Soviet Interior Ministry militia school. In the report, based on material in the Tashkent press and talks with local residents, the disturbances were attributed to such factors as the Afghans' uncertainty over their future following the Soviet troop withdrawal, their disregard for local Muslim customs, and sympathies for the Mujahidin on the part of the Uzbek population.

2. Dissidents and Human Rights. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Limberger and Fedoseyeva, M 5:30) commented on the decision by the US and Britain to participate in the human rights conference scheduled to take place in Moscow in 1991. The program said that the US decision was prompted by the improvement in the human rights situation in the USSR, including the easing of restrictions on emigration and the cessation of jamming of foreign radio broadcasts; however, the US reserves the right to revoke its decision if more progress is not made. Reference was made to the mixed reaction to the US decision on the part of Soviet human rights activists, that of former political prisoners not being very positive, while Yakunin, Bonner, et. al. are generally in favor of the conference. The program expressed support for giving the USSR advance credit on human rights and acknowledged the progress made so far, but said more action is still needed.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Kusnetsov, M 4:30) presented a telephone conversation with Sergey Grigoryants, editor of the independent Moscow journal Glasnost, on the decision by the US and Britain to drop their objections to a human rights conference in Moscow in 1991. Grigoryants said that while the decision may be termed rational, many prominent dissidents are against it, and a large part of the general public will hardly understand why the decision was taken, coming as it does at a time when human rights violations are still taking place in the USSR.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 3) presented a report by Dmitry Volchek from Leningrad on reaction in the Soviet official and independent press as well the emigre press to the CPSU CC resolution "On Additional Measures to Restore Justice in Respect to Victims of Repressions Which Took Place in the 1930s and 1940s and Early 1950s." Volchek pointed to a letter by Memorial activists published in Glasnost and the Paris-based Russkaya Mysl criticizing the restricted period to which the resolution applies, as well as references in Sovetskaya Rossiya and Komsomolskaya Pravda to repressions before and after the Stalin era.

DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 29:30) began by reading the text of a letter (AS-6327) that 15 Leningrad writers sent to the Leningrad state prosecutor, Verevkin, expressing concern over measures taken against five Leningrad citizens, some of whom are members of the Democratic Union, under Article 70 of the RSFSR Criminal Code concerning slander of the Soviet system. The program mentioned subsequent statements on the case by Verevkin and Leningrad KGB official Fedorov. The program then presented by an excerpt from a programmatic document (AS-6325) of the Democratic Union calling for a constitutional democracy in the USSR. The text was given of a statement by one of the

signatories of the document, Yuly Rybakov, turning down a KGB proposal to give evidence on some of the material confiscated from him. A telephoned statement from Moscow by Glasnost editor and former political prisoner Sergey Grigoryants was given in which he demanded the rehabilitation of victims of repressions during the stagnation period. Next the program aired an account telephoned from Moscow by Novosibirsk journalist Aleksey Manannikov of an officially sanctioned meeting in Troitsk, near Moscow, in memory of the late political prisoner Anatoly Marchenko. The program concluded by publishing excerpts from an open letter to Gorbachev from a group of cultural personalities (Grigory Baklanov, et al), published in Moskovskiye Novosti of January 1, urging the Soviet leadership to cooperate with dissidents.

3. Independent Publications. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 5) featured a telephone report from Moscow by Glasnost collaborator Alexey Manannikov on items received by the journal from Sverdlovsk, Novosibirsk, Moscow, and Pechera-Pskovsk concerning the treatment of political prisoners, antireligious attacks, and opposition in the military-industrial complex to Gorbachev's military cutbacks.

4. Jewish Affairs. JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (S. Markish, M 9) featured further readings from the Russian Jewish journal Voskhod, published in St. Petersburg from 1881 to 1906. The readings were of the memoirs of Ruvim Kulisher on the life of Jews in Russia during the period 1838-1888.

5. Restructuring. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Malinkovich, M 8:30) excerpted and commented on a letter to Gorbachev from six well-known Soviet intellectuals (writer Grigory Baklanov, et. al.) expressing concern over the fate of restructuring. The program felt that the proposals made in the letter do not go far enough; for example, not only the system of glasnost but public life as a whole should be self-regulatory, and the party apparatus should be placed under the control of society.

On THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 4) Moscow journalist Yury Mityunov telephoned a report from Moscow on the trial of former Stalinist jurist Shekhatsov. Mityunov described the trial, widely publicized by the Soviet media, as a piece of noisy propaganda for restructuring, in which the accused are being used as scapegoats. The proceedings have no legal foundation. Mityunov remarked that the media fail to point out that the root of Stalin's repressions in fact lies not in individuals but in the Soviet system of uncontrolled rule.

6. The Economy. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 4:30) commented on the latest Politburo decisions concerning prices. The program doubted the effectiveness of the proposal to keep consumer prices low by enhancing the role of state orders for

the goods concerned. Moreover, regarding the reference to "anchoring broad rights for the consumer" made in a draft law on the quality of production, the program said that what the consumer really needs is a broad selection of goods. Unfortunately the Soviet administrative machine is again trying to solve economic problems by administrative measures.

7. The Nationalities. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 5) featured a telephone report from Moscow by Soviet historian Leonid Batkin on his visit to Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Nagorno-Karabakh as a member of a small group of Soviet scholars, including Sakharov, who conducted an on-the-spot study of the Nagorno-Karabakh situation. Batkin said that the visit, private but cleared with members of the Politburo, was initiated by the Academy of Sciences and that members of the group came to certain conclusions, which they did not conceal from the leadership.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 2) featured a report by Dmitry Volchek from Leningrad on recent material in the Soviet press on developments in Armenia. Volchek spoke of the topsy-turvy thinking behind a Pravda report on a purge of law-enforcement bodies in Armenia for allegedly having "lost control of events, failed to combat crimes with an internationality background, and failed to prevent the activities of the Karabakh Committee." Sotsialisticheskaya Industriya was quoted on the freezing of hundreds of millions of rubles in donations made to the victims of the Armenian earthquake.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 2:30) featured a telephoned reading by Glasnost collaborator Alexey Manannikov from Moscow of an appeal by Islamic democratic movement activist Almat Ittsekov to all Azerbaijanis to make peace with the Armenians over the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and to all believers to join forces against a soulless state.

8. Russia. THE RUSSIAN IDEA (Vl. Tolz, M 27:30), a RERUN from 9 September 1988, gave the main points of a samizdat article (AS-6243) by Viktor Aksyuchits, a copublisher of the Moscow literary-philosophical journal Vybor (Choice), which appeared in the third issue of the journal. Aksyuchits stressed in particular the profoundly Christian nature of the "Russian idea," and said that only if the Russian people rediscover god can they regenerate themselves. The program described the article as symptomatic of the agony of the Russian idea and contrasted this idea with the reality of Russian history.

9. Jamming and Eavesdropping. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 6) commented on a Soviet media report that jamming installations would be converted into radio broadcasting stations, but if their electromagnetic radiation was found to be

a health hazard, they would be completely dismantled. The program described the report as a typical example of semiglasnost and said that the media should provide information on such things as how many jamming installations were in operation, how many persons they employed, what they cost, and what harm they had caused to people's health. The program also discussed the bugging of the new US Embassy building in the course of its construction by the Soviets and said jamming and eavesdropping are part of the legacy of a totalitarian state. Nevertheless a start has been made on dismantling this legacy (missiles are being destroyed, timid attempts are being made to transfer military factories to peaceful use, etc.). The program concluded by citing Moskovskiye Novosti of January 1 to the effect that the Soviet people were tired of this waste of funds and wanted a standard of living befitting a great power.

10. Ideology. OVER THE BARRIERS (Paramonov, NY 9) discussed Alexander Bogdanov-Malinovsky's theory of Bolshevism, which was at variance with Lenin's, in connection with the publication in Literaturnaya Gazeta of the first positive article about him to appear in the Soviet press for several decades. The program said that Bogdanov should be remembered in order that he and Bolshevism should then be finally forgotten.

11. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Dovlatov, NY 9) commented on an article in Pravda by the head of the Moscow Writers' Alexander Mikhaylov, in which he complained among other things about the diminished prestige of writers in the USSR, the difficulty experienced by young writers in having their works published, and the formation of warring groups on the literary scene. The program expressed the hope that the problems mentioned by Mikhaylov will be resolved in the course of restructuring so that, as is now often the case, his article will quickly become irrelevant.

12. Religion. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 3) presented a statement by Muscovites Viktor Aksyuchits and Gleb Anishchenko, publishers of the independent Christian journal Vybor, on how the authorities are illegally trying to block the application by a group of Muscovites to form a religious community and instead create a religious association which the authorities could easily control.

THE MILLENNIUM OF THE CHRISTIANIZATION OF RUSSIA (Rahr, M 29:30) summed up the celebration of the millennium of the Christianization of Russia, citing extensively from an article by Kirill Golovin in the US-based journal Pravoslavnyaya Rus (Orthodox Rus). Among other things the article noted that the Soviet leadership has been forced to strike a compromise with the Church after having failed to suppress religious feelings among the people and pointed to the chances, obligations, and

dangers confronting the Church in a changed situation. The program said that if the state and the Church are to have a common future, the state must be deideologized and restrictions removed from the Church's activities.

SPECIAL FEATURE (Benigsen, NY 7), a RERUN from 6 January 1988 pegged to Orthodox Christmas, reflected on the millennium of the Christianization of Russia. Quoting verse by Russian philosopher Vladimir Soloviev, the program noted how Russia subsequently turned away from God.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 0:30) presented a telephone report by the Riga correspondent of Glasnost, Bombin, on the first-ever publication of Christmas greetings to readers by the Latvian Komsomol newspaper Sovetskaya Molodezh.

SPECIAL FEATURE (Rahr, M 159), a RERUN from 6 January 1988, presented a recording of excerpts from Russian Orthodox Christmas services conducted by Archbishop Anthony in San Francisco.

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

1. Poland. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fistejn, M 9:30) noted the Polish leadership's growing readiness to enter into a dialogue with moderate Solidarity forces grouped around Walesa. The program referred to an interview given by Walesa to the official weekly Polityka in which he insisted on the legalization of Solidarity and warned of the threat posed by mounting popular dissatisfaction and the angry young generation. The program pointed to opposition within Solidarity to Walesa's attempts to reach an agreement with the regime.

2. The German Communist Party. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyev and Predtechevsky, M 5:30) commented on the congress of the German Communist Party (DKP) now taking place in Frankfurt. The program focused on the differences within the party over restructuring in the USSR. It was noted that the DKP is financially supported by the East German SED, which is against restructuring.

#### C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. US-Libyan Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 4:30) reported on the US downing of two Libyan MiGs. The program gave a cut of the American sound recording of the air battle, as well as voice cuts of Pentagon spokesman Howell and the UN representative of the Arab League countries, Maksud. Audio Section material was used.

2. The Paris Conference on Chemical Weapons. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 5:30) backgrounded the objectives of the conference and the problems it faces. Reference was made to the issue of an alleged Libyan chemical factory and to Ceausescu's statement in his New Year's speech that Romania would not support a ban on chemical weapons until nuclear weapons are banned. A RAD Background Report of January 5 was used.

3. The Middle East. Reporting on the past week's developments in Israel, JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 9) outlined the composition of the new Israeli government and its two major problems (Arafat's diplomatic initiative and the country's economic stagnation).

4. The 1935 Nuremberg Laws Discriminating Against Jews in Nazi Germany. JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Roitman, M 9) excerpted an article on the subject from the sixth issue of the Moscow samizdat journal Yevrei v Sovremennom Mire (Jews in the Modern World).

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

1. Christmas. SPECIAL FEATURE (Rahr, M 13) offered reflections on the meaning of Christmas.

2. Christmas in the US was described on OVER THE BARRIERS (Genis, NY 9).

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Saturday, 7 January 1989

M. Frost

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

1. The Nationalities. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Malinkovich, M 8) presented a telephone interview from Moscow with M. Batkin, a member of the recent commission, headed by Andrey Sakharov, which has just completed an investigative tour of Armenia and Azerbaijan. Batkin said the purpose of the commission was to conduct informal talks with all representatives of the Mountainous Karabagh dispute and discuss possible compromises to this extremely sensitive issue.
2. Dissidents and Human Rights. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 7), referring to an article in the January 1 edition of Moskovskiy Novosti, profiled the case of the human rights activist Lina Tumanova who died of cancer in 1984 while awaiting trial on charges of anti-Soviet propaganda.
3. Restructuring. WRITERS AT THE MICROPHONE (Dovlatov, NY 8) commented on two articles appearing in Moskovskiy Novosti on restructuring; one by Italian political scientist Piero Ottone arguing that the salvation of the Soviet economy lies in closer cooperation with the West and the other by Soviet historian Evgeny Plimak who urges Soviet society to rely, first and foremost, on its own resources. The program author concurred with both articles in concluding that the Soviet people should develop their own material and spiritual resources while utilizing the socioeconomic experiences of Western countries which have already reached the "post-restructuring" phase of development.
4. The Economy. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 4:30) gave details of the wage structure among key professions in the USSR and commented that the poor remuneration for such vital jobs as computer servicing and teaching could seriously jeopardize the restructuring process.



5. Literature. SPECIAL FEATURE (Henkina, M 29:30) read the chapter entitled "Christmas" from Ivan Shmelev's novel set in pre-Revolutionary Moscow, Leto Gospopodne.

6. Literature. WRITERS AT THE MICROPHONE (Voinovich, M 18:30) continued the cycle of programs on the thaw period in Soviet literature. In this program the author recounted his efforts to receive payments for film scripts written under various pseudonyms which he was forced to assume because of persecution by the authorities.

7. Religion. SPECIAL FEATURE (Benigsen, NY 7), a RERUN from January 6 pegged to Orthodox Christmas, reflected on the millennium of the Christianization of Russia. Quoting verse by Russian philosopher Vladimir Solovev, the program noted how subsequently, Russia was to turn away from God.

NOT BY BREAD ALONE (Benigsen and Zvezdinsky, NY 20, and Rahr, M 9) presented a Sunday sermon on the feast of Christmas and chronicled the lives of some recent Russian martyrs. The program then took issue with an interview appearing in the Soviet press by the Chairman of the Council for Religious Affairs, Kharchev, who argued that to provide religious education in schools violates the neutrality of the learning environment.

SUNDAY SERVICE (Rahr and Kholodnaya, NY 49:30) presented a Russian Orthodox Church service from New York.

8. Sport. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rubin, NY 5) commented on the unprecedented move by the leading Moscow soccer club Spartak to elect its team trainer. The program warned that the idea is not so much proof of democracy in action in Soviet sport but proof of the desire not to be left behind in the fashion for democracy.

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

None.

#### C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. A Review of World Events in 1988. SPECIAL FEATURE (Predtechevsky, M 28), continuing the series on the major world events in 1988, reviewed major news stories of the year from Hungary, Romania, France, Pakistan, and the US.

2. The US. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 6) presented a roundup of US media and official reaction to the downing of the two Libyan jet fighters over the Mediterranean, the Reagan administration's decision to participate in the planned 1991 Moscow human rights conference, and on the USSR's decision to purchase more grain from the US.

- \* 3. France. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 6:30) reported on the proceedings of the International Conference on Chemical Weapons taking place in Paris.

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

SPECIAL FEATURE (Rahr, M 13), a RERUN from January 6, offered reflections on the meaning of Christmas.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead  
story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis  
for Sunday, 8 January 1989  
M. Frost

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

1. The Election of a New Supreme Soviet. LAW AND SOCIETY (Kaminskaya and Simis, W 20) examined the new law on the election of people's deputies, focusing on several undemocratic aspects of it. The program noted, for instance, that in the event of more than two candidates for a post, all candidates will be screened at a prenomination meeting. This screening will effectively ensure that no opposition candidates are nominated as people's deputies. The program said that the various social groups and organizations should be able to nominate their own candidates for election and should also have access to the media to present their political platforms to the electorate.
2. The Constitution. HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE USSR (Malinkovich, M 8) broadcast an article by Segey Lezov in the unofficial Moscow journal Ekspess-Khronika (AS-6308) which severely criticized the undemocratic nature of the law on changes and amendments to the Soviet Constitution.
3. The Law. Referring to an interview with the Deputy Procurator of the RSFSR which appeared in Chelovek i Zakon, HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE USSR (Kaminskaya, W 6:30) commented that the standard Western judicial practice of assuming the accused innocent until proven guilty is far from widespread in Soviet courts despite the assurances of the republican deputy procurator. An impartial system of justice in which the full rights of the accused are honored will only be brought about by wholesale reform of the current regime and its structures of power.
4. Restructuring. HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE USSR (Malinkovich, M 10) commented on an open letter to Gorbachev from leading members of the intelligentsia warning that the restructuring process is becoming bogged down as a result of bureaucratic foot-dragging

on the part of party officials. The program expressed dismay that the authors of the open letter merely urged the offending officials to resign their posts if they are in disagreement with the aims of restructuring instead of insisting that the party be placed under the control of society as is the case in Western democracies. The program also observed that Gorbachev himself should not be above criticism.

5. The Economy. OVER THE BARRIERS (Matthews, L 15) reviewed the recent series of BBC Reith lectures by British Sovietologist Geoffrey Hoskin devoted to the paradoxes of Gorbachev's reforms.

6. THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Predtechevsky, M 20) excerpted articles from the Europäische Wehrkunde on the need for the NATO countries to respond intelligently but cautiously to the numerous changes in Soviet foreign policy, from Time on the sale of Soviet weapons in Peshawar, and from The Economist on the significance for the Soviet economy of the plans to make the ruble fully convertible.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 18) presented excerpts from the January 6 edition of Russkaya Mysl which included articles on Christmas, the situation in Armenia, Solzhenitsyn, and Leningrad poet Viktor Krivulin.

7. History. Referring to an interview with Natan Eidelman in Ogonek, SOVIETOLOGISTS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Shragin, M 20) compared the views expressed by Eidelman on the nature of Gorbachev's reforms with the ideas articulated on the same subject by the US Sovietologist Frederik Star. The program contrasted the two historians' views on Russia's "historical genetics," which helps to explain the rise of Stalinist totalitarianism and Gorbachev's reform movement both within a relatively brief historical period.

8. Siberia. THE FORTUNES OF SIBERIA (Kushev, M 8) presented a telephone report from Aleksey Manannikov, an independent journalist and a member of the Democratic Union in Novosibirsk who commented on the dissatisfaction over the activities of the Democratic Union expressed recently at party meetings. Manannikov read a resolution passed by the members of the Democratic Union which called for, among other things, Siberian autonomy and the establishment of a coordinating committee to unite the democratic forces in eastern and western Siberia.

THE FORTUNES OF SIBERIA (Kushev, M 15) examined the history of the movement for Siberian autonomy, focusing on the pioneering work of Potanin and Yadrintsev in the 19th century. The program also discussed the plans for Siberian autonomy put forward by leading social democrats in Siberia in answer to a questionnaire

circulated after the October Revolution. In conclusion the program cited an excerpt from a resolution passed by the Novosibirsk Democratic Union calling for "an end to the conquest of Siberia" and for "a more humane existence."

THE FORTUNES OF SIBERIA (Krasin, W 6) reported on cattle farming problems in Siberia, where the local population consumes less than 20 kilograms of meat a year per capita. The program compared the present situation with that of prerevolutionary times, when Siberia not only fed its own population but was an enormous exporter of foodstuffs to other parts of Russia and the rest of the world.

9. Culture. Pegged to the current Shostokovich festival in London, OVER THE BARRIERS (Rayfield, Litvinov, and Tsviblova, L 12) examined why the Soviet composer is revered in Britain above all other 20th century composers. The program then reviewed an important exhibition in Moscow of works by British painter Francis Bacon.

10. Literature. FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 29:30) broadcast the 29th installment of Alexander Solzhenitsyn's autobiographical novel The Calf and the Oak.

11. Sports. WORLD OF SPORTS (Rubin and Shamkovich, NY 20) reported on the controversy surrounding the move of the Soviet ice-hockey player Fetisov to the New Jersey Devils and described how Soviet Grandmaster Elena Akhmylovskaya is settling down to married life with her American husband in Seattle after their dramatic engagement during the Chess Olympiad in Salonika last year.

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

1. Poland. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fistejn, M 9:30), a RERUN from January 6, noted the Polish leadership's growing readiness to enter into a dialogue with moderate Solidarity forces grouped around Walesa. The program referred to an interview given by Walesa to the official weekly Polityka in which he insisted on the legalization of Solidarity and warned of the threat posed by mounting popular dissatisfaction and the angry young generation. The program also mentioned the opposition within Solidarity to Walesa's attempts to reach an agreement with the regime.

2. Hungary. In a RERUN from January 4, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Polishchuk, W 2:30) discussed Hungary's radical economic reform, noting that the Soviet Union is supporting the reform plan and is waiting to see the outcome of the reforms before taking steps in the direction of a market economy.

3. Yugoslavia. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 7:30) discussed the results of an opinion poll conducted recently in the Slovene republic which indicated that a vast majority of the population is in favor of a multiparty system and that less than 10 percent are willing to elect Communist Party deputies. The program placed this trend toward political pluralism in the context of the economic and political upheaval in the country and mentioned that political pluralism is rapidly taking constitutional shape in Hungary. The program was a RERUN from January 2.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

None

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

None

lr/RW



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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Monday, 9 January 1989

M. Rudin

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

- \* 1. The Paris Conference on Chemical Weapons. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 3:30) noted Shevardnadze's announcement that the USSR would destroy its chemical weapons and then presented information published in Le Monde which gives a much higher figure for the Soviet arsenal of chemical weapons than the one published by the USSR last year.

- \* Drawing on Audio Section materials THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Predtechevsky, M 3:30) cited reactions to Shevardnadze's pledge on chemical weapons by West German Foreign Minister Genscher, US Secretary of State Shultz, and US Assistant Secretary of State Allan Holmes.

2. Soviet-Israeli Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 3:30) reported on the results of the meeting between Shevardnadze and Israeli Foreign Minister Arens at which the USSR agreed to allow the Israeli consular mission in Moscow to expand its activities. The program assessed the prospects for the possible future expansion of relations between the two countries.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Miloslavsky, M 5:30) said that the meeting between Shevardnadze and Arens in Paris is another step in the already started normalization process between the two countries. The program noted Shevardnadze's remarks that the PLO's new position offers a "historical chance" for a break-through in the Middle East conflict and said that the Soviet Union's new thinking in the Middle East certainly played a role in the PLO decision.

3. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 6:30) reported on the decision of the Afghan resistance not to hold further talks with Soviet negotiator Yuly Vorontsov on a future government in Afghanistan. The program noted that the Afghan resistance reached this decision after Vorontsov's press conference in Islamabad at which time he said that if a broad-based government does not come to power in Afghanistan after the withdrawal of Soviet troops, the USSR will find a way to support the present Kabul government. The program used AP and Reuter dispatches.

In THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Vasim, M 2:30), a member of Radio Free Afghanistan reported on the decision of the Afghan resistance to break off talks with the Soviet Union, citing the current spokesman for the Pakistan-based seven-party Afghan alliance, Mojadidi.

- \* 4. Gorbachev's Speech on January 6 at a Gathering of Members of the Cultural and Scientific Elite in Moscow. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Belotserkovsky, M 7) focused on that part of Gorbachev's speech dealing with economic matters and the growing budgetary deficit. The program observed that the inability of the Soviet leaders to overcome the economic crisis is due to the indeterminateness and contradictions found in restructuring.
- \* EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 6) commented on Gorbachev's statements concerning the possibility of reducing defense expenditures which he made with scientists and cultural figures at a meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU on January 6. The program observed that Gorbachev's statements are very vague and do not mention which military spheres might be affected.
- \* ROUND TABLE (Fistejn, Matusevich, and Henkina, M 20) was also devoted to Gorbachev's speech, discussing its economic and ideological aspects. The discussants observed the lack of concept and strategy in the restructuring program and said that the alternative to Gorbachev and his command, in the face of a group created at the plenum of the board of the USSR Writer's Union, would be dangerous.

5. Developments in Armenia. THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Malinkovich, M 8) featured a telephone interview with Leonid Batkin, a Moscow historian, art critic, and member of the Memorial society. Batkin was a member of a group of Soviet scholars, including Andrey Sakharov, Elena Bonner, and ethnographers Zubov and Starobinskiy, which went on a fact-finding mission to Armenia and Azerbaijan at the end of



December. Batkin said that the visit was a private one although it had the support of the politburo and that the group had met with various people involved in the Nagorno-Karabakh dispute. He also said that the conflict was so serious that it required the intervention of the central authorities.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kuznetsov, M 3:30) spoke by telephone with Rafael Papayan in Yerevan who described how 12 members of the Karabakh Committee were arrested on Saturday, January 7. He also described the general situation in Yerevan, noting that there are more soldiers in the streets than before, apparently because the authorities expect unrest if the arrested members of the Karabakh Committee are not released today. Papayan is an activist of the Karabakh Committee.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Lezov, M 5:30) spoke by telephone with Sergey Lesov in Moscow who observed that after the Soviet press had focused on the fraternal aid given by all union republics to Armenia after the earthquake, it began a campaign against the Karabakh Committee and against the National-Democratic Movement in Armenia. The program also described the ineffectiveness of the system in trying to aid victims of the earthquake and noted that foreign aid was effective only if it was distributed by foreign organizations once it was brought to Armenia.

6. Tatarstan. In THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Sultan, M 5:30), a member of RL's Tatar-Bashkir Service, discussed the situation in the Tatar Autonomous Republic which is striving to receive the status of a union republic. The program explained that Tatarstan does not have equal rights with the union republics in the question of representation on the higher power organs and in the budget allocations for culture, health, education, film production, etc.

7. The Baltic Republics. BALTIC BEACON (Rahr, M 5) featured a telephone interview with Mikhail Bombin, the Riga correspondent for the unofficial Moscow journal Glasnost. Bombin reported on the refusal of Latvian procurator Dzenitis to register and give jurisdictional status to the Latvian Popular Front on the grounds that the Popular Front is against the Latvian constitution. Dzenitis also opposes the Front's program. The reaction of the Popular Front to Dzenitis' decision was noted.

BALTIC BEACON (Rahr, M 8) discussed the work of the constituent congress of the new organization, the International Front of Latvian Workers. The program observed that of 713 delegates, 600 called themselves Russians and only 172 were representatives of the workers class. The program cited Latvian First Secretary Vagris on the goals of "Interfront" and suggested that Interfront was created as a counterbalance to the Popular Front.

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Krasin, W 5) gave the substance of a discussion on American PBS television concerning the situation in Estonia and the nationality aspirations of the Estonians.

BALTIC BEACON (Rahr, M 7) gave excerpts from an article in Sovetskaya Molodezh which discussed the ways of easing the question of the migration and the natural increase of the nonindigenous population in the Baltic republics. The program noted that the Latvians are becoming a minority in their own land and the Estonians are facing the same fate in the near future.

8. The Nationalities: THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Babenyshev, NY 7:30) highlighted a paper given by American historian Lyubomir Hajda about nationality unrest in the Soviet Union under restructuring and glasnost at a conference held at Harvard University devoted to Gorbachev and the changes taking place in the USSR.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 8) highlighted an article by Alex Alexiev in The Los Angeles Times which characterized the surge of nationalism in the Soviet republics as the beginning of a decolonization process of the last remaining empire and said that the Soviet leadership must grant genuine autonomy to all nations.

9. Human Rights. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Volchek, M 3) featured a telephone interview with Dmitry Volchek, who described how the Leningrad KGB is violating the norms of a legal state in the way they are conducting searches and interrogations in Case No. 64 involving activists of the Democratic Union, the Human Rights Society, and independent journalists accused of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda.

10. A Chronicle of Recent Events in the Soviet Union were given in THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Manannikov, M 5) on the basis of a telephone conversation with Alexey Manannikov in Moscow. Manannikov, who works for the unofficial journal Glasnost, reported on news still not covered by the Soviet media and included an item on the break-up by the authorities of a Christmas service on January 6 in a Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church in Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast.

11. Elections. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Aksyuchits, M 6) presented an item by Victor Aksyuchits in Moscow, who described how he attended a meeting of dwellers of a mikrorayon at which time the Initiative Group of the mikrorayon dwellers and the Moscow Popular Front presented their candidates to the USSR Supreme Soviet. The program also noted an article in Izvestia

of January 7 by its deputy chief editor Shchepotkin which discussed the preelection of candidates to some Soviets. The article noted that the results of the new law have come as a surprise to the party leadership and called on the party committees to learn democratic methods of political fighting.

12. Restructuring. FACED WITH A CHOICE (Belotserkovsky, M 21), a RERUN from 26 December 1988, read an article entitled "The Popular Front and the Crisis of Restructuring" by Boris Kagarlitsky, a member of Moscow's Popular Front Coordinating Committee. The article will be published in the Rome-based journal Listy.

13. Religion. RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Fotiyev, M 8) read a statement for the press published by the Initiative Group which is made up of clergymen and laymen from the Russian Orthodox Church. The statement called on all members of the Russian Orthodox Church to support the idea created by the "Church and Restructuring Movement" and to participate in the preparation of the movement's constituent conference.

RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Fotiyev, M 8:30) discussed the new church statutes which were adopted by the Russian Orthodox synod in June of this year during the celebrations of the Millennium of the Christianization of Russia. The program highlighted a paper by Victor Antonov entitled "The New Statutes of the Russian Orthodox Church" which he delivered at an unofficial seminar in Moscow during the millennium celebrations.

14. THE RUSSIAN IDEA (Tolz, Rahr, and Khazanov, M 48), a RERUN from 17 September 1988, continued to review an article by Moscow samizdat writer Victor Aksyuchits entitled "The Russian Idea" which was published in the winter issue of the journal Vybor. Today's installment focused on Russian messianism and a comparison of the fates of the Russian and Jewish peoples.

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

1. Poland. FACED WITH A CHOICE (Belotserkovsky, M 6:30), a RERUN from 26 December 1988, reported on the creation of the unofficial Citizen's Committee led by Lech Walesa and noted the creation by Moscow' democratic intelligentsia of the Muscovite's Tribune.

2. The Ninth Congress of the West German CP was dealt with in EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 6). The program noted that that ideologically the KPD is closer to the line taken by the GDR and not the USSR.

### C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. Chemical Weapons. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 3:30) focused on the position of Third World countries on the production and possession of chemical weapons, citing the Iraqi and Israeli Foreign Ministers, Aziz and Arens, respectively. The program also noted that foreign journalists were taken to the controversial chemical plant at Rapta in Libya at night and were not allowed inside.
2. The US. THE USA TODAY (Vail, Paramonov, and Morozov, NY 23) reviewed developments of the last week concerning the US; assessed the results of Reagan's eight years as president, including the new climate in Soviet-US relations; highlighted a number of recent cases in US courts in which Americans who took the law into their hands were not sentenced; talked in this connection with a professor from Columbia University, George Fletcher, who also briefly assessed the Soviet leaders' plans to reform Soviet legislation; and gave a brief biography of Jim Wright, the new speaker of the House of Representatives, whom the program chose as "American of the Week."
3. The Middle East. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Miloslavsky, M 7) backgrounded the events and motives which lead PLO leader Arafat to recognize's Israel's right to exist. The program noted that more countries are backing the PLO's campaign for fuller diplomatic recognition.

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

1. Cable Television in the US was an item discussed by THE USA TODAY (Krasin, W 4:30).
2. Religion. RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Fotiyev, M 6:30) recalled how Emperor Constantin converted the Roman Empire to Christianity and discussed the question of the limits of state power over people's religious beliefs and moral values then and under totalitarian regimes today.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis  
for Tuesday, 10 January 1989  
D. Felton

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

- \* 1. Afghanistan. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Kuznetsov, M 2:30) featured a talk with the director of Radio Free Afghanistan about Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister and Ambassador to Afghanistan Vorontsov's recent negotiations with Afghan resistance leaders. It was noted that Vorontsov's mission failed due to the Soviet insistence on a cease-fire and a role for the ruling PDPA in a future Afghan government.
- \* EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 5:30) highlighted an article in The Washington Post on the continuing acts of terror by Soviet and Afghan government forces against the civilian population and the Mujahidin, in particular the laying of mines and the poisoning of food supplies. The program said that observers suggest two possible motives for this: gaining time and revenge.
- 2. Soviet-British Relations. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (I. Machlis, M 2) cited an article in The Daily Telegraph on a British student who received from the USSR a piece of hide of a 40,000-year-old mammoth for genetic research.
- 3. Dissidents and Human Rights. ROUNDTABLE TALK (Roitman, Malinkovich, and Voslensky, M 20) was devoted to the CPSU CC's recent resolution "On Additional Measures to Restore Justice in Respect to Victims of Repressions Which Took Place During the 1930s, 1940s, and Early 1950s," which proposes the rehabilitation of all victims of out-of-court repressions and an accelerated review of those sentenced by courts. The program recalled that rehabilitations were begun by Khrushchev but were limited to top officials, since Khrushchev and his colleagues

had also been involved in the repressions. Moreover Khrushchev had been asked by leaders of Western CPs not to carry out mass rehabilitations since these leaders had explained to party members that the repressions had been necessary. The program noted the restricted time frame covered by the resolution and mentioned the various categories not falling under the proposed rehabilitation, such as "bandit" groups which would also include partisans who fought for independence from both Hitler and Stalin. Only a very small proportion of the total number of victims is covered. The program said that the party decree is apparently part of a drive by the Gorbachev leadership to smash the machine set up by Stalin in the 1930s. The program regretted that the leadership has not started with the rehabilitation of victims of repressions in more recent, post-Stalinist times, in particular dissidents who by democratic methods fought against the Stalinist system and demanded what the leadership is now talking about. The reason this is not being done is that those responsible for the more recent repressions are still in power.

FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 29:30) featured the 44th installment of the third part of Solzhenitsyn's book The Gulag Archipelago.

4. Unofficial Organizations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Malinkovich, M 9) featured a telephone interview with historian and art expert Leonid Batkin, a coorganizer of the political club "Moscow Tribune," which was founded last October and includes among its members such prestigious intellectuals as Sakharov. Batkin said that some of the tribune's members have been put forward as candidates for the Congress of People's Deputies, but expressed the view that it will take a long time before the slogan "All Power to the Soviets!" will be realized. Batkin described the emergence of numerous democratic organizations as encouraging, and said that the tribune aims to promote a dialogue between them and the Gorbachev leadership and also help in the solution of the various nationality problems. In conclusion Batkin said the very fact he was able to talk to RL over the telephone is indicative of the changes which have taken place in the USSR.

5. Independent Publications. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 3:30) featured a telephone report from Moscow by Alexey Manannikov, on recent events in the USSR not mentioned in the official press. These included disorders provoked by Russian "patriots" at an election meeting at which Ogonek chief editor Korotich was put forward; protests against legal proceedings against members of the Democratic Union; preparations in Moscow for the next census; and an appeal to

the USSR Supreme Soviet by the Democratic Union on behalf of arrested Sergey Kuznetsov, a correspondent of Glasnost and Ekspress-Khronika.

6. Restructuring. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 4) observed that at a recent meeting with scientists and cultural workers, Gorbachev focused on the difficulties arising in economic restructuring, as if he were asking his listeners for their help in explaining these difficulties to the population. On the other hand in a talk before Moscow party leaders, Gorbachev clearly tried to infuse optimism. Regarding Gorbachev's claim that restructuring had become a reality, the program commented that if everyday life in the USSR constitutes the reality of restructuring, the population must be angry and disappointed.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Belotserkovsky, M 7) remarked that Gorbachev has failed to refute criticism that the party leadership has no overall concept of restructuring. The program said that this is because most restructuring activists lack revolutionary boldness and have ideological inhibitions on such questions as public ownership of the means of production. If it were admitted that group ownership is the only real alternative to monopolistic state ownership, this would give tremendous scope for developing the theory and concept of restructuring.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 2), in a review of the Soviet press, cited an article by political scientist Soltan Dzarasov in the Latvian Sovetskaya Molodezh of 29 December 1988 expressing the view that there is nothing wrong with the idea of several communist parties existing in a single country, the USSR included.

7. The Economy. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Limberger, M 5) aired a telephone call from Moscow from Viktor Aksyuchits, a copublisher of the independent Moscow journal Vybor who commented on an article by prorestructuring economist Nikolay Shmelev in the January issue of Znamya on the subject of economic restructuring. Shmelev pointed to the need to saturate the market with consumer goods, otherwise the leadership will finally lose the people's confidence. This can only be achieved by economic, not traditional administrative measures. The program said that the leadership, however, still apparently prefers the old methods of coercion, evidenced, for example, by party and government resolutions restricting the activities of cooperatives and imposing price limits on public catering cooperatives. The program expressed the view that while life will doubtless compel the leadership to change its mind, the population will suffer in the meantime.

8. Society. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 3) presented a telephoned comment from Moscow by Gleb Anishchenko on an article on homosexuality by Alexey Novikov in Molodoy Kommunist, No. 12, probably the first article on this subject ever to appear in a central Soviet publication. The program observed that, in accordance with a long-standing Soviet stereotype, the article claimed that the October Revolution saved homosexuals from tsarist repression, although Stalin was later to spoil things. The program described as a positive development the present proposal to make homosexuality no longer a criminal offense, but said that Novikov's article, while showing tolerance toward homosexuality as such, shows no compassion for the individual.

9. The Nationalities. BALTIC BEACON (Rahr, M 20) began by quoting from a speech by Latvian party leader Janis Vagris at the party's recent CC plenum on the subject of nationalism and chauvinism among unofficial organizations in Latvia, such as the Latvian Popular Front and the International Front of Latvian Workers (Interfront). Vagris said that the fronts were leading to a polarization of the population along national lines and that here the party's leading role was important. The program pointed to the party's tactic in the Baltic republics of setting up duplicate "fronts" as a kind of counterweight to the genuine popular fronts. The program cited from an interview given to Sovetskaya Molodezh by members of Interfront on the eve of its constituent congress and from a TASS report from Riga on the declarations passed, illustrating the similarity of the positions of Interfront and the Latvian Popular Front. The program then backgrounded an Izvestia attack against the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring (Sajudis) and reviewed the demonstrations against the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet's refusal to support the Estonian Supreme Soviet's position on Estonian sovereignty. Reaction by Sajudis representative Yefremov in the Lithuanian Komsomolskaya Pravda was quoted. In conclusion the program cited a report in Die Welt that three leaders of the Estonian Popular Front -- Savisaar, Lauristin, and Koik -- are suing two of TASS's Tallinn correspondents -- Vlasov and Deynenko -- for slander on the grounds that they had called the front antidemocratic and claimed that it had assumed the right to speak on behalf of the entire Estonian population and had created the impression that the front had been involved in terrorist acts.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 4) featured a telephone report from Riga by Mikhail Bombin, a correspondent of the independent Ekspress-Khronika, on the constituent congress of the International Front of Latvian Workers. Bombin spoke of the unrepresentative composition of the congress delegates and



said that the front has attracted elements which may be described as conservative and antidemocratic. He also referred to the low standard of the speeches.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 1:30), in a review of the Soviet press, cited a speech by one of the delegates at the ninth session of the Estonian Supreme Soviet, Aleksin, in which he gave facts and figures on the deportation of Estonians in 1941 and 1949. The speech was published in Sovetskaya Estoniya of 15 December 1988.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 2:30) included a telephone report from Moscow by Sergey Lezov, a collaborator of the independent weekly Ekspress-Khronika, giving details of the arrest of members of the Karabakh Committee in Yerevan on January 7. Lezov also said that members of the committee arrested last December have not been released but charged.

10. The Law. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 4:30) presented a review of the Soviet official and independent press telephoned from Moscow by Glasnost collaborator Dmitry Volchek. Volchek focused on a statement by an Initiative Group for the Spiritual and Biological Salvation of the People, published in Glasnost, on the catastrophic state of the Soviet penitentiary system and on articles in Pravda and Moskovskaya Pravda on the negative effect of this system on society and the repressive application of the law on pornography against the normal filmgoer.

11. Health. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 1:30), in a review of the Soviet press, cited an article in Sovetskaya Litva of 23 December 1988 by the chief doctor at a maternity hospital in Vilnius on the high mortality and sickness rate among the allegedly "privileged" class of children in the USSR.

12. Ideology. SPECIAL FEATURE (Fistejn, Roitman, and Malinkovich, M 29:30) aired a roundtable talk on an article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Alexander Tsipko called "The Sources of Stalinism" which is being serialized in Nauka i Zhizn. The program advised listeners to read this highly interesting and significant article, which constitutes the first attempt in the official press to get at the roots of Stalinism. It thereby goes to the heart of the Soviet system itself, pointing to the connection between the theory of Marxism -- "scientific communism" -- and Soviet practice. The article is a further step toward destroying the myth that a party armed with a scientific theory is good for a society. Nevertheless it does not mention Lenin by name. Tsipko maintains that if the goals of socialist transformation are false, then discussions on the pace and methods of achieving them are senseless. The party's

monopoly of power creates the conditions for a feudalization of society. The program discussed the concepts of socialism, communism, and Marxism and their varying application by individual parties.

13. Human Rights. HUMAN RIGHTS (Fedoseyev, M 29:30) featured the first part of an RL interview with Soviet UN official Mikhail Vezel on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In the introduction to the interview, it was noted that the text of the declaration has recently been published in large-circulation Soviet publications. Vezel pointed to the importance of the declaration and said that countries are tending to the view that its provisions have legal as well as moral force. He agreed that following the adoption of the declaration, human rights ceased to be a country's internal affair.

14. Philosophy. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fotiyev, M 5) said that an article by Vladimir Tsybin in Literaturnaya Rossiya of January 6 on the Russian philosopher Nikolay Berdyayev could have helped to fill a gap left by the Soviet media over the decades. However, the article was disorganized and did not give even an approximate idea of Berdyayev's work, particularly with regard to his emphasis of the supreme value of the individual inspired by God.

15. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Vail and Genis, NY 28) presented an RL interview in New York with Soviet playwright, producer, and actor Mark Rozovsky in which he spoke in particular of the Soviet theater's problems under conditions of self-financing and glasnost.

16. Science and Technology. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY TODAY (Muslin, NY 9) featured an interview with Soviet aviation engineer and former political prisoner Alexander Bolonkin, who was recently forced to emigrate from the USSR as a result of persecution by the authorities and now lives in the US. Bolonkin described the bureaucratic obstacles in the way of the Soviet inventor, whose remuneration is meager, and explained how the Soviet economic system discourages the application of inventions. Bolonkin also mentioned his professional plans in the US.

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

1. Bulgaria. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanov, P 5:30) contrasted material in the Bulgarian and Soviet press on the implementation of restructuring and glasnost in Bulgaria with reports in the Paris journal La Nouvelle Alternative on

continued repression in Bulgaria. At the same time Bulgarian citizens are becoming more bold in demanding their basic human rights.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The Cuban Troop Withdrawal from Angola. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 1:30) reported on the beginning of the Cuban troop pullout from Angola. A voice cut of US State Department spokesman Redman was given. Audio Section material was used.

2. The US. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 4:30) outlined the US budget for fiscal year 1990 submitted to Congress by President Reagan.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 4) highlighted Secretary of State Shultz's farewell speech.

3. The Chemical Weapons Conference in Paris. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 1:30) excerpted FRG Foreign Minister Genscher's speech at the Paris conference in which he appealed for the destruction of all chemical weapons. Audio Section material was used.

4. International Terrorism. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 7) featured an article by Abraham Rosental in The New York Times in which he criticized the softness of many Western countries toward countries, particularly in the Middle East, that support international terrorism and called for sanctions against such countries.

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

1. Science and Technology. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY TODAY (Muslin, NY 9) reported on a new type of safe atomic reactor.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY TODAY (Morozov, NY 9) featured an RL interview with AT&T staffer Richard Wallerstein on the new glass-fiber transatlantic telephone cable which came into service last December.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Wednesday, 11 January 1989

N. Petroff

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

1. US-Soviet Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Vail, NY 6) reported that the Soviet Union and Cuba have finally agreed to meet with US representatives to discuss the 1962 Cuban missile crisis that brought the world to the brink of war. The conference is scheduled to take place in Moscow later this month and will bring together some of the major participants in the events that led to a showdown between the two superpowers.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Vail, NY 4:30) commented on the marked increase in the number of Soviet tourists traveling to the US since the start of glasnost and the subsequent easing of restrictions on travel to the US by ordinary Soviet tourists. In 1988 alone over 21,000 Soviets visited the US.

2. International Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanov, M 6:30) reported on a recent interview in Le Figaro with Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze. During the interview, which focused on Soviet defense policy, Shevardnadze said that the process of reducing Soviet conventional forces will continue as promised and that, in the spirit of glasnost, it will be accessible to the scrutiny of Western journalists.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 5) noted that a US State Department official welcomed the improved relations between China and the USSR.

3. Perestroika. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fistejn, M 10) summarized an article by Prof. Irzhi Slamy in the Czechoslovak emigre journal Listy which maintained that Gorbachev's perestroika is based on the 1968 reform movement in Czechoslovakia known as the "Prague Spring." Slamy said, however, that perestroika has now

gone beyond the Czechoslovak experiment of putting a human face on socialism in that it has unleashed national forces on a massive scale that will unavoidably alter the present Soviet system.

4. The Government. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Malinkovich, M 7) explored the question of whether or not the Soviet Union will ever develop into a truly just system of rule based on law. The program noted that despite all the hope aroused by glasnost and perestroika, the reins of power have remained firmly in the hands of a select few in the top party leadership. Until such a time when those select few are willing to share some of that power with representatives of the people from all nationalities, there can be no possibility of a just government in the Soviet Union.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Paramonov, NY 4) cited AP, The Washington Post, and The New York Times on the upcoming elections to the Congress of People's Deputies.

- \* 5. Afghanistan. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Bensi, M 4) commented on a Moscow press conference held by First Deputy Foreign Minister Vorontsov, who for the first time presented in clear, concise language, the Soviet Union's views on the kind of government it would find acceptable after its troops leave Afghanistan. He also attempted to place full blame on the Mujahidin for the current stalemate in negotiations. The Soviet Union, the program said, proposes that all major Afghan political groups, along with ex-King Zahir, actively participate in the creation of a new government. This, however, is exactly what the Afghan resistance rejects. The resistance contends that it was precisely during his regime that Soviet influence in Afghanistan began to increase. Moreover many Afghans berate Zahir for failing to support the resistance movement during its long, bloody struggle against Soviet occupation.
- \* EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rubin, NY 5) reported the US reaction to the Soviet announcement that warned of the possibility that there could be a delay in withdrawing the last contingent of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. Nevertheless the US State Department remains optimistic that the remaining troops will be removed on schedule.
- \* THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (MacLis, M 1:30) aired an official statement issued by the State Department on January 10 which said that the US expects the Soviet Union to withdraw all its forces from Afghanistan by the agreed February 15 deadline, despite a Soviet warning that the withdrawal might have to be

delayed. The warning came from First Deputy Foreign Minister Vorontsov, who said in Moscow that circumstances could arise under which the deadline could not be met.

- \* In a telephone interview with RFE/RL correspondent De Smith in Islamabad, THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Kuznetsov, M 4) discussed Soviet Ambassador Vorontsov's warning of the possibility that some Soviet combat units in Afghanistan may stay beyond the agreed upon deadline for their removal. Smith opined that it appears the Soviets are trying to insure that their departure is safe and orderly and that it does not turn into a rout if suddenly attacked by the Mujahidin.

6. Human Rights. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 9) interviewed Kronid Lyubarsky about the situation of political prisoners in the Soviet Union. Despite the fact that Gorbachev recently announced that there are no longer any political prisoners in Soviet jails, Lyubarsky cited numerous examples of various groups of religious and political dissenters still incarcerated in labor camps, prisons, and psychiatric wards.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Podrabinek, Moscow 5) covered a recent press conference held in the Moscow office of the independent weekly Express-Khronika to discuss the abuse of psychiatry for political ends. At the press conference Alexander Podrabinek, author of Punitive Medicine, and Valery Senderev, the journal's editor, cited specific cases of continued psychiatric incarceration for political reasons.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fistejn, M 5) talked about a letter received by an RL correspondent from a student living in Lvov. In the letter Akhmed Abdul Kadir complained that because he is black he has throughout his life in the Soviet Union experienced discrimination and isolation. He would like to leave for Somalia to try to find his father, who abandoned him soon after he was born. However, Kadir has been prevented from realizing his wish by the Soviet bureaucracy. He finds himself unable to travel to the country of his ethnic origin and is at the same time not accepted in the country of his birth. The program concluded that this unfortunate condition of personal unhappiness would not have occurred in the first place if the basic freedom to travel were guaranteed by law.

HUMAN RIGHTS (Fedoseyev, M 29:30) broadcast the second part of an interview with Mikhail Vezel, a member of the Soviet legation at the United Nations. The discussion focused on the differing attitudes of the communist, Western, and Third World countries toward international human rights agreements.

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Bensi, M 5) aired Pope John Paul's comments to a group of diplomats expressing the hope that the Soviet Union will continue to liberalize the human rights of its citizens.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Manannikov, Moscow 5) presented a chronology of recent events in the struggle for human and political rights, citing examples of abuses of these rights by the authorities, and briefly discussed several demonstrations held in different Soviet republics demanding recognition of national minorities and their right to national self-determination.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Mityunov, Moscow 4) critically assayed the current structure of government under the leadership of Gorbachev and noted that despite certain commendable attempts he has failed to institutionalize basic human rights. Unannounced searches, confiscation of forbidden literature, and other acts of oppression are still in evidence in all parts of the country.

7. Soviet Naval Power. Pegged to an article in Dagens Nyheter expressing concern over the rapid growth of Soviet naval power in the North Sea, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 7) provided an in-depth look at the policies behind the development and expansion of the Soviet Navy since the period immediately before the start of World War II.

8. The Economy. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 3:30) commented on the recently revealed plan by the Soviet government to raise wholesale prices on all goods by 1990. This move, the program said, will automatically be followed by an across-the-board retail price hike on all consumer items.

9. Armenia. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Volchek, Moscow 4:30) carried a telephone report from Moscow on the arrest in Yerevan on January 7 of several Armenian activists belonging to the Karabakh Committee. There was no mention of this in the media and little else is known concerning the action.

10. The Media. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Anishchenko, Moscow 4) presented a review of the Soviet press, highlighting evidence of the Soviet government's continued trend toward a more tolerant and enlightened relationship with religion.

11. Churbanov's Trial. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Roitman and Chenkina, M 8) discussed the recent criminal investigation and trial of Leonid Brezhnev's son-in-law Yury Churbanov. The program pointed to the absence of a properly prepared case by the state

prosecutor's office, a situation which resulted in inconsistent arguments and a lack of convincing evidence during a trial that was a cause of embarrassment for the state.

12. Religion. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fotiev, M 5:30) commented on an article in the January 8 issue of Moskovskiye Novosti which argued the right of Christian Churches to perform acts of charity.

13. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Yurenin, M 30) presented an interview with Leningrad critic and samizdat poet Victor Krivulin, who, after reciting several of his latest poems, spoke about the so-called "second culture" of unpublished works in the Soviet Union.

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

None

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. Israel. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (MacLis, M 1:30) noted that Israel is experiencing increased pressure from a number of Western countries which strongly disapprove of its increased use of brutal methods in dealing with the Palestinian uprising.

2. DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Shragin and Morozov, NY 25) described what characterizes a democratic political leader in contrast with a dictator; talked about the last days of Reagan's presidency and how the Reagans are handling their transition to private life; discussed the problems facing the Mayor of Washington; and interviewed the director of a Harlem shelter for the homeless.

3. Terrorism. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (MacLis, M 1:30) noted the publication by the US government of an encyclopedia of all the known terrorist organizations throughout the world.

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

None

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis  
for Thursday, 12 January 1989  
M. Frost

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

1. Soviet-US Relations. Drawing on an article in The Baltimore Sun of January 11, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 3) reviewed official US opinion on the immediate future of Soviet-US relations. Although the next round of arms reduction talks is scheduled for February 15 in Geneva, US officials indicated that no substantial talks will take place until the Bush administration has examined a whole range of issues pertaining to bilateral and international relations.

Drawing on an article from The New York Times of January 12, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rubin, NY 5) reported on the US decision to increase the quota of immigrants from the USSR. The program mentioned public dismay over the fact that the increase was achieved by cutting the quota of immigrants from Southeast Asia.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Genis, NY 15) described the products on display at the recent Soviet trade fair in New York and discussed the prospects for increased trade between the USSR and the US.

2. Dissidents and Human Rights. In connection with an APN announcement of January 9 that there are now no more political prisoners in the USSR, DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 19) presented an interview with Kronid Lyubarsky, a former political prisoner and editor of Vesti iz SSSR and Strana i Mir who categorically denied the claim. Lyubarsky said that while it may be true that there are no more political prisoners being held for "anti-Soviet propaganda," other categories of political and religious prisoners are currently being detained in

psychiatric clinics. Lyubarsky also pointed to continuing arrests of human rights activists in Leningrad, Sverdlovsk, Georgia, and Armenia.

DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 10) broadcast the abbreviated text of an open letter to Gorbachev from six prominent Soviet cultural figures which was published in the January 1 edition of Moskovskiy Novosti. The letter urged the party leader to harness the energies of the intelligentsia and not to allow the restructuring process to get bogged down in bureaucratic inertia.

3. Restructuring. ROUNDTABLE (Roitman, Matusevich, and Henkina, M 20) continued examining the significance of Gorbachev's January 6 Kremlin talk with representatives of the arts and sciences. The program commented that Gorbachev's pep talk, which was intended to intensify the support for his restructuring campaign among the creative intelligentsia, underscores the fact that an ideological battle is being waged between reformers and conservatives in the top echelons of Soviet society. These poles are represented in the press by the proreformist Ogonek and the quasi-Russian nationalist Nash Sovremennik. In this context the program warned against the emergence of the darker aspects of Russian nationalism as manifested in the recent disruption by members of the Pamyat society of Vitaly Korotich's nomination as a candidate for election to the Congress of People's Deputies.

4. The Nationalities. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 2:30) presented a telephone report by Moscow Ekspress-Khronika journalist Sergey Lezov, who commented that the Kremlin's decision to place Nagorno-Karabakh under direct rule from Moscow has come almost a year too late. Lezov also covered the latest spate of arrests in Armenia of activists in favor of self-determination for Armenia.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 3) presented a telephone report from Riga on an interview that Latvian party First Secretary Yanis Vagris gave to Ekspress-Khronika in which he called for laws to back up the constitutional guarantees on freedom of the press, etc.

5. Democracy. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Kuznetsov, M 4) broadcast a telephone interview from Moscow with Valery Skurlatov, an activist in the Russian Popular Front for Restructuring. Skurlatov enumerated the economic and political goals of the movement, which, he claimed, has mass support throughout the RFSSR, and announced the intention of the movement to field candidates in the upcoming elections.

6. The Emigration. Referring to articles on emigres appearing recently in Pravda and Literaturnaya Gazeta, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanov, P 12) challenged the opinions expressed on the historical reasons for emigration from the Soviet Union. The program likewise noted the shift in the opinions of Pravda's Paris correspondent on the nature of Western emigre organizations depending on the degree of glasnost being practiced in the Soviet Union.

7. Boris Yeltsin. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Kuznetsov, M 14) presented a telephone interview with former Moscow party First Secretary Boris Yeltsin, who expressed disappointment with the decreasing level of glasnost in the USSR and talked about the content and various published reports of his 12 November 1988 speech to the Komsomol Academy.

8. The Unofficial Press. Pegged to further arrests in Armenia, THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 3) broadcast Glasnost journalist Dmitry Volchek's appeal to the Vienna Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe concerning the continued repression of democratic rights in Armenia.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 5) presented a telephone review in Glasnost of human rights abuses in Yerevan, Leningrad, and Moscow and described the major human rights events of 1988.

9. The Media. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 4:30) presented a telephone review from Moscow independent journalist Yuri Mityunov of items appearing in the Soviet press on the economy, compensation for victims of Stalin's purges, and environmental issues affecting the Soviet postal service.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 2) presented a reader's letter from Novosibirsk published in Ogonek on the nonavailability of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in Novosibirsk and highlighted an account of Brezhnev's eccentric driving and vicarious drinking habits published in the 31 December 1988 edition of Moskovskaya Pravda.

10. The Economy. ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Rubin, NY 12) presented an interview with Valery Drannikov, the head of a Moscow cooperative organization which produces T-shirts and sporting paraphernalia for Soviet hockey and soccer fans. Drannikov described the problems experienced by his cooperative in acquiring plant and raw materials and also talked about the "racket" which is seriously affecting food cooperatives in Moscow.

11. Literature. Pegged to the recent publication in the USSR of three volumes of Jack London's letters, OVER THE BARRIERS (Paramonov, NY 8) assessed the changing status of London in the USSR, where he has, to some extent, been superseded in popularity by Hemingway.

FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 29:30), a partial RERUN from 15 January 1979, broadcast the 30th installment of Solzhenitsyn's autobiographical work The Calf and the Oak.

12. Culture. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Henkina, M 5) reviewed the film Malenkaya Vera, based on a script by Mariya Khmelik. The program rebutted the accusations of pornography leveled at the film by some sections of Soviet society and commented that the film's success resides in its ability to focus on tragic but important aspects of Soviet daily life.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Vail, NY 5) reviewed a book of portraits and anecdotes of Russian cultural figures with text by Sergey Dovlatov and drawings by Marianna Volkovaya. The book was recently published by the New York Cultural Center for Immigrants from the USSR.

13. The Moscow Circus at the Vatican. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 1) broadcast a voice cut of Pope John Paul II's greeting in Russian to a group of performers from the Moscow Circus attending the pontiff's weekly general audience.

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

1. Hungary. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fistejn, M 6:30) reported on the just-concluded session of the Hungarian parliament, which passed two important laws on the formation of social organizations and on the right to free assembly. The program commented on the recent transformations in parliament and on the work of the delegates in preparing the way toward a genuine multiparty political system.

\* 2. Yugoslavia. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 6) reported on the resignation of the party and state leadership in the Yugoslav republic of Montenegro after street demonstrations in Titograd.

#### C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The CSCE Review Conference in Vienna. Using a CND report from Vienna of January 11, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 3:30) reported on some of the difficulties facing the 35-state conference in reaching a consensus document to conclude two

years of talks on European security and cooperation. The program referred to Romanian objections to human rights guarantees contained in the final document and to Greece's objections to Turkish troop deployments.

2. The US. Drawing on a CND report from Washington of January 11, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 3) covered the ceremony at which President Reagan conferred the Congressional Gold Medal on Natan and Avital Sharansky for their outstanding work in the field of human rights.

ECONOMICS IN THE MODERN WORLD (Gendler, NY 15) described the history of the current US trade deficit and explained the significance of the deficit for the average US citizen and the world economy.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 8) covered President Reagan's January 11 farewell speech to the American people.

3. The Chemical Weapons Conference in Paris. Drawing on AFP reports and articles from Le Monde and Le Figaro from January 12, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 5) presented translated excerpts of the concluding text of the chemical weapons conference in Paris.

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

1. Religion. JUDAISM (Lvov, Vail, and Haskelvich, NY 28) presented items on Rabbi Israil Salanter, a musical piece by the group Klezmerim, and a reading from the Torah on the life of the Jews in Egypt.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Friday, 13 January 1989

D. Felton

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

1. Soviet-US Relations. In EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Limberger, M 0:30) independent Moscow journalist Dmitry Volchek, filing from the Soviet capital, briefly cited from a Pravda reader's letter expressing concern that the US was building one radar station after another while the USSR was dismantling its radar station at Krasnoyarsk.

2. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 5:30) noted contradictions between statements by Soviet officials indicating a delay in the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan due to the military-political situation there and reports from Western diplomats and journalists in Kabul to the effect that the withdrawal process has in fact been renewed. However, there has been no official Soviet statement along these lines. The program also referred to Pakistan's unchanged position on the Afghan question.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 1) highlighted a statement by a spokesman of the International Committee of the Red Cross that the organization intended to step up its activities in Afghanistan during the final stages of the Soviet troop withdrawal. Audio Section material was used.

3. USSR-Israel. JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 3) placed the meeting in Paris between Israeli and Soviet Foreign Ministers Arens and Shevardnadze in the context of recent benevolent gestures by Moscow toward Israel. The USSR's insistence on Israel's agreement to an international conference on the Palestinian problem was noted. Reference was made to a recent international conference held in Jerusalem on the subject

of Soviet policy in the Middle East and the Third World at which Jewish university professor Galan expressed the view that the USSR is more interested in participation with the US in the solution of regional problems than in the actual outcome of Middle East talks, while American professor Friedman felt that the USSR is viewing on a Palestinian state as a potential ally.

JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Roitman, M 5) gave the text of an interview given to the Russian-language Tel Aviv newspaper Nasha Strana by a member of an Israeli rescue team in Armenia following the earthquake in which he described the extremely cordial reception the team received.

JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Roitman, M 0:30) pointed to the political significance of the fact that, for the first time since the severance of Soviet-Israeli diplomatic relations, a basketball match between Soviet and Israeli clubs took place, not on neutral territory, but in Moscow.

- \* 4. Restructuring. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Belotserkovsky, M 6) took issue with claims of the positive economic effects of restructuring, the extension of democracy, and the renewal of the party made in an address by the CPSU CC to the party and people. The program cited from a letter to Gorbachev by six prominent public figures complaining that the renewal of the party was being hampered by conservative bureaucrats, an article in Moskovskiy Novosti by cooperative chairman Meleshkin on an offensive by the state against cooperatives, and a reference by writer Anatoly Strelyany at last October's Barcelona conference on restructuring to a new "stagnation" period in the USSR.
- \* EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Henkina, M 7) discussed the CPSU CC's address to the party and people, finding it to contain the traditional propaganda ritual presenting an illusion of reality. The program compared it to a speech delivered by Khrushchev giving recommendations to kolkhozniki. A voice cut of the speech was given.

5. Unofficial Publications. DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 30) featured reviews of the latest issues of the unofficial publications Express-Khronika, Samara (Kuybyshev), Krug, and Glasnost, telephoned in from Moscow by Andrey Shilkov, Asya Lashchiver, Dmitry Volchek and Sergey Grigoryants.

IN THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 4:30) Alexey Manannikov, a collaborator of the independent Moscow journal Glasnost, reported for RL on the growing number of Soviet citizens resorting to hunger strikes to push through their demands, the latest news on arrested members of the Karabakh

Committee, an upcoming talk on Leningrad Radio on "The Democratic Union: Myths and Reality," and an interrogation of Roman Pygin by the Leningrad KGB.

- \* 6. The Nationalities. ROUND-TABLE TALK (Malinkovich, Oganessian, and Michaeli, M 20) was devoted to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decision to give the Mountainous-Karabakh region a special administrative status. The Director of RL's Azerbaijani Service, Michaeli, said the decision violates the constitutional rights of Azerbaijan. The Director of RL's Armenian Service, Oganessian, agreed, but asked how else could a compromise be reached which also took into consideration the constitutional right to self-determination of the population of Mountainous Karabakh. Michaeli expressed the view that the decision will not solve the Mountainous-Karabakh problem, and asked what would happen if the Azerbaijanis wanted to resettle to the region and set up their own communities. Oganessian suggested that the Azerbaijanis could simply be refused residence permits. The discussants also spoke of previous compromise proposals, such as making Mountainous Karabakh into an autonomous republic, and disagreed over the rights which have been accorded the Armenians living there. Oganessian found the recent arrests of Armenian activists incomprehensible and suggested they may have been aimed at precluding possible unrest over the Supreme Soviet decision, while Michaeli spoke of arrests of Azerbaijanis. In conclusion, Michaeli expressed the opinion that the decision leaves the situation unclear, while Oganessian felt that Mountainous Karabakh could eventually be transferred to Armenia via Moscow.
- \* THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Oganessian, M 2:30 and 4) featured a talk with Armenian activist Rafael Papoyan, filing from Yerevan, on the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's decision establishing special status for Mountainous Karabakh within the Azerbaijani SSR. Papoyan found the decision a first positive step which he hoped would lead to a cardinal solution; namely, satisfaction of the demand by the people of Mountainous Karabakh for unification with Armenia. Papoyan also mentioned rumors that some of the arrested members of the Karabakh Committee had been transferred to Moscow and said that they had apparently been charged under Article 206 of the Armenian Criminal Code, which concerns the organization of mass disturbances. A discussion was then held on the Supreme Soviet decision with the head of RL's Armenian Service, Oganessian, who also found it a positive move, since it takes Mountainous Karabakh out of the control of the Azerbaijani SSR. He drew a parallel with existing regions and towns, such as the Baikonur space center, which are under the control of Moscow, not of the surrounding republic.



EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 4) remarked that material in the Soviet press gives the impression that the proposals of the Baltic republics concerning regional self-financing are aimed at economic autarky, and Gorbachev has warned the Estonians that if they want to reduce exports into other republics, then exports of goods into Estonia could also be cut. The program pointed out that, in fact, the Baltic republics merely envisage a transfer of economic ties with other republics from an administrative to an economic basis. This, said the program, is along the lines of what restructuring aims at in the economic sphere. The program suggested that the plans of the Baltic republics are being presented as a threat to living standards because republican self-financing means a serious cutback of the center's economic dictates.

In EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Limberger, M 0:30) Moscow independent journalist Dmitry Volchek, filing from the Soviet capital, briefly cited from a Pravda article on the 70th anniversary of socialist Latvia which merely talks of the Latvian population's alleged enthusiasm over the Soviet takeover in 1940 and ignores the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, the deportations, etc.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Strunskis, M 4), pegged to a statement in Pravda by Latvian party leader Vagris on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the establishment of the first Soviet regime in Latvia, featured a talk with a staffer of RFE's Latvian Service, Strunskis, who said that the current slogan in Latvia calls for all power to real soviets, although the people still long for the prosperity and democracy of the days of independence.

In THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 1:30) the Riga correspondent of the unofficial journal Express-Khronika, Mikhail Bombin, reported that Stalinist elements in the Belorussian party and state apparatus, alarmed by the developments in the Baltic states and a fear of revelation of their own involvement in the Stalinist terror, have begun to attack prorestructuring forces.

7. Russia. THE RUSSIAN IDEA (Tolz and Fotiyev, M 14 and Mirsky and Shibayev, P 14), a RERUN from 15 October 1988, presented a talk in RL's Munich and Paris studios with Russian priests Kirill Fotiyev and Vladimir Shibayev on Russia's own nationality problems. The discussants emphasized the major role which a genuinely free Russian Orthodox Church could play in overcoming the present problems in relations between the Russian people and other peoples of the USSR.

8. Jewish Affairs. JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 9) looked at some of the problems resulting from increasing Soviet-Jewish emigration to the US and restructuring in the USSR. These include budgetary restrictions on US government funds for absorption of these emigres, and a controversy among world Jewry over whether, in view of restructuring, it would be desirable to concentrate efforts on assisting Soviet Jews to set up their own communities in the USSR. An increasing number of Soviet Jews are being denied refugee status by the US authorities. However, Israeli and Soviet Jewish sources point to continuing official and popular anti-Semitism in the USSR. Reference was made to the controversy in Jewish circles over the recent visit to Israel by a group of official Jewish religious representatives from the USSR led by Moscow Rabbi Shayevich.

In EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Limberger, M 3) independent Moscow journalist Dmitry Volchek, filing from the Soviet capital, cited material in the unofficial information bulletin of a Committee of the Soviet Public Against the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations with Israel which condemns recent contacts between Soviet officials, including Shevardnadze, and Israeli and Jewish representatives.

JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Roitman, M 3) gave the text of a letter by the Press Group of the Latvian Society for Jewish Culture, published in the Riga newspaper Sovetskaya Molodezh of last December 30, calling for an end to the use of the word "zhid" (Jew) in both the Latvian and Russian-language press.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 3:30) included a report from Moscow by Dmitry Volchek, a collaborator of the independent journal Glasnost, on the murder of a Jewish worker, Alexander Cherny, by children's writer Alexey Leonov, a member of the Leningrad section of the USSR Writers' Union. The case was reported in the 20th issue of the samizdat Information Bulletin on Problems of Jewish Repatriation and Culture. Volchek pointed to the anti-Semitic background of the murder and the lax attitude shown by the court and the Writers' Union toward the murderer and an instigator.

JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Roitman, M 4) drew attention to an article in the Vilnius Komsomolskaya Pravda of last December 24 on the reinstitution of the Lithuanian-Jewish Maccabi sports association.

9. Emigration. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 2:30) gave a voice cut of US State Department spokesman Charles Redman's statement in which he spoke of extra places for

immigrants to the US from the USSR and Eastern Europe and gave a breakdown of immigrants from the USSR. Audio Section material was used.

10. Brezhnev. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Matusevich, M 3:30) cited an article by the Moscow correspondent of the Danish newspaper Information, Poul Hansen, on a club of friends of the late Leonid Brezhnev founded near Moscow. The program suggested that the young members are motivated, not so much by enthusiasm for Brezhnev as by revulsion over the traditional Soviet practice of reviling past leaders and eulogizing present ones.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 2:30), a RERUN from January 12, presented an account of Brezhnev's eccentric driving and drinking habits published in the December 31 edition of Moskovskaya Pravda.

11. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Geller, P 4), continuing a series on Stalin in Soviet literature, took, as its point of departure, a recently published poem by Pavel Antokolsky, evidently written during the "thaw" period, in which he lamented the silence of Soviet writers under Stalin. The program observed that in fact, Soviet writers were not silent but were busy eulogizing Stalin. The program gave examples: namely, speeches by Maxim Gorki at the first Soviet Writers' Congress, and by the young writer Alexander Avdeyenko at the Seventh Congress of Soviets. The program pointed to the discrepancy between Stalin's actual shocked reaction following the German invasion of the USSR and a fictitious portrayal of a resolute Stalin at the outset of a war given by writer Petr Pavlenko.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Barsky, M 5) reported on an exhibition in Bochum, West Germany, of the works of Moscow unofficial avantgarde artist Vladimir Yankilevsky.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Sapguir, P 3:30) reported on the appearance of Russian writer Tatyana Tolstaya at a reception in Paris.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Matusevich, M 15) featured a talk with Soviet emigre writer Yulia Wyshnevskaya about the staging in Sweden of her novel A Woman's Decameron.

On the occasion of Russian New Year according to the old calendar, SPECIAL FEATURE (Panich, Pekarev, and Veltuzen, M 29:30) presented recordings of the songs of popular Russian singers Willy Tokarev and Maya Rozova, who both now live in the US. Excerpts were given of an interview given by Tokarev to the Soviet journal Argumenty i Fakty.

12. Religion. THE MILLENNIUM OF THE CHRISTIANIZATION OF RUSSIA (Rahr, M 29:30), a RERUN from January 6, summed up the celebration of the millennium of the Christianization of Russia, citing extensively from an article by Kirill Golovin in the journal Pravoslavnyaya Rus (Orthodox Rus), published in Jordanville, USA. The program said that if the state and the Church are to have a common future, the state must be deideologized and restrictions removed from the Church's activities.

13. Voynovich on the Sufferings of the Soviet People. In THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Voynovich, M 3) Soviet emigre writer Vladimir Voynovich said that it is a good thing that the sufferings to which the Soviet people have been subjected failed to produce the envisaged paradise on earth, since in such a case, other peoples might have been tempted to repeat the experiment. It seems, said Voynovich, that people only learn through bitter experience.

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

None

#### C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The Vienna CSCE Conference. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 4:30) reported on the agreement reached on the draft of a final document. Previous obstacles were mentioned, as well as the still unresolved conflict between Greece and Turkey over the Turkish port of Mersin. A CND report from Vienna of January 12 was used.

2. Chemical Weapons. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Muslin, NY 4:30) reported on the reaffirmation by countries represented at the Paris conference of their position against chemical weapons, citing statements by US chief delegate Burns and Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz. Reference was also made to the FRG government's statement on the possible illegal export to Libya by West German firms of equipment which could be used for making chemical weapons, as well as reports by Stern and West German TV correspondents on this issue.

PRESS REVIEW (EVENTS AND PEOPLE) (Predtechevsky, M 9:30) was devoted to world press comment on the declaration issued by the Paris conference on chemical weapons. The program cited The Times (London), The Financial Times, The Washington Post, The New York Times, the Swiss Tages-Anzeiger, Liberation (France), and the Stuttgarter Zeitung.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 2) gave a voice cut of FRG Chancellor Kohl's statement in a TV interview that documents have been uncovered which could provide evidence of West German involvement in Libya's construction of a chemical plant. Audio Section material was used.

3. US-Angola. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 3:30) reported on the position of the incoming Bush administration on Angola as reflected in Bush's letter to UNITA leader Savimbi.

4. Britain-Japan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Pomerantsev, L 4:30) noted mixed feelings in Britain over the death of Japanese Emperor Hirohito in view of Japanese actions during World War II. Reference was made to the controversy over Prince Philip's attending Hirohito's funeral.

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

1. Culture. JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Roitman, M 3) excerpted an article in the American weekly Jewish Press on the world's first Chinese-Jewish dictionary compiled by Immanuel Prat.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis  
for Saturday, 14 January 1989  
M. Rudin

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

1. Soviet-Israeli Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Miloslavsky, Jerusalem 9) discussed the growing normalization of relations between the USSR and Israel against the background of developments in the Middle East. According to Soviet official Mikhail Kapitsa, who represented the USSR at a recent international seminar in Cairo on the Middle East, the USSR will establish diplomatic relations with Israel as soon as the latter begins to move in the direction of an international conference to settle the Middle East problem. The program also cited remarks by Ari Levin, the head of the Israeli consular group in Moscow.

2. Nagorno-Karabakh. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rubin, NY 5) noted the decision of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet to impose a special form of administration on the troubled region of Nagorno-Karabakh. TASS, which reported the announcement, did not give any details. The program used articles in The Chicago Tribune, The Los Angeles Times, and The New York Times, all of January 13.

3. The Nationalities. BALTIC DIARY (Rahr, M 20), a RERUN from January 11, discussed the pros and cons of a suggested proposal, espoused by several national groups, for the creation of territorial armies in the Baltic states; reported the proposals made at the conclusion of the recent conference in Riga of the unofficial People's Forum; and highlighted a letter sent to Literaturnaya Gazeta which objected to an uncomplimentary cartoon of Lenin in a recent edition of the Latvian journal Rodnik.

4. Agriculture. Pegged to the January 13 CPSU Central Committee conference on upgrading the agroindustrial complex, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 4:30) discussed the continuous efforts of the government to resolve or at least to alleviate the country's agricultural problems. The program observed that the present campaign to introduce lease contracts within the framework of the collective system has not been too successful and underscores the incompatibility of independent labor with kolkhoz-organized agriculture.

5. The "Moscow Tribune." HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE USSR (Malinkovich, M 8:30) talked by telephone with historian and art critic Leonid Batkin, who is one of the organizers of the "Moscow Tribune" club, which was formed at the end of last year and includes a number of prominent members, such as Academicians Sakharov and Sagdeyev, sociologist Zaslavskaya, and several writers and publicists. Batkin said that the new club will establish its goals in the near future and that one of the most important goals will be to play a role in promoting a dialogue between the government and unofficial groups. He also said that he is not quite sure that the election of a Congress of People's Deputies will make a radical change in the composition of the new USSR Supreme Soviet.

6. HUMAN RIGHTS (Malinkovich, M 7:30) discussed the prospects for establishing a lawful state in the Soviet Union, citing articles in Izvestia of January 5 and in Nauka i Zhizn, No. 12/1988. The program said that as long as power is concentrated in the hands of a small group of party bureaucrats, the establishment of a lawful state will be virtually impossible to achieve.

HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE USSR (Kaminskaya, W 8:30) commented on the new law defining the foundations of criminal legislation in the USSR, examining the treatment of the death penalty and the punishment of 14 to 16-year-olds in the new legislation that will be put into force in the near future. The program said that the new law is to be praised not only for its comprehensiveness but for its greater humanity, both in the definition of the terms of punishment and in the definition of the understanding of the crime itself.

7. The Armed Forces. SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, M 6) noted that the nomination of military people to serve as people's deputies of the USSR was not carried out in the spirit of restructuring and drew attention to several proposals being discussed in the Soviet Union as to how the military can play a genuine role in

restructuring and in the country's political life. In this context the program discussed how the rights of the military are upheld in democratic countries, where the armed forces are not allowed to participate in political life.

SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, M 6:30) drew attention to Western organizations, periodicals, and publications which offer facts and figures on various aspects of the Soviet armed forces -- information that is not made available to Soviet citizens.

SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, M 8) highlighted accounts in Krasnaya Zvezda in which officers of the Soviet army, air force, and navy discuss problems in their particular branch of service.

SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, M 2) noted that an American company is manufacturing a helicopter copied from the popular Soviet MI-24. The program used an article in Aviation Week and Space Technology.

8. Space. SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, M 2) cited an article in Aviation Week and Space Technology on the military aspects of the Soviet space program.

9. Culture. WRITERS AT THE MICROPHONE (Voynovich, M 18:30) featured another talk by emigre writer Voynovich in which he warmly welcomed the publication in Yunost, No. 12/1988, of the first part of his novel The Life and Extraordinary Adventures of the Soldier Ivan Chonkin and recalled how he tried to get Novy Mir to publish the novel in 1967.

On WRITERS AT THE MICROPHONE (Dovlatov, NY 7) emigre journalist and writer Sergey Dovlatov described how it feels to own land in the US, reminiscing at the same time about life in the USSR.

10. Music. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 3:30) reviewed the world premiere of a work by Soviet composer Dmitry Shostakovich which was conducted by Mstislav Rostropovich in Washington. Rostropovich explained that the cantata, called Rayok, was written by Shostakovich to protest against the absence of cultural freedom in the USSR. The program used an article in The Washington Post of January 11 and a CND report from Washington of January 13.

11. Sports. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rubin, NY 4:30) reported on the results of the ice hockey matches played between Soviet and Canadian teams and reviewed in general the performance of the Soviet national and club teams.



12. Religion. In another program in a series about new Russian martyrs, NOT BY BREAD ALONE (Axenov-Meyerson, NY 8) discussed the lives and deaths of the following churchmen: Bishop Platon of Tallinn, shot in January 1920; Metropolitan Anatoly of Odessa and Kherson, shot in January 1938; and Bishop Parfeny.

NOT BY BREAD ALONE (Rahr, M 9:30) discussed the life and feats of the Russian Saint Serafim Sarovsky, who died in 1833.

NOT BY BREAD ALONE (Benigsen, NY 8) explained the meaning of the Epiphany, which will be celebrated by Orthodox churches on January 19.

SUNDAY SERVICE (Rahr, M 49:30) presented a Russian Orthodox service.

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

1. Poland. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 10:30) featured a telephone interview with Wojciech Maziarski, who is the chief editor of Solidarity's Information Service in Warsaw. Maziarski, speaking in Russian, described the goals of the SIS, describing how it collects information about events happening throughout Poland and then conveys the reports to the Western press and radio stations. He also said that it was important that ties were established between the SIS and similar organizations in Eastern Europe and the USSR.

#### C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The US. SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, M 3) reported briefly on America's military budget for fiscal 1990-1991.

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

1. Religion. NOT BY BREAD ALONE (Rahr, M 3:30) featured a passage from the Gospel of St. Mark which is being read in Orthodox churches this Sunday.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis  
for Sunday, 15 January 1989  
M. Frost

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

1. Afghanistan. THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Predtechevsky, M 8) broadcast excerpts from articles describing the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan from the Neue Zuercher Zeitung and the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung.

2. Soviet-Israeli Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Miloslavsky, Jerusalem 9), a RERUN from January 14, discussed the growing normalization of relations between the USSR and Israel against the background of developments in the Middle East. The program noted the remarks of Soviet official Mikhail Kapitsa, who represented the USSR at an international seminar devoted to the Middle East which took place in Cairo, that the USSR will establish diplomatic relations with Israel as soon as the latter begins to move in the direction of an international conference. The program also cited Ari Levin, the head of the Israeli consular group in Moscow.

3. Dissidents and Human Rights. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 7) challenged the January 12 announcement by the Chairman of Soviet Psychiatrists Georgy Morozov that there are no longer any political prisoners being detained in Soviet psychiatric clinics. In an interview with the editor of the independent Moscow newspaper Ekspress-Khronika Alexander Podrabinek, the program cited documentary evidence that dissidents arrested on political grounds are still being held in psychiatric clinics. The program also cited evidence rebutting Morozov's claim, appearing in the November edition of Uchitelskaya Gazeta, and conducted a telephone interview with Sergey Grigoryants on the implausibility of Morozov's assertion.

4. Restructuring. THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Predtechensky, M 12) presented articles on the Soviet economy from the Sueddeutsche Zeitung, The Washington Post, The New York Times, Newsweek, The Wall Street Journal, and The Sunday Times.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fistejn, M 10), a RERUN from January 11, summarized an article by Prof. Irzhi Slamy from the Czechoslovakian emigre journal Listy on the relationship between Gorbachev's reform movement and the Prague Spring.

SIBERIAN DESTINIES (Kushev, M 8) presented a telephone report from independent journalist Aleksey Manannikov from Novosibirsk on the controversy surrounding the Siberian party's refusal to convert buildings located in the center of Novosibirsk into a children's hospital.

5. The Media. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanov, P 19) presented excerpted articles from the January 13 edition of Russkaya Mysl which included items on events in the USSR, Afghanistan, the international conference on chemical weapons in Paris, and on the US-Libyan conflict.

6. The Environment. Referring to a 25 November 1988 article critical of the environmental management of Lake Baikal, SIBERIAN DESTINIES (Shapiro, M 10) commented that the environmental problems of Lake Baikal can be seen as a microcosm of the health of the Soviet Union in general. Neither Lake Baikal nor the USSR will rediscover their environmental and economic health until both are controlled by the people and not by an indifferent and incompetent party apparatus.

7. History. SOVIETOLOGISTS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Shragin, M 20) presented the second part of a series comparing the views expressed on the nature of Gorbachev's reforms by Natan Eydelman in an interview published in Ogonek, with the ideas articulated on the same subject by the US Sovietologist Frederik Star. The program focused on the issue of whether the Soviet Union is developing into a "civil society" or whether more power is being concentrated in the hands of the leader in order to bring about a revolution from above.

SIBERIAN DESTINIES (Krasin, W 6) commented on an article appearing in Argumenty i Fakty, No. 41, by the head of the political economy department at the University of Novosibirsk, Prof. Oldak, who likened the Soviet Union to an orchestra led by a succession of powerful conductors, who, sometimes, were guilty of enormous errors of judgement against the members of the orchestra. The program described the professor's assertion that

these political oscillations are typical of a new social system as indefensible in the light of Stalin's crimes committed against the people.

Pegged to the 50th anniversary of the publication in Paris of Ivan Solonevich's book about concentration camps in the USSR, COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Krasin, W 9) presented excerpts from this harrowing tale of one family's experiences in Stalin's forced labor camps.

8. Siberia. SIBERIAN DESTINIES (Raygorodetsky, NY 7) presented a history of deer farming in Siberia and described the current crisis in this traditional northern activity which has been brought about by excessive centralization and incompetent management. The program suggested that deer farming should be managed by family units and not according to the current system of state farms.

9. Space. COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Levin, W 7) commented on the appeals against the use of nuclear energy in space by the former Soviet director of space research Roald Sagdeyev. The program applauded Sagdeyev for his outspoken criticism of nuclear power in space but questioned his motives for appearing before a US Senate committee hearing to state his case. The program author suspected that this is part of an orchestrated campaign, permissible in the era of glasnost, to focus attention of the perils of SDI under the guise of criticizing the USSR's space program.

10. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Vail, NY 12) presented an interview with the head of the New York Russian-language publishers Ermitazh which have just republished the violinist Yury Yelagin's memoirs of life in Soviet theaters and orchestras in the 1930s.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 3:30), a RERUN from January 14, reviewed the world premiere of a work by Soviet composer Dmitry Shostakovich which was conducted by Mstislav Rostropovich in Washington. Rostropovich explained that the cantata called "Rayok," was written by Shostakovich to protest against the absence of cultural freedom in the USSR. The program used an article in The Washington Post of January 11 and a CND report from Washington of January 13.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Vail and Genis, NY 15) reviewed Vasily Pichula's film "Malenkaya Vera" and discussed the changing role of youth in the restructuring era as reflected in the recent Soviet cinema.

11. Literature. FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 27:30) , a partial RERUN from 16 January 1979, presented the 31st installment of Alexander Solzhenitsyn's autobiographical novel The Calf and the Oak.

12. Sport. WORLD OF SPORTS (Rubin, NY 20) reported on the progress of the six-week tour by two Soviet hockey teams to North America and on the case of a Soviet hockey player arrested for shop-lifting while on tour in Canada. The program also profiled the career of the former Bulgarian weightlifter Naim Suleyman Ogly who was recently voted the weightlifter of the year by the magazine The World of Athletics.

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

1. The Communist World. COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Simis, W 7) presented a roundup of views on the economic, social, and political crises affecting the countries of the communist world from The Washington Post, Time, The New Leader, and Problems of Communism.

2. Hungary. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fistejn, M 6:30) reported on the just concluded session of the Hungarian parliament which passed two important laws on the formation of social organizations and on the right to free assembly. The program commented on the recent transformations in the Hungarian parliament and commended the work of the delegates for preparing the way toward a genuine multiparty political system. The program was RERUN from January 12.

3. Poland. EAST EUROPEAN VARIANTS (Levin, M 8) reported on the proceedings of a Solidarity meeting in Gdynia where the participants adopted a resolution calling for a plenary meeting of the Solidarity Committee before 30 January 1989 to make changes both in the policies and the leadership of the independent trade union.

#### C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

None

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

None

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Monday, 16 January 1989

D. Felton

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

1. Soviet-US Relations. THE USA TODAY (Vail, NY 0:30), in a review of events in the US in the past week, briefly mentioned the opening in New York of an exhibition of Russian works of art of the Pushkin era loaned by Soviet museums and the conclusion of the North American tour by two Soviet ice-hockey teams, the TsSKA and the Riga "Dynamo."

2. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 6) commented that Shevardnadze's interview with the Afghan press agency Bakhtar prior to his departure from Kabul shows that the USSR is adhering to its unfounded and unrealistic great-power policy of trying at all costs to keep the bankrupt Kabul regime in power.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 7) cited statements made on Soviet TV by the commander of Soviet troops in Afghanistan, Lieutenant-General Gromov, in which he emphasized that the Soviet troops would be withdrawn on time, and spoke of the problems connected with the withdrawal process, in particular those of a military-technical and bureaucratic nature, as well as the problem of reintegrating demobilized soldiers in society. The program detected a pent-up irritation in Gromov and suggested that if he had had the right, he would also have referred to the political miscalculation of halting the withdrawal in an attempt to apply pressure to the Mujahidin. As regards the military situation, the program noted that the Mujahidin are not interfering with the Soviet troop withdrawal, and that they are adopting a tactic of attrition against Kabul.

MAN AND SOCIETY (Alexeyeva, W 12:30) commented on the appearance of Afghan war veterans clubs in the USSR. The program noted the alienation of Afghan veterans from Soviet society and the watchful attitude toward the clubs on the part of the authorities. The Komsomol has been trying to help in the social integration of the veterans and the military are interested in making use of their experience. The program spoke of cases in which the authorities have used Afghan veterans against democratically oriented activists of unofficial organizations. Reference was made to public demonstrations by Afghan veterans and to their support for national-democratic movements such as in Armenia, and for the prorestructuring Sajudis movement in Lithuania.

3. Dissidents and Human Rights. THE USA TODAY (Vail, NY 0:30), in a review of events in America in the past week, briefly mentioned the announcement of an increase in the US government quota for Soviet citizens permanently resettling in the US and the award of a Congressional Gold Medal to former Soviet human rights activist Nathan Sharansky and his wife Avital.

4. Unofficial Publications. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 4:30) featured a telephoned report from Moscow by Alexey Manannikov, a collaborator of the independent journal Glasnost, on events not covered by the official press, such as obstruction by local authorities in Moscow of the submission of candidates for the Congress of People's Deputies; measures against members of the Karabakh Committee; discrimination against Crimean Tatars by census officials; an appeal to Gorbachev by the Georgian National Democratic Party for the release of arrested members of the Karabakh Committee; growing support for the Memorial society; and the confinement in a Sverdlovsk psychiatric clinic of Sergey Kuznetsov, falsely charged with slander and resisting authority.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 5) featured a report telephoned from Moscow by Alexander Podrabinik, a collaborator of the independent publication Express-Khronika, on recent cases of citizens and groups defending their national, religious, democratic, and other rights in the face of repressive actions by the authorities.

5. Emigres. THE USA TODAY (Vail, NY 0:30), in a review of events in the US in the past week, briefly mentioned the premiere in Washington of a Shostakovich cantata directed by Soviet emigre musician Mstislav Rostropovich.

6. The System. MAN AND SOCIETY (Paramonov, NY 3:30) drew attention to an article by Prof. Gavriil Popov in Nauka i Zhizn on the accurate prediction made by Russian political thinker Boris Chicherin in his book Property and the State, published in 1882-83, that socialism would lead to the emergence of a huge bureaucracy.

7. Restructuring. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 7:30) gave some of the main points of an interview given by Politburo member Alexander Yakovlev to Der Spiegel in which he spoke particularly on restructuring, including the negative consequences of its failure.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Vl. Tolz, M 9:30) reported on an issue of the West German TV program Weltspiegel on restructuring in the USSR, in particular, its varying repercussions in East European countries and Cuba, and the disruption of a meeting held in Moscow to put forward the candidature of Ogonek chief editor Korotich for the Congress of People's Deputies.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 5:30) presented a telephoned comment from the USSR by Viktor Aksyuchits, publisher of the independent journal Vybor, on an attack in Ogonek by Soviet economist Gavriil Popov against the bureaucratic restrictions on the Soviet economy. Aksyuchits regretted the discord among Soviet intellectuals on how to effect restructuring, and in particular criticized their dogmatic demands for a spiritual renaissance among the Russian people. Aksyuchits suggested that the best way to achieve such a renaissance is to make the individual citizen a free economic subject.

8. The Nationalities. THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Malinkovich and Krimerman, M 23 and 5) began by commenting on the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's decision to give Mountainous Karabakh a special administrative status. The program remarked on the lack of glasnost surrounding the decision, and said that it sets a precedent for restricting the sovereignty of other republics. In a telephone report from Moscow, one of the editors of the independent Moscow journal Khronograf, Vladimir Pribylovsky, reported on the election campaign in the Tatar Autonomous Republic. The full text was then given of the 50th press release of the Ukrainian Helsinki Association which said that three years of restructuring have brought an upsurge of public activity in the Ukraine in the face of opposition from the authorities. This was followed by the texts of documents adopted by the Lithuanian prorestructuring movement Sajudis last November 20, which, among other things, protest against decisions taken by the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, declare Lithuania's moral independence, and express



support for the Estonian Supreme Soviet Presidium's declaration of Estonia's constitutional sovereignty. The program concluded with an item on the situation in Moldavia. Recommendations by a commission of the Moldavian Supreme Soviet Presidium to give the Moldavian language the status of a state language and reinstitute the Latin alphabet have been categorically rejected by the leadership of the republic. In addition, the writers newspaper Literatura shi Arta has been subjected to heavy attack for cartoons lampooning the leadership for its position on the Moldavian language.

BALTIC BEACON (Rahr, M 20) began by giving the text of a Christmas greetings message published in the Latvian Komsomol organ Sovetskaya Molodezh. Excerpts were then given of the text of a law on out-of-court mass repressions in Soviet Estonia in the 1940s and 1950s and of speeches delivered at the session of the Estonian Supreme Soviet at which the law was adopted by some of the deputies and by the Estonian Justice Minister. Reference was also made to the speech delivered by the Chairman of the Estonian Supreme Court. In conclusion, the program quoted from an interview given to the journal Komjaunimo Tiesa by Lithuanian Justice Minister Umbrasas in which he stated flatly that the USSR had not for one single day been a state governed by law.

9. Russian Nationalism. THE RUSSIAN IDEA (Vl. Tolz, M and P 29:30), a RERUN from 26 October 1988, featured a talk with Nikita Struve, editor of the Paris-based Russian-language journal Vestnik Russkogo Khristianskogo Dvizheniya (Herald of the Russian Christian Movement). Struve spoke of his journal's role in promoting the discussion of the Russian idea in Russia proper and the Russian emigration and particularly of Russia's Christian mission. He noted various periods in which Russia turned against its Christian heritage, particularly following the 1917 Revolution. Even now, however, literary works are being published in the Soviet press which breathe religious pathos. Struve remarked on the Russian people's feeling that its woes have somehow been imposed from outside. He noted attempts in modern Russian literature, for example, by the "village writers," to deal with the problem, and drew particular attention to Solzhenitsyn's views on the matter as outlined in his letter to the Soviet leaders shortly before his expulsion. In conclusion, Struve emphasized that for the Russian people the only way to solve its problems lies in increased freedom and a state governed by law.

10. The Media. MAN AND SOCIETY (Merkin, W 2:30) noted sharp criticism of Soviet TV by the press and the public for lagging behind the rest of the media as regards glasnost and restructuring. The program stressed the importance of TV in the USSR being independent in view of its nationwide availability and popularity and mentioned a proposal made by film director

Eldar Ryazanov for an end to secrecy in the TV management's cadre policy, and for control of the TV by creative workers associations. However, said the program, there is always the possibility of the present prorestructuring leaderships of these associations themselves being replaced.

11. The Environment. MAN AND SOCIETY (Merkin, W 5) examined the underlying reasons for the neglect of the environment in the USSR: namely, a failure to react until serious damage is done, the concentration of decision-making in Moscow and, most important, the priority given to the fulfilment of economic plans. Environmental protection measures are only taken when an ecological catastrophe would also have political consequences. Legislation and appropriate funding are not enough, said the program; what is needed is effective public control.

12. Religion. RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Fotiyev, M 8:30) commented on the recent statements by the pope and Vatican state secretary Casaroli giving a positive appraisal of restructuring in the USSR and Eastern Europe, particularly as regards its effects on the human rights situation. The program contrasted these appraisals with the admission by the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers' Council for Religious Affairs, Kharchev, that he was powerless against the sabotaging by local authorities of attempts by believers to set up new religious communities. Kharchev made this admission in an interview to Ogonek. The program also mentioned a statement, placed by Ogonek before the interview, by corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Sergy Averintsev, writer Sergey Zalygin, Academician Tatyana Zaslavskaya, and priest Gleb Yakunin to the effect that there has so far been much talk but little action on introducing new laws on Church-state relations.

RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Nazarov, M 8) reviewed a Posev reissue of a pre-Revolutionary illustrated guide to Russian monasteries and holy places from which it is only too clear how many were destroyed under the Soviet regime.

RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Tyulpinov, M 6:30) gave a profile of recently beatified St. Xenia of Petersburg.

13. Soviet Shoppers in the US were the subject of an item in THE USA TODAY (Morozov, NY 6).

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

\* 1. Czechoslovakia and the GDR. ROUND TABLE TALK (Roitman, Fistejn and Matusevich, M 20) was devoted to the breaking up of demonstrations in Prague to commemorate the self-incineration of Jan Palach in 1969 and in Leipzig against the arrest of members

of the democratic movement. The program gave a voice out of an account of the brutal actions of the Czech police by Charter 77 activist Vaclav Benda. The program attributed this brutality to the symbolic importance of Palach's self-incineration and to the fact that the winds of history are now blowing against the Czechoslovak regime. In this connection, it was noted that Czechoslovakia was among the countries which signed the final document at the recent Vienna conference which included human rights guarantees. The program pointed to a parallel between the events in Prague and Leipzig insofar as both regimes are openly challenging Gorbachev's restructuring and "new thinking." The ideological confrontation between East Berlin and Moscow was described as grotesque. Reference was made to a telegram from the Latvian Popular Front to all those cherishing the memory of Jan Palach, and to the appeal by the Front and by Charter 77 to refrain from such acts of desperation. Nevertheless, the Czechoslovak press claims that Charter 77 tried to exploit the Jan Palach anniversary for purposes of provocation. As regards the fact that the Soviet press covered the events in Prague, but not those in Leipzig, the program pointed to Moscow's delicate situation. At the same time credit was given to Moscow for its tolerance toward developments in Eastern Europe in the light of restructuring.

- \* THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Fistejn, M 7) presented a telephone report by Jan Urban, a correspondent of the recently created independent East European News Agency, on the massive turnout of security forces in Prague against demonstrators commemorating the self-incineration of Jan Palach. Urban spoke of the brutality shown by the security forces. The program spoke of the Czechoslovak authorities' attempt to discredit Charter 77 by presenting it as inciting young people to commit self-incineration. Reference was made to a TASS charge that Charter 77 was trying to derive political capital from Palach's self-incineration. The program said that Palach's protest was directed mainly at the apathy into which the Czech population had lapsed following the Soviet-led occupation.
- \* THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 1:30) included an RL interview with European Parliament deputy Giovanni Negri in which he explained why, in the name of his party, the Italian Radical Party, he proposed that the parliament honor with a minute of silence the memory of Jan Palach.
- \* EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 9:30) reviewed French press comment on the Czechoslovak authorities' actions against demonstrations in Prague on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the self-incineration of Jan Palach. The program quoted from Le Figaro, Liberation, and Le Monde (a letter by writer Eva Kanturkova).

### C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

- \* 1. The Vienna CSCE Follow-Up Conference. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Perouansky, M 6) expressed optimism in connection with the agreement on a final document reached at the conference. The program cited positive statements by the chief US, Soviet and Austrian delegates, Zimmerman, Kashlev, and Torowski, and listed the human rights provisions anchored in the document, including that concerning normal and unhindered reception of radio broadcasts. The program contrasted the promises contained in the Vienna conference's final document with the latest repressions against human rights activists in Czechoslovakia, the GDR, and Bulgaria, and Romania's statement that it intended to adhere only to those of the document's provisions that suited it.

- \* THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 9) featured RL telephone interviews on the outcome of the conference with Canadian and American chief delegates Bauer and Zimmerman and Soviet delegate Lunkov. Bauer attributed the agreement on a final document, among other things, to the USSR's interest in talks on conventional weapons and its changed attitude to human rights, as well as the unity displayed by Western, neutral, and nonaligned countries on the human rights question. Lunkov said the results of the conference meet the basic interests of the peoples of Europe, the US, and Canada and are a consequence of the democratization process in the USSR. The agreement on a human rights conference in Moscow in 1991 is a triumph for the "new thinking" in Soviet policy. Lunkov said that RL correspondents too would be welcome at this conference. Zimmerman also spoke of the unity shown by Western, neutral and nonaligned countries on human rights, and the growing movement in the USSR and Eastern Europe for changes in the human rights situation. He mentioned as levers to ensure that the USSR did not violate its human rights obligations, world public opinion and the USSR's interest in improving relations with Western countries and in holding the human rights conference in Moscow.

- 2. The US. THE USA TODAY (Vail, NY 3), in a review of events in the US in the past week, briefly mentioned President Reagan's farewell speech to the American people, incoming President Bush's completion of his cabinet, a drop in the unemployment rate, and the fining of the Chicago Harris Trust and Savings Bank.

THE USA TODAY (Vail, NY 2) gave a brief profile of the newly appointed head of the US Drug Enforcement Agency, William Bennett, chosen by the program as its "American of the Week."

3. France. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanov, P 5) commented on the sentencing to life imprisonment of four members of the terrorist organization "Action Directe." The contradictions in their Marxist views were noted.

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

1. Religion. RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Aksenov-Meyerson, NY 6:30) reported on the present theological dialogue between the Catholic Church and Judaism, using material in the Vatican journal Les Documentations Catholiques.

2. Consumer Goods in the US. THE USA TODAY (Krasin, W 4; Dovlatov, NY 6; and Genis, NY 6) included items on hypermarkets and flea markets in the US and the psychology of the US consumer. It was remarked that in the US the abundance of consumer goods strangely enough promotes moderation.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Tuesday, 17 January 1989

M. Frost

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

1. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Shuster, M 2:30) presented a telephone interview from Peshawar with the commander of the Mujahidin resistance in Kabul, Abdul Haq, who outlined his plans for removing the puppet government in Kabul and defending the capital against terrorist activities by the government forces.

2. Dissidents and Human Rights. OVER THE BARRIERS (Dovlatov, NY 8) commented on the publication of the proceedings of the 1964 trial of Iosef Brodsky for "parasitism" which have recently been officially published for the first time in Ogonek. The program author speculated that Brodsky was singled out for trial, from among far more overtly political nonconformist writers in Leningrad, precisely because of his aloofness from the social and political structure.

\* 3. Restructuring. In the light of the publication of the disappointing preliminary results of the 1988 Soviet harvest, ROUND TABLE (Roitman, Fistejn, and Kroncher, M 20) asked why so few positive economic effects have resulted from Gorbachev's reform program. The program commented that all attempts to inject new life into agriculture in the form of land-leasing, etc., are doomed to failure since the root of the problem lies in the inefficiency of the command economy. The performance and structure of the Soviet economy was compared to the Yugoslav and GDR systems of economic management and the program concluded with a somber analysis of the price the Soviet people will have to pay in increased consumer prices for the shift to economic self-management.

MAN AND SOCIETY (Merkin, W 4:30) argued that in the light of the current restructuring process, Soviet workers need, more than ever, active independent trade unions to represent their

interests. The move to self-financing in many parts of the Soviet economy presents a new and challenging role for the trade union movement which, up till now, has been in hibernation.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Matthews, L 15), a RERUN from January 8, reviewed the recent series of BBC Reith lectures by British Sovietologist Geoffrey Hoskin devoted to the paradoxes of Gorbachev's reforms.

4. The Nationalities. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 3) presented a telephone commentary from Ekspress-Khronika journalist in Riga Mikhail Bombin on a January 12 announcement in Sovetskaya Latvija that civil defense warning signals are to be tested on January 20. The program surmised that the civil defences are being tested in the wake of the poor performance of the civil defence authorities during the Armenian earthquake.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fishbein, M 4:30) broadcast Pamphlet, No 51, of the Ukrainian Helsinki Committee which described police harassment of a 500-strong group of carol singers in Kiev over the new year.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Oganasian, M 2) interviewed Swiss journalist Therese Obrecht who has just returned from a fact-finding mission to Armenia where she visited some of the worst affected areas of the republic.

5. The Emigration. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Henkina, M 4) took issue with an article published in Pravda by its Paris correspondent on the changing status of emigrés from the USSR. The program commented that not all emigrés are keen to play the role of propagandists for the current changes taking place in the USSR and that a more respectful attitude towards emigrés is long overdue on the part of the Soviet authorities.

6. Glasnost. Pegged to the Soviet delegate at the CSCE Review Conference Yury Lunkov's explanation of the "humanization" process currently underway in the USSR, THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 2) commented that the dissemination of information within the USSR is still far from satisfactory.

7. Democracy. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Malinkovich, M 7) presented a telephone interview from Moscow with a staffer from the independent Moscow journal Khronograf on the nomination process of candidates to the newly-created Congress of Peoples Deputies. Pribylovsky reported that because of difficulties in raising a quorum of 500 registered inhabitants in electoral districts, it is unlikely that many independent candidates will

be elected to the new elected chamber. Pribylovsky also cited apathy in the provinces as another reason for the low number of independent nominations.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 4:30) presented a telephone report from Moscow by Glasnost staffer Dmitry Volchek who cited commentaries in various official newspapers, including Ogonek, on the preelection campaign taking place in the Soviet Union. The report focused on the disruption of an election meeting by members of the Pamyat group who hurled abuse at those attempting to nominate the editor of Ogonek, Vitaly Korotich as a delegate to the newly created Congress of Peoples Deputies.

8. Unofficial Publications. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 3:30) presented a telephone report from Moscow by Glasnost staffer Aleksey Myasnikov on comments made by Soviet citizens related to the text of the UN Declaration of Human Rights which was recently distributed as a supplement to the subscribers of Novoye Vremya. Many of the comments criticized the Soviet habit of extolling the virtues of socialism in the USSR while paying scant regard to the glaring deficiencies in many areas of Soviet life.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 4:30) broadcast a telephone report from Moscow independent journalist Aleksey Manannikov who reported on various human rights abuses in Moscow, Leningrad, and Yerevan.

\* 9. Agriculture. Pegged to the January 16 announcement of decreased grain harvest figures for 1988, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Belotserkovsky, M 7) discussed the failure of the present collective and state farm system to produce satisfactory grain yields and cast doubt upon the success prospects of the land-lease scheme which, the program argued, provides too little too late. It was proposed to return the land to the peasants as promised by the October Revolution and let the people decide which is the most efficient form of land management to guarantee their own and the country's prosperity.

10. Society. OVER THE BARRIERS (Paramonov and Genis NY 15) took issue with an article appearing in Ogonek which contained factual errors pertaining to Lenin's role in the expulsion of several leading philosophers in 1922. The program commented that the factual errors are symptomatic of the author's misguided views on the nature and traditional function of the Russian intelligentsia. The discussants agreed that in the Soviet era the former Russian intelligentsia, defined by its political and ideological opposition to authority, was more or less transformed into an "intellectual interested primarily in freedom of information and for the according of greater prestige for intellectual labor."



MAN AND SOCIETY (Merkin, W 5) commented that anachronistic security considerations are continuing to hamper the Soviet economy at many levels. The program discussed the preeminence of security issues in such diverse areas as the production of geographical maps, collective farms, xerox facilities, and the system of registration still in force for Soviet citizens. The latter issue, the program argued, directly affects the ability of the population to respond to economic pressures which develop in different parts of the country at different times.

Pegged to the January 16 coverage by TASS that the Soviet Charity Fund has made an appeal to Soviet citizens and relatives living abroad to participate in the "Year of Charity," EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fotiyev, M 4) called on the organization to publish detailed figures of its activities in order to attract foreign donations for its battle against poverty in the Soviet Union.

11. Health. MAN AND SOCIETY (Shapiro, M 4:30) commented that there is no sphere of Soviet society where the gap between words and action is so pronounced as is the case with health care. The program enumerated the problems which have accumulated in the Soviet health service for decades and argued that solutions to fundamental problems have so far produced an avalanche of words but precious few constructive reforms.

12. History. MAN AND SOCIETY (Krasin, W 4) highlighted a letter published in Kazakstanskaya Pravda from a former supervisor at the Karaganda labor camps who claimed that a previous article appearing in the newspaper presented an unnecessarily harsh picture of life in the camps. The program described the supervisor's rosy account of the scrupulously legal fashion in which the camps were managed as preposterous.

IN THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nikolayev, M 4) presented articles from the Soviet press from 60 and 50 years ago on the state of Soviet genetics in the era of Lysenko and on the Soviet census of 1937.

13. Culture. Pegged to the current Shostakovich festival taking place in London, OVER THE BARRIERS (Rayfield, Litvinov, and Tsviblova, L 12) examined why the Soviet composer is revered above all other 20th century composers in Britain. The program then reviewed an important exhibition in Moscow of works by the British painter Francis Bacon.

14. Literature. FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 29:30) broadcast the 45th installment of Alexander Solzhenitsyn's Gulag Archipelago.

15. Religion. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rahr, M 9) presented an interview with the editor of the independent religious journal Vybor on the correct role of the Russian Orthodox Church in supporting the restructuring process under the auspices of the USSR Department of Religious Affairs. The program argued that a strict division of Church and state is desirable whereby the church is able to carry out its own missionary work without governmental restrictions.

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

- \* 1. East-West Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Perouansky, M 5:30) reported on the results of the CSCE review conference in Vienna and noted that within days of the signing of the final document tear gas and water canon were used to disperse peaceful demonstrators in Prague and that the GDR and Romania continue to pursue punitive policies against human rights activists.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 4:30) presented coverage of the CSCE review conference in Vienna from The Washington Post and The New York Times from January 16 and 17 respectively.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 4) reported on those aspects of the recent "East-West Conference" in Moscow not covered by the Soviet press. The program focused on Fedor Burlatsky's statements on former US President Carter's pioneering role in human rights and on the necessity of guaranteeing the irreversibility of the current reforms in the USSR by enshrining them in Soviet law.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Predtechevsky, M 5) discussed the upcoming troop reduction talks in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals and commented on the significance of the talks for the Soviet Union. RL's military affairs spokesman opined that the Soviet's can no longer afford to keep nearly six million men under arms if they wish to see real improvements in the economy.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Predtechevsky, M 3) broadcast translated excerpts of US Secretary of state George Shultz's speech marking the signing of the final document on the 26-month review of the Helsinki accords.

- \* 2. Czechoslovakia. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 7:30) backgrounded the January 15 and 16 demonstrations in Prague, broken up by force by special police detachments, and presented excerpts of an interview by Eva Kanturovka given to Le Monde hours after she was released from detention by the Czechoslovak authorities because of her participation in January 15

demonstration in Prague marking the twentieth anniversary of Jan Palach's self-immolation. The program also cited commentary from Le Figaro from January 17.

- \* THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Shuster, M 2) presented a telephone report from independent journalist Jan Urban from Prague on the latest round of arrests in Czechoslovakia and the vicious campaign instigated by the authorities against members of the Charter 77 group.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The US. MAN AND SOCIETY (Morozov, NY 8) profiled the political career of the US Secretary of Labor, Ann McLaughlin.

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

1. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Genis, NY 5) profiled the life and career of the US sculptor Isamu Noguchi who died recently in New York at the age of 84.
2. Science. MODERN MEDICINE (Muslin, Popovsky, and Morozov, NY 27:30) reported on the world-wide spread of AIDS, on the latest laser techniques for treating far and short-sightedness, and the latest news on medical issues throughout the world.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis  
for Wednesday, 18 January 1989  
M. Rudin

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

1. Soviet-US Relations. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 4) excerpted statements by James Baker, nominated for the post of secretary of state, before a confirmation hearing of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Baker discussed future US-Soviet relations and said that the US should remain "prudent" in its dealings with the Soviet Union.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 2:30) reviewed the new US administration's position on US-Soviet arms talks. According to aides to President-elect Bush, the US intends to study closely all questions dealing with arms control, a process which will take from two months to a year depending on the tasks Bush assigns to the experts. The program drew on an article in The Washington Post of January 17.

2. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Vail, NY 5:30) used an article in The New York Times and a Reuter dispatch, both of January 18, in reporting on the second phase of the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan and discussing speculation about whether the Soviet Union will be able to keep to the February 15 deadline for a complete withdrawal. The program noted that Kabul has criticized Pakistan for aiding Afghan resistance forces.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Vail, NY 5) reported on the situation in Afghanistan. The program noted that Shevardnadze said that the Soviet Union would complete its military withdrawal from Afghanistan by February 15, described a meeting between members of the Afghan resistance and a delegation from the US Congress, reported on the military situation in Afghanistan, and noted the worsening economic situation in the country.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 5) discussed the complex situation in Afghanistan and the uncertainty about the country's future government. The program noted that the pace of the Soviet troop withdrawal has increased; cited a statement by the current head of the Islamic Alliance, Mojaddedi, that the "necessary steps" have been taken to form a provisional Afghan government; and highlighted an interview with former Afghan King Zaher in Le Monde.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 5:30) summarized interviews with former King Zaher of Afghanistan published in Le Monde and Le Point. In them Zaher reviewed the present situation in Afghanistan and discussed the outlook for the future, stating that there is no place for Afghan communists in a transitional government.

3. Armenia. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 5) talked with a member of RL's Armenian Service about the dismissal of a number of Armenian officials from party, government, and economic bodies in Armenia. The staff member said that although he does not agree with the charges leveled against the officials (including destabilizing the situation and inactivity), he welcomed a new leadership because the previous one proved that it could not introduce changes in the spirit of restructuring.

MAN AND SOCIETY (Gordin, M 2) cited an article in Semya criticizing those responsible for the construction of shoddy buildings in Armenia which collapsed during the earthquake.

MAN AND SOCIETY (Gabovich, M 5) dealt with the poor construction of buildings in Armenia and in the other Caucasian republics. The program said that widespread corruption and the deficit economy are the main reasons for this situation.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Pimonov, Copenhagen 5:30) reported on a rock concert organized by the youth section of the Danish Red Cross and a pacifist group to aid victims of the earthquake in Armenia. Danish, Swedish, and Soviet groups participated in the concert, including the Leningrad rock group Kino. The program gave information on the group Kino, noting that it is not allowed to perform in the Soviet Union.

4. Estonia. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Rosenbaum, Helsinki 5) featured a telephone conversation with a member of RFE's Estonian Service in Helsinki who reported that Estonia's Supreme Soviet approved a controversial law enforcing the use of Estonian as well as Russian in day-to-day dealings at the

official level. The staff member discussed the implications of the new law, noting that it will give Russians in public service four years to learn Estonian.

5. Moldavia. DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Krimerman, M 7:30) discussed the democratization movement's efforts last year in Moldavia, noting the strike of bus drivers in July and the suppression of public meetings by local leaders. The program also discussed the present campaign by the indigenous population to have the Moldavian language recognized as the republic's state language and to have the Latin alphabet reinstated.

6. Azerbaijan. ON THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Volchek, M 5), Dmitry Volchek, a member of the staff of the unofficial journal Glasnost, described how a group of citizens from Baku sent an appeal to Foreign Minister Shevardnadze complaining that the Iranian Consulate in Baku is engaging in anti-Semitic and anti-Israeli propaganda and noted Deputy Foreign Minister Vorontsov's evasive reply. Volchek said that there are strong Pan-Islamic, pro-Iranian, and anti-Semitic sentiments in Azerbaijan.

7. The Nationality Question. Pegged to the January 17 session of a USSR Supreme Soviet working group which is studying the relationship between the union and its republics, ROUNDTABLE (Malinkovich, Belotserkovsky, and Tolz, M 20) featured a discussion about various aspects of internationality relations in the USSR. The discussants focused on an article in the journal Vek XX i Mir which highlighted a discussion about a possible legal decision on the nationality problem.

8. Agriculture. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 4) pointed to the ineffectiveness of the state agroindustrial system and discussed the question of its reorganization, saying that the problem no longer lies in restructuring the centralized management of the economy but in the existence of such a system itself.

9. Foreign Loans. MAN AND SOCIETY (Shapiro, M 5:30) explained why the Soviet Union is not rushing to get loans from abroad. It was noted that since the USSR cannot cover the loans with its exports, it is forced to pay with raw materials.

10. The Emigration. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Anishchenko, M 5) presented a telephone press review from Moscow of recent articles in the Soviet press dealing with the question of the treatment of Soviet emigres. The program highlighted a letter in defense of Lev Kopelev in the second issue of Ogonek, an article in Izvestia of January 15, and an article in

Literaturnaya Gazeta. The program also praised Bondarenko's position on this question at a plenum of the RSFSR Writers' Union.

11. The British Press on Soviet Affairs. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Pomerantsev, L 5) excerpted comments from The Independent and The Guardian on the USSR's poor grain harvest in 1988, The Daily Telegraph on the high suicide rate in the Soviet Union, and The Guardian on the nomination of Boris Yeltsin as a candidate for the Congress of People's Deputies and on the likelihood of a revolution in the USSR in 1990.

12. Glasnost. DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Shapiro, M 8) commented on an article in Stroitel'naya Gazeta which discussed an all-Union conference devoted to problems of the protection of labor under conditions of accelerated scientific-technological progress. The program focused in particular on the unnecessary secrecy surrounding the holding of the conference and on the fact that ordinary citizens are kept in the dark about events that directly pertain to them.

13. Invalids. MAN AND SOCIETY (Gordin, M 4) noted an invalid's letter published in Semya of 14 December 1988 describing the harsh fate of invalids in the Soviet Union. In this connection the program described the care and thought extended to invalids in the West and discussed the changing attitude toward invalids in China.

14. The KGB. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Henkina and Nadirashvili, M 19) was pegged to the publication in the journal Vek XX i Mir of a letter by a teacher who recalled how students passed on to the KGB the contents of a discussion she had with students in 1978, a discussion for which she was threatened by the KGB. The program featured a talk with an RL staffer and a former KGB employee in Georgia who explained how the system of informing operates among the intelligenstia, described the system of counterintelligence in the USSR, contrasting it with Western intelligence work, and assessed the possibility of restructuring the KGB.

15. Anatoly Kleshchenko. OVER THE BARRIERS (Dovlatov, NY 7:30) recalled the life and work of the late writer Anatoly Kleshchenko, who spent 16 years in labor camps for writing anti-Stalin poems as a youth. The program noted that the 49th issue of the journal Ogonek published two of Kleshchenko's poems.

16. Russian Nationalism. RUSSIAN IDEA (Tolz and Sinyavsky, M 27:30), a RERUN from 3 December 1988, presented the first part

of a reading of emigre writer Andrey Sinyavsky's article analyzing past, present, and future aspects of Russian nationalism in the Soviet Union.

17. Religion. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fotiyev, M 5:30) highlighted an article by Alexander Arkhangelsky in the December 1988 issue of Novy Mir which criticized a book written earlier by Kryvelev entitled Christ -- a Myth or a Reality? Arkhangelsky said that the time has come to dismiss the "argumentation of the stagnation era" and to start an open and honest dialogue.

18. History. MAN AND SOCIETY (Krasin, W 4) drew attention to historian Roy Medvedev's article in Moskovskiye Novosti giving figures about the number of people repressed in the Soviet Union under Stalin. The program expressed skepticism about some of the figures mentioned by Medvedev but said that his estimates are the first trustworthy information in the Soviet press about the proportions of the tragedy that took place during the Stalin era.

RUSSIA YESTERDAY, TODAY, TOMORROW (Tolz and Fistejn, M 30) featured an interview with emigre Czech historian Ivan Pfaff whose work on the "Tukhachevsky case" has been published in the Soviet press. The program observed that Pfaff's article was chosen for publication in the Soviet Union because he denies that Soviet agencies participated in the fabrication of forged documents concerning the "betrayal" of Tukhachevsky and instead puts the blame on Nazi Germany's special services.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Paramonov, NY 10) discussed the views of Marxist theorist Anatoly Lunacharsky and his book Religion and Socialism, the first volume of which was published in 1908. The program drew on an article by Gangnus in Nov Mir, No. 9, 1988.

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

- \* 1. Poland. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fistejn, M 8:30) reported on the PUWP CC debate and approval of a proposal on the relegalization of the Solidarity Union. The program examined the reasons why the Politburo of the PUWP CC felt it necessary to recognize Solidarity.
- \* THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 2) talked with Wojciech Maziarski, the head of Solidarity's Information Service in Warsaw, who said that he did not want to comment on the PUWP CC plenum's decision on political and union plurality and Prime Minister Rakowski's statement proposing the relegalization of Solidarity until Lech Walesa and other Solidarity leaders did so first.



2. Hungary. DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Bensi, M 4) reported on the Hungarian parliament's adoption of two laws regulating the rights of assembly and association. The law on associations, however, provides only in principle for the possibility of founding political parties.

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Bensi, M 5) discussed the existence of groups and parties in Hungary which were created before the adoption of the new law, as well as the revival of old parties that were created before the communists came to power.

3. Czechoslovakia. On THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Urban, M 4), Jan Urban of the unofficial East European Information Agency reported on the latest police actions against people demonstrating in Prague's Wenceslas Square. Urban also highlighted a letter by Charter 77 to the governments of the countries that signed the final document of the CSCE conference in Vienna. The letter described the suppression of human rights in Czechoslovakia and accused the authorities of blocking the road to democracy.

4. The 40th Anniversary of the Founding of CMEA. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechesky, M 8:30) reviewed the history of CMEA and discussed its future prospects in light of the crisis it is presently experiencing. The program drew on the advance text of a RAD Background Report of January 16.

#### C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The CSCE Review Conference. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 7) excerpted articles on the agreement reached on the final document and on the repressive actions in the human rights sphere taken by some signatory states from Die Welt, the Stuttgarter Zeitung, Le Monde, The Guardian, the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, The Independent, Le Figaro, Die Presse, the Sueddeutsche Zeitung, and The New York Times.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 1:30) used Audio Section materials in excerpting a speech by Norwegian Foreign Minister Stoltenberg at the CSCE follow-up conference in Vienna. Stoltenberg criticized countries which use police actions to break up peaceful demonstrations.

2. French-Bulgarian Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanov, Sofia 6) reported on President Mitterrand's two-day visit to Bulgaria. The program noted that France hopes to expand relations with Bulgaria in the sphere of telecommunications and tourism but does not expect to be able to increase trade and industrial contacts. The program discussed the economic and

political situation in Bulgaria, noting that restructuring in Bulgaria is an economic reform only and that Zhivkov recently carried out a purge of pro-Gorbachev leaders in his regime.

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

1. The West German Artist Anselm Kiefer, whose works are presently being exhibited in New York, was profiled by OVER THE BARRIERS (Genis, NY 10).

2. Invalids. MAN AND SOCIETY (Morozov, NY 4) featured an interview with an American woman lawyer who is a cripple. She described the situation of invalids in the US.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis  
for Thursday, 19 January 1989  
D. Felton

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

1. Soviet-US Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 4) highlighted statements by US Secretary of State-designate James Baker on the prospects for US-Soviet relations. Baker made the statements during his Senate confirmation hearings. A CND report from Washington of January 18 was used.
2. Unofficial Organizations. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 4) carried a telephone report on the founding meeting of the Moscow branch of the Memorial society by one of the delegates, Anishchenko, who also publishes the independent journal Vybor. Among other things Anishchenko mentioned the speech by Znamya editor Baklanov, who focused on the nationality problem, expressing the view that Russian fascism is no better than Hitler's. Anishchenko said that the conference also illustrates the dangers confronting democratization in the USSR.
3. Unofficial Publications. DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 30) featured telephone reports from the USSR by independent journalists Shilkov, Lashchiver, Manannikov, and Volchek reviewing the latest issues of the independent publications Ekspress-Khronika, Stranichka Uznika, and Glasnost (correspondence between former political prisoner L. Shefer and Boris Yeltsin).
4. Dissidents and Human Rights. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Shuster, M 1) presented a talk between RL's special correspondent Savik Shuster and Prof. Krokowski of Boston University on Shevardnadze's speech before the CSCE

conference in Vienna. Noting that Shevardnadze paid only symbolic attention to human rights in this speech, Krokowski said that the US should place greater emphasis on the USSR's concrete fulfillment of its promises regarding human rights, a sphere in which very little has been done so far.

FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 29:30) featured the 32nd installment of Alexander Solzhenitsyn's literary autobiography The Calf and the Oak. The program was pegged to Solzhenitsyn's recent 70th birthday.

5. The Emigration. MAN AND SOCIETY (Henkina, M 4), a RERUN from January 17, commented on an article by the Paris correspondent of Pravda, Bolshakov, which called for an end to dividing Soviet emigres into "those who are for us and those who are against us." The program said that the present Soviet leadership apparently now considers the emigration as useful for making propaganda for the changes taking place in the USSR.

- \* 6. Restructuring. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 3) featured comment by Dmitry Volchek, a collaborator of the independent Moscow journal Glasnost, on the letter just published in Pravda by a small group of prominent Soviet cultural personalities (Bondarchuk, Proskurin, Rasputin, et al) expressing concern over material in certain Soviet publications which allegedly grossly distorts Soviet history, reappraises the Soviet people's social achievements, and defames its cultural values. The letter singles out Ogonek for special mention. Volchek described the letter as a further salvo in the "writers' war" being keenly followed by the Soviet public because of its relevance to the fate of democratization and the USSR's future course. Volchek said that in view of Gorbachev's recent meeting with cultural personalities, and the fact that the letter was published in Pravda, the letter would appear to have the character of a directive.

- \* ROUNDTABLE TALK (Roitman, Matusevich, and Bensi, M 20) discussed an open letter by six writers (Rasputin, et al) and film director Sergey Bondarchuk published in Pravda of January 18 which leveled political charges against Ogonek, e. g. attempting to belittle the Soviet people's social gains and distorting Soviet history. The program spoke of a battle going on in the Soviet press between conservatives, supported by Pravda, and liberals, supported by the party's theoretical journal Kommunist, a struggle which indicates a lack of unity within the party itself. This political battle among journals has no parallel in Western Europe and shows how important political pluralism is for the USSR. The emotionalism of the debate is typical for a country in the process of transition from a totalitarian or authoritarian regime to a more or less democratic one. The program noted the Russian nationalist

background of the authors of the open letter, including their connections with an incipient "Russian Party" and the Pamyat society, and termed the letter a dangerous counteroffensive against restructuring.

MAN AND SOCIETY (R. Shapiro, Isr. 5) remarked that while Gorbachev's "new thinking" has certainly made contacts between Soviet citizens and the outside world freer, improvements in this sphere are taking place extremely slowly. The program cited readers' letters in Soviet newspapers complaining about the continued existence of bureaucratic hindrances to contacts with abroad. The program commented in conclusion that the Soviet authorities should give up the principle that the citizen is the property of the state.

7. Society. MAN AND SOCIETY (Krasin, W 5) discussed a recent article by Yulian Semenov in Sovetskaya Kultura in which he complained about not being treated as an individual in the USSR. The program wondered exactly who this complaint was directed at and in this connection noted that Soviet journalists must avoid putting any blame on the party for the various evils of Soviet society.

8. The Nationalities. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 5) featured comments telephoned in from Moscow by Lev Timofeyev, an editor of the independent journal Referendum, on Shevardnadze's statement in his speech to the CSCE review conference in Vienna to the effect that states are obligated to guarantee people the preservation of their language, cultural heritage, traditions, and customs. Timofeyev wondered what this would mean in practice; perhaps allowing the Baltic states to return to their independent traditions, or a return to Russia's prerevolutionary traditions.

9. Russian Nationalism. On MAN AND SOCIETY (Vyshnevskaya, M 4), RL researcher Yulia Vyshnevskaya took issue with a recent article by Pravda's Paris correspondent, Bolshakov, speculating about the concept of patriotism and pseudopatriotism in respect to the Soviet emigration and citing an article by Vyshnevskaya in Sintaksis out of context for the purpose of a ritual attack against Soviet publications which "paint the heroic history of our country completely black." Vyshnevskaya said that in fact it is the Soviet journals that publish the truth about the USSR's tragic history which are doing their patriotic duty. In conclusion Vyshnevskaya called for the return of the works of such artists and writers as Chagall, Akhmatov, and Pasternak to the Russian people, not just to a privileged circle of officials.

10. The Media. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 5) presented a telephone review of the Soviet press by independent Moscow journalist Mityunov, who highlighted material in Pravda, Izvestia, Moskovskiy Novosti, and Sotsialisticheskaya Industriya on Afghanistan, the dissolution of the Russian Constituent Assembly by the Bolsheviks as the beginning of an immoral system, corruption among top officials, the sharp rise in the crime rate (Pravda interview with Interior Minister Bakatin), the dismissal of a state prosecutor of a town near Moscow who tried to protect the citizens against crime, and an illustration in Yunist for Voynovich's novel The Life and Extraordinary Adventures of the Soldier Ivan Chonkin showing a character in NKVD uniform bearing a remarkable resemblance to a Politburo member.

11. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (P. Vail and Genis, NY 27:30) featured a talk with Soviet avant-garde poet and artist Dmitry Prigov, who is currently in the US at the invitation of various universities and colleges. Prigov talked about the nature of unofficial art and literature in the USSR, the present and possible future effects of restructuring and glasnost, including the emergence of a Western-type market, and new functions and problems, including financial. Prigov also gave his impressions of America and the Russian emigration there, whose experience he considered valuable.

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

1. Czechoslovakia. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fistejn, M 8:30) reported on the fourth day of demonstrations in Prague on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the self-immolation of Jan Palach. The program drew attention to the distorted coverage of the demonstrations by the Soviet press, which among other things has been talking of Western provocations, and said that Palach's aim of shaking the Czechoslovak population out of its apathy is being better fulfilled now than it was at the time. The inconsistent behavior of the Czechoslovak authorities regarding this and previous demonstrations was noted. Brutality has been alternating with passiveness, and international pressures have evidently been acting as a certain restraint.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 5:30) featured a telephone report by Jan Urban, a correspondent of the recently created independent East European Information Agency, on the latest demonstrations in Prague. Urban spoke of the inconsistent behavior of the police, which were inactive against one demonstration and on the following day arrested and threatened human rights activists such as Vaclav Havel who had spoken to the demonstrators. Urban mentioned an appeal to the

Czechoslovak government by former top party members to stop its repressive measures against the people and referred to unanswered open letters by Czechoslovak human rights activists thanking their Soviet colleagues for their support.

#### C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The US. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 3:30) and THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Dubinsky, W 4) described the atmosphere surrounding the transition from President Reagan to President Bush. A CND report from Washington of January 19 and a telephone report from RL's Washington studios were used.

PRESS REVIEW (EVENTS AND PEOPLE) (Predtechevsky, M 19:30) excerpted comments on President Reagan's eight years in office from The Guardian, The Independent, the Sueddeutsche Zeitung, the Neue Zuercher Zeitung, the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, La Stampa, Die Presse, and The Sunday Times (London). The RAD Western Press Review of January 18 was used.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Paramonov, NY 5:30) gave results of a poll conducted by The New York Times and CBS-TV showing that outgoing President Reagan was highly popular among the American people.

2. The CSCE Review Conference in Vienna. MAN AND SOCIETY (Gordin and Fedoseyeva, M 6) noted the general satisfaction of the participating countries with the outcome of the conference, with the exception of Romania, which announced that it would not abide by certain provisions of the final document, and Czechoslovakia and the GDR, where repressions of human rights have recently been taking place. The program said that the rapprochement between the differing positions of the participants became possible as a result of the changes which have been taking place in the USSR. The program hoped that by the time of the Moscow human rights conference in 1991, the average Soviet citizen will have acquired the freedom of movement stipulated in the conference's final document.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 2:30) presented voice cuts of statements made in Vienna by West German Foreign Minister Genscher, who condemned the police actions against demonstrations in Leipzig and Prague and described the Berlin Wall as an anachronism, and by East German Foreign Minister Fischer, who described the wall as a factor of stability. Audio Section material was used.

- \* 3. East-West Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 9:30) commented on Gorbachev's statements on announced cuts in the Soviet armed forces and defense spending made to members of the Trilateral Commission (Giscard d'Estaing, Kissinger,

Nakasone, etc.). The program disputed some of Gorbachev's figures and found others unclear, and wondered whether the USSR's real intention is to modernize its armed forces and whether the cuts will be irreversible or not.

- \* THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Shuster, M 2:30) featured a talk between RL's special correspondent Savik Shuster and Prof. Krokowski of Boston University on Shevardnadze's statement at the CSCE review conference on the USSR's readiness to withdraw some short-range nuclear missiles and artillery units from Eastern Europe. Krokowski said that the USSR is trying to hypnotize the West by deluging it with one new disarmament proposal after another. The USSR, he said, also seems to be aiming at psychologically disarming the West.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 1:30) featured a voice cut of US State Department spokesman Redman's statement welcoming the Polish government's stated willingness to relegalize Solidarity. Audio Section material was used.

4. French-Bulgarian Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanov, Sofia 6:30) reported on French President Mitterrand's visit to Bulgaria, focusing on his meeting with Bulgarian human rights activists, including Academician Alexey Shalutko, known as "Bulgaria's Sakharov." The program gave excerpts from an interview given by Shalutko to RL's correspondent, in which he said that the human rights movement in Bulgaria is working for genuine restructuring and spoke of repressions against human rights activists. The program mentioned a letter handed by Shalutko to Mitterrand, a copy of which he gave to RL's correspondent. The program briefly mentioned bilateral agreements signed during the visit.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanov, Sofia 2:30) covered the press conference held in Sofia by Bulgarian leader Zhivkov and visiting French President Mitterrand. RL's special correspondent in Sofia mentioned statements by Zhivkov and Mitterrand in favor of freedom of movement in Europe and by Zhivkov rejecting the idea of political pluralism for Bulgaria.

5. The Middle East. Reporting on the prospects for a political settlement of the Middle East conflict and on the situation in the Israeli-occupied territories, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Miloslavsky, Jerusalem 8:30). highlighted the surprisingly moderate statement by the new Israeli Foreign Minister, Arens, in which he said that it was time for new Israeli peace initiatives. The program pointed to the continuing unrest in the occupied territories and said that both sides seem to be aiming at strengthening their positions in possible future talks. The implications for Israeli-Soviet relations were noted.



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

1. Religion. JUDAISM (Lvov, Vail, and Haskelevich, NY 7, 6, and 12) featured items on musar, the living word of Judaism and on kashrut, the Jewish diet, using material from the Jewish Press, and presented the weekly reading from the Torah.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis  
for Friday, 20 January 1989  
V. Frank

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

1. Soviet-US Relations. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M and Dubinsky W 6:30) highlighted President Bush's speech at his inauguration ceremony and cited comments by independent Moscow correspondent Yury Mityunov on Bush's speech and the entire ceremony. Mityunov compared the change of administration in Washington with the somber changes of power in the Soviet Union, which, he said, usually are accompanied by funeral marches. Mityunov said that he was encouraged by Bush's words about the weakening of totalitarian regimes and expressed the hope that the new president will act strongly in defense of human rights.

2. The Nationalities. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 3) carried a telephone interview with Mikhail Bombin, a Riga-based correspondent of the independent Moscow journal Ekspress-Khronika, who talked about a new journal called Okno, (Window). The journal has been published since last December by the Estonian organization "Referendum," which was formed in Tallinn by representatives of the Estonian and Russian intelligentsia. Bombin said that the implementation of perestroika in Estonia seems to be proceeding faster than in the other two Baltic republics.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 2:30) presented a telephone interview with a member of the Estonian Independence Party, Sander Sis, who commented on the effects of the law making Estonian the official language of the republic. Sis expressed the opinion that the law will at least delay the

process of assimilation in Estonia and stressed the fact that Estonia is not just a province of the Soviet Union, as many Russians seemed to think, but a country. Sis also recalled the attempts to sabotage passage of the bill and described how it was done.

MAN AND SOCIETY (Kroncher, M 4) raised the question of what has happened to the enormous sums of money collected abroad for the victims of the Armenian earthquake. The program said that serious doubts about the effective use of this money will remain until there is an official accounting of how it was spent.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Pedoseveya, M 2:30) reported on a resolution adopted by the European Parliament concerning the three Baltic republics. The resolution called for a greater degree of cultural and economic independence for the republics and stressed the growing momentum of the movements for independence there. As an example of this momentum the resolution recalled that some four-million Balts signed a petition to the authorities of Estonia concerning the question of independence.

3. Society. MAN AND SOCIETY (Gordin, M 5) quoted a samizdat article by one of the leaders of the Democratic Union, V. Novodvorskaya, about the immense economic advantages workers in Western countries have over their colleagues in the Soviet Union. It was stressed that Soviet workers will remain poor and without rights until comprehensive reforms transform the economic structure of the country and improve their well-being.

CHRISTIAN RUSSIA: THE SECOND MILLENNIUM (Rahr, M 7) considered what the future monument for the victims of the Stalinist terror should be like and what form would be appropriate to the memory of the millions who perished during that period. It was suggested that this monument should be in the form of a "tomb for the unknown prisoner" and that perhaps the present monument at the former Nazi concentration camp in Dachau should serve as a model.

MAN AND SOCIETY (Voronitsyn, M 7) analyzed the fourth postwar all-Union census, which was just concluded. Although the authorities assured the population that data obtained from the census will be treated confidentially, there were, and still are, serious doubts that this will be the case.

MAN AND SOCIETY (Paramonov, NY 6) discussed the phenomenon of racism as manifested in China and in the Soviet Union, comparing it with the decreasing racism in the United States and other Western countries. The opinion was expressed that the principle

of internationalism inherent in theoretical socialism becomes transformed into extreme nationalism (and racism) as soon as a socialist state becomes a reality.

CHRISTIAN RUSSIA: THE SECOND MILLENNIUM (Rahr, M 11) focused on a law recently adopted by the Estonian Supreme Soviet which stipulates that the political repressions between 1940 and 1950 are to be considered as crimes against humanity. The Estonian Supreme Soviet will also draft a law which should become valid throughout the Soviet Union. Some persons who have agreed to become members of the unofficial organization called Memorial were listed, and the reasons for Vladimir Soloukhin's refusal were cited. The program also mentioned an article in Literaturnaya Rossiya on the aims of Memorial and reviewed a discussion in Literaturnaya Gazeta on the subject of guilt and retribution.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Malinkovich, M 3) featured a telephone interview with the Moscow historian Leonid Batkin about the procedures for proposing candidates for the Congress of People's Deputies. Batkin said that citizens certainly do not yet have a feeling that their aspirations are being fulfilled. According to Batkin there do not exist proper procedures for candidates to be nominated and at the same time various measures are being taken by officials to sabotage the wishes of ordinary citizens.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 5) carried a contribution by Dmitry Volchek, a correspondent of the independent Moscow journal Glasnost, who commented on the present situation of the Soviet press. Volchek said that the Soviet press is just as biased as it used to be. As an example he cited the central newspapers, which, as he said, did not give any interesting information about the election campaign, nor did they report anything about the events concerning Andrey Sakharov, the Academy of Sciences, and the election campaign. Volchek cited the Soviet press on the Karabakh Committee, stressing that the committee is still being treated in an unobjective manner.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 4:30) carried a contribution under the title "Khronika" by Aleksey Manannikov, a Moscow representative of Glasnost: Manannikov gave various examples of violations of human rights in the Soviet Union, such as the imprisonment of six Armenian dissidents in Moscow, the repressive actions taken by local authorities against members of the Uniate Church in the area of Lvov, and the arrest of members of an ecology group in a town near Moscow.

4. Human Rights. ROUND-TABLE DISCUSSION (Roitman, Fedoseyev, and Fishbein, M 20) discussed the results of the CSCE review conference in Vienna. The participants stressed that the situation has radically changed since the Helsinki Final Act was

adopted in 1975, when the Soviet Union nominally agreed to the provisions in the field of human rights knowing that it would not abide by them. Now the Soviet Union has made concessions, if only to get the West's agreement to stage a conference on human rights in Moscow in two years' time. It was pointed out that the United States (and undoubtedly other Western countries) will withdraw their agreement if there are serious violations of human rights by the Soviet regime during these two years. The participants also voiced the opinion that the Soviet Union can no longer exert any serious pressure on such countries as Romania, the GDR, and Czechoslovakia to make them improve the human rights situation, even if it wanted to. Moreover it was pointed out that the Soviet media still defend the actions of these regimes against their people.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Roitman, M 5) talked about the CSCE review conference in Vienna, noting the sober attitude of Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and expressing the hope that the process of removing barriers and demolishing the Iron Curtain would gain momentum. This goal can only be achieved by permitting a greater degree of democracy in the Soviet Union, and that would entail not only glasnost but freedom of speech, free elections, the full rehabilitation of political prisoners, etc.

5. History. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Tolz, M 8) commented on the forthcoming conference of the Memorial society, which is supposed to take place in Moscow at the end of January, and described various difficulties the organizers face at the hands of officials. A conference of the Moscow branch of Memorial, during which the society was officially established, took place recently. The tape of a telephone conversation with the historian Arseny Roginsky in Moscow was included in the program. Roginsky gave some information on the type of activity which the Moscow branch of Memorial is presently engaged in, such as the collection of all kinds of factual and biographical material connected with the period of Stalin's terror.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Paramonov, Losev, and Genis, NY 28) presented a round table discussion on Lenin and raised the question of whether he has become a myth or remains a reality. It was stressed that Soviet ideologists are inherently unable or unwilling to admit the ultimate truth about Lenin's role in the revolution. Hiding the truth about the real Lenin, Soviet ideologists hide the truth about the revolution. It is impossible to explain the recent historical experience of the Soviet people by just blaming Stalin, since it would offend the very people who had lived through it. The participants stressed the ritualization of everything connected with Lenin which indeed has turned into an ersatz religion, a symbol with almost divine attributes. At the same time there is a profanation of

the "God-Lenin," also referred to as the Great Inquisitor," which is demonstrated by innumerable profane jokes about him. A parallel was also drawn with Stalin and Khrushchev, each of whom had, or was supposed to have had some traits of Lenin. The Lenin existing in the period of perestroika seems to be a pragmatic one; no longer a leader but a demythologized politician.

CHRISTIAN RUSSIA: THE SECOND MILLENNIUM (Rahr, M 10) quoted from an article by Gleb Pavlovsky in December 1988 issue of Vox XX i mir which dealt with the Valley of the Dead in the vicinity of Madrid. Pegged to the article, the program stressed that the valley burial site is a common grave for all victims of the Spanish Civil War, whether republicans or fascists, and agreed with Pavlovsky that something similar could have been done in the Soviet Union.

6. Russian Nationalism. THE RUSSIAN IDEA (Tolz, M 27:30), a RERUN from 17 December 1988, presented the second part of an article by emigre writer Andrey Sinyavsky in which he analyzed certain major traits of the Russian national character.

7. Jews. JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Markish, Israel 7) described the life and activity of a Russian Lithuanian Jew, Mark Rabinovich, who, after the 1905 revolution, emigrated to Palestine. Various passages from his work on the fate of the Jewish people were cited.

JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Nudelman, Israel 8) described the increased number of Soviet Jews emigrating to the United States. It was noted that some leaders of Jewish-American organizations have suggested that the Jackson-Vanik amendment to the US Trade Act be annulled if the Soviet Union would agree to organize direct flights to Israel. This would solve a number of economic and moral problems for the Israeli government, which is certain that the unwillingness of Soviet Jews to emigrate to Israel is based on insufficient information and knowledge about the country. Israeli newspapers were quoted as maintaining that the unwillingness to emigrate to Israel appears to be based upon economic reasons.

8. The Economy. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 3:30) reported on the reaction of a number of Soviet citizens to the country's cooperative businesses, as reported by Radio Moscow. The program, which was pegged to a court action against a certain cooperative accused of speculation, said that this action will not lead to any positive result and that the entire economic system has to be reorganized to ensure sufficient supplies of goods and food. It was stressed that speculation can exist only under conditions of shortage.

9. The Armed Forces. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 4:30) reported on Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's speech at the CSCE review conference in Vienna, during the course of which he announced the withdrawal of certain types of tactical nuclear weapons from some East European countries. US and NATO reactions to this move were quoted.

10. Culture. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Belotserkovsky, M 8:30) reported on the founding of an "Association of Russian Artists," as reported by the newspaper Moskovsky Literator. The association has a highly political rather than artistic character and its program appears to be chauvinistic and even imperialistic in its insistence on the greatness of Russia. Moreover the association appears to be the first sign of activity of an extreme right-wing political group which is very critical of Gorbachev and perestroika.

11. Tourism. JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Roitman, M 12) cited an article in Nasha Strana, a Russian-language newspaper published in Israel, about the Soviet tourists coming to Israel to visit their relatives or friends. The article pointed to the emergence of psychological conflicts arising from these visits. The same difficulties arise during visits of ex-Soviet citizens to the Soviet Union.

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

- \* 1. Poland. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Shuster, M 6:30) presented a telephone interview with Zbigniew Romaszewski, a member of the Solidarity leadership, who commented on the decision taken by the PUWP Central Committee permitting pluralism in the trade union movement. Romaszewski said that although Solidarnosc would welcome the legality of its status, many potentially embarrassing questions may arise which could create difficulties. As an example he cited the 1982 law which made strikes illegal and which now will have to be amended or annulled. Another difficulty may be a possible controversy between workers of some enterprise or other who decide to declare a strike when Solidarity, for tactical reasons, would object to such action.
- \* THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 4:30) carried a telephone interview with a member of the Solidarity Information Service in Warsaw, Wojciech Maziarski, who said that the economic situation in Poland is still as catastrophic as ever, and that workers are continuing to strike in various parts of the country. Maziarski pointed to the probability of provocation

on the part of those who are against the legalization of Solidarity and said that the country is flush with rumors, including the one about Jaruzelski's forthcoming resignation.

- \* EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 5:30) commented on the decision taken by the PUWP Central Committee not to exclude the possibility of legalizing the Solidarity Union as long as it fulfills certain conditions. The leadership of Solidarity termed the decision positive, noting, however, that it does not consider the legalization of the independent trade union to be a move toward "political pluralism."

#### C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. French President Mitterrand's Visit to Bulgaria. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanova, P 10) featured a firsthand account of Mitterrand's visit to Sofia, focusing on his talks with Todor Zhivkov and his meeting with a group of Bulgarian dissidents.

2. US Developments. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M and Dubinsky W 10:30) gave a live running commentary on the inauguration of George Bush as the 41st President of the United States. Later in the same program Bush's speech was broadcast in a Russian translation.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 4) reported on the inauguration of President Bush and excerpted his speech.

MAN AND SOCIETY (Morozov, NY 4:30) interviewed an American economist about worker-owned companies in the United States. It was pointed out that this form of economy is possible only under the conditions of a free market.

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

None

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis  
for Saturday, 21 January 1989  
M. Rudin

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

1. Soviet-US Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Paramonov, W 4) reported that the US has reacted with caution to Shevardnadze's announcement of a unilateral withdrawal of Soviet tactical nuclear weapons from Eastern Europe. The program used a CND report from Washington and an article in The Washington Post, both of January 20.

2. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 1) cited comments from the Sueddeutsche Zeitung and Die Welt on the war in Afghanistan and the approaching February 15 deadline for the withdrawal of Soviet troops.

SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, M 5) reviewed a recent Soviet television series called "Serving the Soviet Union," which was devoted to the situation in Afghanistan. It was noted that the series characterized the Afghanistan war as aimless and unnecessary.

3. The Congress of People's Deputies. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 5) reported on the nomination of Sakharov by the Moscow Physics Institute to run as a candidate in the coming parliamentary elections. Soviet physicists voted overwhelmingly in favor of Sakharov only two days after his candidature was rejected by the USSR Academy of Sciences. The program drew on an AP dispatch of January 20 and an article in The Washington Post of January 21.

HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE USSR (Malinkovich, M 3:30) talked by telephone with Leonid Batkin in Moscow. Batkin, a historian and art critic who is a member of the Moscow Tribune, spoke about the current nomination of candidates to the Congress of People's Deputies. Batkin said that the election campaign has been unsuccessful and that more than one year will be needed for the balloting to genuinely influence political life. He also noted that details of the voting procedures have not been worked out.

HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE USSR (Malinkovich, M 6) discussed the election campaign with one of the organizers of the Press Club Glasnost and an active member of the human rights movement, Larisa Bogoraz. Among other things Bogoraz said in a telephone call from Moscow that the result of the elections will probably not be positive and will not bring democratization to the USSR but might have the salutary effect of increasing the political activity of the population. She also commented on the proposal of some unofficial groups calling for the creation of an alternative parliament which would represent public organizations from all the republics.

HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE USSR (Malinkovich, M 5) read the program of Revolt Pimenov, who was nominated as a candidate to the new parliament by the scientific center of the Komi Republic. Pimenov was a member of the human rights movement.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 2) excerpted an article from The Sunday Times (London) on the nomination of candidates to the new Soviet legislature, drawing attention to party manipulations of the nomination process.

4. Human Rights. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 7) discussed the case of Nikolay Kryuchkov Jr, son of the renowned artist Nikolay Kryuchkov and the actress Alla Parfanyak, who has been trying for many years to obtain permission to emigrate from the USSR. The program noted appeals issued by Kryuchkov, the latest of which were dated October-December 1988.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fishbein, M 3:30) reported on the continuing persecution of human rights activists and religious believers in the Ukraine, including the arrest on January 14 of Father Havryliv of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, and Yury Rudenko, a Church activist.

5. The Baltic Republics. BALTIC BEACON (Rahr, M 4) commented on the adoption of the Estonian language law as reported by TASS on January 18, questioning the treatment of the language law as it pertains to legal proceedings.

BALTIC BEACON (Rahr, M 10) presented excerpts from an article in Sovetskaya Latvia which discussed the work of a special commission studying the question of having Latvia return to using a geographic time-zone system.

BALTIC BEACON (Rahr, M 6) excerpted an article from the Russian-language Latvian journal Daugova about the tragedy of the Kuropaty massacre in Belorussia. Vadim Shershov, the author of the article, described the unwillingness of certain bodies in Belorussia to open their archives concerning the massacre.

6. The Journal "Ogonek" and Its Chief Editor Korotich. ASPECTS (Roitman and Gordin, M 3) noted that Pravda published an open letter against Ogonek that was actually directed against its chief editor, Vitaly Korotich, whose name the letter, however, does not mention. The program observed that the six literary figures who signed the letter work for such archconservative journals as Nash Sovremennik, Molodaya Gvardiya, and Moskva while the weekly Ogonek is an outspoken advocate of perestroika and glasnost.

An interview with Ogonek chief editor Vitaly Korotich was featured on ASPECTS (Korotich, W 6). Korotich commented on the letter in Pravda signed by prominent Soviet cultural figures. He said that he feels that all viewpoints should be allowed to exist in the Soviet Union as long as they are not against the criminal code or the constitution. Moreover he said that he does not accept ultrarightist, Russian chauvinistic views, which in his opinion are beyond the limits of existing laws.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mihajlov, W 9) featured excerpts from an interview that RL's Washington office conducted with Vitaly Korotich, who attended the inauguration of President Bush. Korotich shared his impressions of the inauguration ceremony and assessed Bush's speech, noting that neither he nor his parents have ever witnessed a natural change of power between Soviet leaders. Moreover he said that what the Soviet Union needs most is a plurality of views and that time will show what organizational form will arise from such pluralism.

7. Restructuring. ASPECTS (Paramonov, NY 4:30) reflected on the ways of the restructuring process, observing that it is impossible to introduce genuine changes in three to four years in a system that has been destructive for the past 70 years and that it is time for Soviet officials to acknowledge this fact to the Soviet people.

8. Shevardnadze at the CSCE Review Conference. ASPECTS (Roitman, M 2) quoted Shevardnadze as saying that the Vienna meeting had "shaken the Iron Curtain" and "weakened its rusty

supports." The program welcomed the choice of words used by the Soviet Foreign Minister and said that "new thinking" in the USSR is acquiring a vocabulary similar to that found in the West.

9. Ideology. ASPECTS (Sezeman, P 4:30) analyzed the linguistic aspects of the "Election Address of the CC of the CPSU," observing that the choice of words in the section dealing with moral issues had not previously been used in official Soviet documents. The document used words of the intelligentsia in an apparent attempt to eliminate the moral shortcomings of Soviet society.

10. The Economy. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 4:30) examined the reasons why the Soviet leaders do not publish figures on the subsistence wage in the Soviet Union and attempted to come up with estimates based on semiofficial Soviet figures. Articles in Leningradskaya Pravda and Semya were used.

11. The Courts. HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE USSR (Kaminskaya, W 10) commented on an article in Izvestia of 16 December 1988 which recounted how a judge from a court in Sverdlovsk voluntarily left his job because Soviet courts are not independent from the central power. The program said that the judge made the decision because he rightly realized that Soviet courts would continue to remain under the power of the authorities.

12. The Armed Forces and Related Topics. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 2) excerpted an article by West German General Schmucke from Die Weltwoche about the past and present state of the Soviet armed forces.

SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, M 4) noted that many conscripts try to get out of serving in the Soviet Army, partially because of the unpopularity of the Afghan War. The program said that the Soviet Union has no alternative civilian service and recalled Lenin's decree of 1919 according to which one could be exempted from military service because of religious beliefs.

SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, M 2) recalled the repressive measures taken toward Soviet prisoners of war under Stalin and noted that this attitude seems to be changing with regard to the Soviet POWs captured in Afghanistan.

13. The Emigration. ASPECTS (Henkina, M 8) described the case of Volodya Ramchuk, who deserted from the Soviet Army in Afghanistan and is presently living in the US. Ramchuk agreed to meet with two Soviet TV correspondents who had been contracted by a local American television station to prepare several reportages. The film subsequently shown was edited and distorted. The program featured a telephone interview with Ramchuk, who said that he protested the showing of the film and is demanding time on the same television station to correct the distortions in the film.

14. Literature. On WRITERS AT THE MICROPHONE (Voynovich, M 18), emigre writer Vladimir Voynovich continued to reminisce about his relationship with Novy Mir chief editor Tvardovsky and about Tvardovsky's reaction to his novel The Life and Extraordinary Adventures of the Soldier Ivan Chonkin. The program noted that Yunost, No. 12/1988, published the first part of Voynovich's book.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Pomerantsev, L 6) highlighted a British television film entitled "Art and Glasnost," which dealt with Soviet literature. Such Soviet literary figures as Olesya Nikolaeva, Vladimir Uflyand, and Marina Kudimova appeared in the film.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Rayfield, L 6) discussed the treatment of Soviet writer Osip Mandelshtam in Britain, noting the work of translator James Green and a BBC radio play about Mandelshtam's life.

ASPECTS (Tolz, M 3), a partial from a RERUN from 20 April 1988, read from Venedikt Erofeev's novel Moskva-Petushki, published in the Paris journal Kontinent.

15. Listeners' Letters. ASPECTS (Henkina and Yurenen, M 11:30) read and answered a number of listeners' letters concerning the BD's programs and related matters.

WRITERS AT THE MICROPHONE (Dovlatov, NY 7) responded to a letter from a listener with whom the program editor regularly corresponds. The program talked about writers and literature in the USSR and in the West and answered questions about certain aspects of life in the US.

16. Sports. Drawing on an article in Izvestia, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rubin, NY 5) discussed the problems of developing sports for the masses in the USSR.

17. Religion. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rahr, M 4:30), a RERUN from January 17, presented an interview with the editor of the independent religious journal Vybor on the proper role of the Russian Orthodox Church in supporting the restructuring process under the auspices of the USSR Department of Religious Affairs.

NOT BY BREAD ALONE (Axenov-Meyerson, NY 9:30) recalled the life and death of St. Vladimir, the Metropolitan of Kiev, who was shot on 25 January 1918.

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

Observing that one of the greatest dangers facing the Soviet people is their impoverished spiritual state, ASPECTS (Fotiyev, M 3) examined the religious standpoint on penance. The program noted the views of Yevtushenko and Pushkin.

NOT BY BREAD ALONE (Rahr, M 3) broadcast Christmas greetings from Father Nikolay of the Russian St. Panteleimonov Monastery at Mount Athos.

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

1. Czechoslovakia. SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, M 6:30) reviewed the creation and tasks of the People's Militia in Czechoslovakia and discussed the role of the militia during the suppression of the Prague Spring by the Soviet Union and its allies.

2. Military Service in the Eastern Bloc. SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, M 8) noted the growing number of conscripts in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union who do not want to serve in the armed forces. The program discussed the reasons for this development and described the alternative civilian services offered in Poland and Hungary.

#### C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The US. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 8) highlighted the past week's events in the US. The program excerpted President Bush's inauguration speech, noted that James Baker has been confirmed as the new secretary of state, cited statements by Baker on US-Soviet relations, and highlighted a State Department statement concerning Libya's involvement in international terrorism.

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

1. A Controversial Book. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Pomerantsev, L 6) reviewed a book by Indian-born writer Salman Rushdie entitled The Satanic Verses and discussed the uproar it has caused among the Muslim community in Britain and elsewhere in the world.

2. Religion. NOT BY BREAD ALONE (Rahr, M 3) read a fragment from the Gospels of St. Matthew which are being read in Russian Orthodox Churches this Sunday.

NOT BY BREAD ALONE (Benigsen, NY 7:30) explained the significance of penance in Christian life.

3. Art. OVER THE BARRIERS (Litvinova, L 6) reviewed an exhibition of the works of British artist David Hockney at the Tate Gallery in London.

4. The Theater. OVER THE BARRIERS (Ozhikhovskaya, L 8) reviewed British playwright Harold Pinter's new play Mountain Language.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis  
for Sunday, 22 January 1989  
M. Frost

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

1. Afghanistan. THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Predtechensky, M 12) presented excerpts from the Sueddeutsche Zeitung and Die Welt on the problems facing the the Soviet troops withdrawing from Afghanistan and highlighted an analysis in Die Weltwoche of the morale of the Soviet Army.
2. Soviet-French Relations. COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Sezeman, P 10:30) reviewed a recently published book by Henri-Christian Giraud entitled De Gaulle et les Communistes, which explores De Gaulle's relationship with Stalin and the French Communist Party.
3. Restructuring. COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Krasin, W 8) summarized an interview with Yugoslav dissident Milovan Djilas which recently appeared in Encounter. Djilas discussed the paradox of a party-led transformation of the communist system in the USSR and said that there is little possibility of genuine lasting changes taking place unless the party relinquishes its monopoly on all aspects of Soviet life.

SOVIETOLOGISTS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Shragin, M 20) presented the third part of a series comparing the views expressed on the nature of Gorbachev's reforms by Natan Eydelman in an interview published in Ogonek with the ideas articulated on the same subject by the US Sovietologist Frederick Star. Both authors



focused on the relationship between the authorities, the intelligentsia, and the people. The program contrasted Eydelman's optimistic view that "reforms create reformers" with Star's analysis of the effect of urbanization on the dynamics of the reform process.

With reference to articles in the Soviet press by leading proponents of reform in the USSR, LAW AND SOCIETY (Kaminskaya and Simis, W 20) considered the need to evaluate the present reform process in the overall context of Russian history. The discussants cited the major reforms of Alexander II during the post-Crimean War period and the NEP period in Soviet history and concluded that, now as then, the leadership of the country has been forced to embark on a reform process in order to retain power. The program then discussed the reduced independence of the new regional soviets which will be automatically headed by the local first party secretaries.

4. The Emigration. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Henkina, M 4), a RERUN from January 17, took issue with an article in Pravda by its Paris correspondent on the changing status of emigres from the USSR. The program commented that not all emigres are keen to play the role of propagandists for the current changes taking place in the USSR and that a more respectful attitude toward emigres is long overdue on the part of the Soviet authorities.

5. Democracy. THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Predtechevsky, M 8) featured an article in The Sunday Times (London) on the confusion surrounding the election campaign for the newly created Congress of People's Deputies.

6. Society. SIBERIAN DESTINIES (Krasin, W 5) discussed the corrosive influence of the criminal community on the Soviet people's attitude toward work. The program recalled that even in Stalin's camps the guards found it impossible to force the criminal section to work. The criminals, in turn, despised all forms of physical labor and resorted to intimidation, murder, and even self-inflicted wounds to avoid work.

7. Siberia. Continuing a series of programs on Siberia in 1917, SIBERIAN DESTINIES (Kushev, M 5) recalled the First All-Siberian Conference of Public Figures, which took place at the University of Tomsk in August 1917. The program broadcast excerpts from Ivan Yakushev's recollections of the conference. The recollections, first published in 1927, reflected the desires of the delegates to establish an autonomous Siberian republic with powers to regulate the economy and the environment for the benefit of Siberians.

SIBERIAN DESTINIES (Kushev, M 13), a RERUN from 10 July 1988, examined the efficiency of the prerevolutionary cooperatives in Siberia and referred to the calamitous drop in butter production after the Siberian cooperatives were liquidated in 1928.

SIBERIAN DESTINIES (Naumov, W 7), a RERUN from 30 November 1988, examined the destruction through pollution of vast tracts of Siberian forest.

8. The Media. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, 19) reviewed the January 20 edition of the Paris-based Russkaya Mysl, which included items on Boris Yeltsin, Czechoslovakia, and Armenia originally published in the unofficial Soviet journals Referendum, Ekspress-Khronika, and Demokraticheskaya Oppositsiya.

9. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Yurenen, M 12) broadcast an interview with the head of the Los Angeles-based Soviet-US Television corporation, Serge Levin, who described the role of the corporation in broadcasting Russian-language programs in the US and in promoting cultural contacts between the USSR and the US. Levin also described the difficulties in working with Soviet organizations caused by poor communications and business practices.

10. Literature. Continuing a series on Stalin and Soviet literature, OVER THE BARRIERS (Geller, P 9) examined the postwar novels of Pavlenko, Perventsev, etc., which contributed greatly to the cult of personality in Soviet society.

FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 29:30) broadcast the 33rd installment of Alexander Solzhenitsyn's autobiographical work The Calf and the Oak.

EX LIBRIS (Panich and Yurenen, M and Vail and Genis, NY 50) introduced and broadcast chapter one of Venedikt Erofeev's chilling tale of an alcoholic suburban train journey from Moscow, Moskva-Petushki.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Sapguir, P 6) reviewed the literary career of the London-based author and playwright Igor Pomerantsev.

11. Sports. Drawing on articles from the Soviet press, WORLD OF SPORTS (Rubin, NY 10) reported on the controversy surrounding the decision of Moscow's leading soccer club, Spartak, to release seven of its senior players.

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

1. Czechoslovakia. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fistejn, M 8:30) reported on the fourth day of demonstrations in Prague on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the self-immolation of Jan Palach. The program drew attention to the distorted coverage of the demonstrations by the Soviet press, which among other things has been talking of Western provocations. The program said that Jan Palach's aim of shaking the Czechoslovak population out of its apathy is being better fulfilled now than it was at the time. The inconsistent behavior of the Czechoslovak authorities regarding this and previous demonstrations was noted. Brutality has been alternating with passiveness, and international pressures have evidently been acting as a certain restraint. The program was RERUN from January 19.

2. Poland. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fistejn, M 8:30), a RERUN from January 18, reported on the PUWP's CC debate and approval of a proposal on the relegalization of the Solidarity Union. The program examined the reasons why the party leadership feels that it is necessary to recognize Solidarity.

3. Romania. On the occasion of Ceausescu's birthday speech to foreign diplomats outlining the achievements of present-day Romania, EAST EUROPEAN VARIANTS (Fistejn, M 7) enumerated the human rights violations in the country and criticized Ceausescu's stand on the production of chemical weapons.

## C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

None

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

1. WORLD OF SPORTS (Rubin, NY 10) described the sporting prowess of President Bush.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis  
for Monday, 23 January 1989  
D. Felton

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

1. Soviet-US Relations. In a review of recent events in the US, THE USA TODAY (P. Vail, NY 1) briefly mentioned the expected Soviet purchase of 45-50 million tons of US grain this year; the arrival of a group of Soviet schoolchildren in the US on an exchange program; an exhibition in New York devoted to the millennium of the Christianization of Russia; and a tour of the US by a Soviet folk dance ensemble under the direction of Igor Moiseyev.

2. Afghanistan. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Shuster, M 6:30) featured a telephone interview with an official of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Information Center, Boris Sevastyanov, who said that the USSR would do everything possible to fulfil its obligations under the Geneva agreements, but that the armed opposition is behaving in an obstructionist fashion. While the USSR recognizes the Kabul government and is continuing to help it, Afghanistan's internal affairs must be resolved by the Afghans themselves. The program followed with a telephone interview with US State Department official Jim Bruno, who said that the US expects the USSR to withdraw all its troops on time, irrespective of circumstances.

Pegged to a statement by a top Soviet officer in Afghanistan that an order to start the final phase of the troop withdrawal had so far not been received, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 6:30) spoke of the demoralizing effect which the recent contradictory Soviet statements on the withdrawal must be having on the Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan after all the hardships which they have suffered already, among other things due to

inadequate care and facilities. The program said that Serebrov was wrong when he talked of the Soviet contingent's "honorable mission," but right when he admitted that it had not been completed.

3. Dissidents and Human Rights. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 5) gave the contents of an article by former UN Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick in The Washington Post in which she spoke of the paramount importance of the signing of the Vienna CSCE human rights agreement, in particular by the USSR.

4. The Earthquake in Tajikistan. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 7) featured a telephone report from Dushanbe on the general situation by Viktor Dashkevich, a responsible secretary of the newspaper Kommunist Tadzhikistana, and a talk with the chief editor of RL's Tajik Service, Danielov, who said that the number of fatalities could be higher than the 700 mentioned by Dashkevich. He spoke of the danger of dam bursts, and the lack of sophisticated seismic warning devices as well as of earthquake-proof housing outside Dushanbe as a result of economic considerations.

- \* 5. Restructuring. ROUND TABLE TALK (Roitman, Malinkovich and Belotserkovsky, M 20) was devoted to the elections of candidates for the Congress of People's Deputies. The program spoke particularly of Sakharov being put forward. The election system was described as complicated and undemocratic. Democratization has not reached the party, as illustrated by the latest report-and-election meetings, and the fact that 100 party members have been put forward for 100 seats. These include supporters of restructuring, but they are in the minority. Reference was made to the exclusion of unofficial organizations from the list of organizations allowed to put forward candidates. The program agreed with Sakharov's statement in an interview with US News and World Report that Gorbachev is paying only lip service to democratization. He is against a multiparty system. The program discussed the possibility of conducting elections on either a factor-by-factor or a territorial principle.

- \* THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Bensi, M 3:30) cited a report by L'Unita's Moscow correspondent on the meeting in Moscow's Cinema House at which Sakharov was put forward as a candidate for the Congress of People's Deputies. The report describes how the organizers of the meeting overcame the uncooperative attitude of the authorities and speaks of the overwhelming approval for a telegram addressed to the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences expressing surprise and indignation over the Academy's blocking Sakharov's candidature.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 6:30) featured a telephoned comment from Moscow by Viktor Aksyuchits, publisher of the independent journal Vybor, in which he remarked that the flood of information now appearing in Soviet publications under glasnost is known to the bulk of the Soviet population as a result of personal experience. Listing the dismal "achievements" of the Soviet regime during the 70 years of its existence, Aksyuchits asked whether a country which has been ruled by persons either liquidated as "enemies of the people," or removed as incompetent, or branded as incompetent after their death, can be moving in the right direction, toward socialism. Why, asked Aksyuchits, is revolutionary restructuring now necessary? Such questions, he said, are still not being asked despite glasnost.

6. The Nationalities. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Perouansky, M 4) said that the conferring of a special administrative status to Mountainous Karabakh is undoubtedly a positive step, but it is only a compromise decision, which was put forward by a number of Armenian activists as well as Sakharov. Sakharov was quoted as saying at an election meeting that it is pointless to insist that Mountainous Karabakh remain a part of the Azerbaijani SSR since this would be unacceptable to the Armenians. He was also quoted in an interview with US News and World Report on the arrests of members of the Karabakh Committee; in view of this and other violations of human rights, he said, preparations for the planned human rights conference in Moscow should be halted. The program mentioned facts and figures given by the top internal affairs official of Mountainous Karabakh on the excesses which occurred last September, and expressed the hope that a solution to the conflict will eventually be found on the basis of self-determination.

ON THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Malinkovich and Rosenbaum, M 7), RFE Estonian Service staffer Tina Rosenbaum discussed the new Estonian law giving Estonian the status of a state language in the Estonian SSR. Rosenbaum said the Estonian population is satisfied with the law, and she expressed the hope that it is a first step toward Estonian citizenship and more sovereignty. Some non-Estonians approve of the law, while others, who came to Estonia as occupiers, are against it. Rosenbaum suggested that Moscow's benevolent attitude toward the new law may be explained by the unity existing between the Estonian leadership and people, and by the awareness that Estonia will not become another Mountainous Karabakh.

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Malinkovich, M 22) discussed a recent scientific conference on nationality problems also reported on Soviet TV. The program pointed to the abysmally low standard of the contributions, and said that the

conference made it clear that dogmatic, party-trained scholars are not competent in such matters. The program showed that one of the scholars at least did not know his Lenin. The program concluded with an excerpt from French Sovietologist Helene Carrere d'Encausse's book The Split Empire on the conflict between Lenin and Stalin over the nationalities policy. D'Encausse explains that the conflict was really about methods and tempo, since Lenin envisaged an eventual merging of the individual nationalities.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (P. Vail, NY 7:30) gave the contents of two January 22 articles by The Washington Post's Moscow in the Ukraine, and on the Ukrainian Catholic Church's campaign for legalization.

7. Russian Nationalism. THE RUSSIAN IDEA (Vl. Tolz, M 27:30), a RERUN from 18 December 1988, presented the third and final part of a series of programs on Russian nationalism prepared by Soviet emigre writer Andrey Sinyavsky, whose negative appraisal of Russian nationalism set the tone for all three broadcasts.

8. Society. MAN AND SOCIETY (R. Shapiro, Isr. 4) cited articles in the Soviet press virtually admitting the existence of poverty in the USSR, even among working people. The program found it highly significant, however, that figures for the subsistence minimum are still not published in the USSR.

9. Demography. MAN AND SOCIETY (Gordin, M 4:30) drew attention to an article by Bestuzhev-Lada, probably the USSR's most serious demographer, in Nedelya, No. 33, which points to the economic, social, and psychological reasons for the low birth rate in the USSR.

10. The Environment. MAN AND SOCIETY (Gordin and Komarov, M 8), citing the Soviet press, pointed to environmental pollution as a major factor in the high rate of infant mortality and disease in the USSR. The text was then given of a prayer for the restoration of a clean environment read out in churches in Riga last September.

11. Joint Ventures. MAN AND SOCIETY (Gordin and Kroncher, M 5:30) commented on the decision by the Italian "Astro-Pizza" firm, which ran a mobile pizza van in Moscow, to close down operations and move to Finland. The program said that the firm found it impossible to operate under the conditions of Soviet reality (inadequate storage and refrigeration facilities, etc.), and its experience is symptomatic for joint ventures in the USSR. The program rejected the suggestion made by the Moscow correspondent of The Journal of Commerce that a "Russian Mafia" had been at work.

12. The Armed Forces. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 5:30) was pegged to statements by two top Soviet army officers on the demobilization and transfer to the reserve of large numbers of Soviet officers under a new policy placing emphasis on the quality rather than the quantity of officers. The program pointed to the postwar tradition of overproduction of officers in the Soviet armed forces, and expressed the view that the new measures are justified, although officers without a civilian profession will suffer. Best of all, said the program, would be a volunteer army such as in many democratic countries, but the Soviet leadership is not yet ready to take such a step.

13. Religion. RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Fotiyev, M 11; Tyulpinov, M 9:30; and Aksenov-Meyerson, NY 7:30) began with a positive review of an article by historian Sergey Filatov in Sotsiologicheskkiye Issledovaniya, 1988, No. 5, in which he calls for respect for believers. The program took issue, however, with Filatov's appeal for an end to suspecting believers of disloyalty to socialism. The program asked what is to be understood by the term "socialism," and said it would be better to talk instead of a state ruled by law. In general, a church should never be totally subordinate to the state. The program gave examples of churchmen who rebelled against the state when their conscience demanded it. The program mentioned monkhood and Christian art as illustrations of the church's faithfulness to the spirit of the Gospel. After this, the program commented on the restoration of the Chapel of St. Xenia of St. Petersburg, destroyed by the Bolsheviks. Reference was made to the pilgrimages which individual citizens made to the destroyed chapel. In conclusion, the program reviewed the 28th issue of the Moscow Patriarchate's only theological publication, Bogoslovskiy Trudy, noting the broader range of authors whose works it is allowed to publish, such as Orthodox theologian Vladimir Lossky, and Father Pavel Florensky, who died in a concentration camp during the Stalin era.

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

- \* 1. Poland. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fistejn, M 6:30) noted Solidarity's positive response to the party's readiness to restore its legal status under certain conditions. The program said that Solidarity does not really consider the party's conditions as relevant, and has put forward its own conditions. It was observed that while Solidarity is united over this and other issues, the party is divided.



EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 7) reviewed French press comment on the murder of the Rev. Niedzielak, and Solidarity's agreement to talks with the leadership. The program cited Le Figaro, Liberation, and Le Monde.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The US. THE USA TODAY (P. Vail, NY 6) gave background on the presidential inauguration ceremony in the US in connection with the inauguration of President Bush.

THE USA TODAY (P. Vail, NY 2) gave a brief profile of its candidate for American of the Week, President Bush.

MAN AND SOCIETY (Krasin, W 4:30) detailed the success of President Reagan's economic policy in reducing unemployment. The program corrected the black picture of unemployed persons in the US painted by the Soviet press.

THE USA TODAY (Krasin, W 6) included an item on the favorable economic prospects for the US. It was noted that in recent years, the US average annual GNP growth rate has been three times that of the USSR.

THE USA TODAY (P. Vail, NY 3) reviewed recent events in the US, namely the transition from Presidents Reagan to Bush, the 60th anniversary of the birth of Martin Luther King, racial disturbances in Miami, the sentencing of subway gunman Bernard Goetz, and donations to colleges and universities.

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

1. Smoking in the US. THE USA TODAY (Genis and P. Vail, NY 8), pegged to the 25th anniversary of the warning by the US Surgeon-General that smoking was a health hazard, reported on the decline in the proportion of smokers in the US and the continuing anti-smoking campaign.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis  
for Tuesday, 24 January 1989  
J. Benson

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

1. Soviet-US Relations. Drawing on an article in The Washington Post, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 4) profiled President Bush's new national security adviser Brent Scowcroft, who, in a talk on ABC TV, reportedly stressed the necessity for caution in dealings with the Soviet Union and ascribed to the USSR the desire to split NATO and maintain stable relations with the US in order to solve internal problems. The same views were expressed by US Senator Nunn on the same program.

MAN AND SOCIETY (Mikhailov, NY 27:30) presented the first part of an interview with Vitaly Korotich, chief editor of Ogonek, during his visit to Washington D.C. for the presidential inauguration of Bush. Korotich compared certain aspects of democracy in the United States and in the Soviet Union, praising, in particular, the peaceful transition of power in the US and the US voters' attitude that politicians are normal citizens and that no matter how high their office they must be responsible to the voters. Korotich expressed the opinion that a new understanding of politicians as professionals and a peaceful transition of power in the Soviet Union will prove the success of Gorbachev's restructuring, whose major aim, he continued, is the connection of the people's will with the people's government. Among other things he also observed that the Soviet Union needs pluralism of opinion that is protected by law more than it needs two parties.

2. Soviet Union - the Vatican. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 2) highlighted statements made by Cardinal Casaroli at the annual conference of the Christian Union of Businessmen and Firm

Directors meeting in Rome with reference to the Soviet Union's awareness about the importance of private initiative for economic success. The Cardinal also mentioned that Gorbachev was a suitable partner for negotiations with the Vatican and a request for an audience with the Pope would be granted without red tape.

3. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 6:30) reported that the plan to withdraw Soviet troops at the height of the Afghan winter and thus make difficult the attacks of the resistance forces has been only partially successful. General Serebrov's insistence that only soldiers who had completed their service were leaving, denying that the actual withdrawal had begun, was thought to be a tactic to keep the resistance forces uninformed until the last minute. The intensified bombing was interpreted as an attempt to strengthen northern Afghanistan.

4. The Earthquake in Tajikistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Malinkovich, M 7) featured an interview with the director of the Tajik staff who blamed the central authorities for the poorly equipped seismological stations in the republic and accused them of ignoring the report in Pravda in 1987 by a special commission which exposed the situation. He also doubted claims that seismologically safe houses have been built in the area and pointed to other signs that central economic interests prevail over the risks of local damage to the republic.

5. The Elections. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Belotserkovsky, M 7:30) expressed the opinion that the nomination of candidates to the Congress of People's Deputies is looking more and more like public deception. Not only have numerous incidents of arbitrariness on the part of the authorities become apparent, but the publicity given the nomination has detracted attention from the much more important election campaign of members to the lower party organs, which could lead to a true democratization of the party from below. The program remarked that the apparent disinterest of the populace in the election may actually be an expression of common sense in view of the many mechanisms within the electoral process for eliminating candidates not favored by the party and the fact that even if a true democrat could reach the Supreme Soviet he would have no influence.

On THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 0:30) an independent Moscow journalist reported that the MGU had nominated the rector of the university as a candidate for the Congress of Peoples' Deputies.

6. Democratization. BALTIC BEACON (Rahr, M 2) responded to a reader's letter in Sovetskaya Litva of December 1 which justified the existence of the alternative front Yedinstvo by

charging that the Sajudis is proposing basic amendments to the republic's constitution. The program argued that such amendments are necessary to correct the constitution's undemocratic features, such as the inequality of believers before the law, the monopoly of the party, etc.

7. Restructuring. BALTIC BEACON (Rahr, M 5) excerpted an editorial in Sovetskaya Litva of January 17 which argued against the total rejection of the party and its ideals. The program explained the falseness of a logic, that, in effect, says since the party has led the country into a blind alley it has the right to continue and observed that current inter ethnic problems, the war in Afghanistan, etc., are signs that the ideals have never been realized and the socialist nation was stillborn.

8. The Nationalities. BALTIC BEACON (Rahr, M 11:30) expressed the opinion that the ongoing discussion in the media, in particular Sovetskaya Latvia of January 13, about whether or not the political character of the Popular Front of Latvia (PFL) conflicts with the constitution, which allegedly allows this status only to the Komsomol, is the party's first attack against the PFL. It was surmised that the party had introduced the alternative Interfront because the formation of the PFL could not be prevented. The program opined that the party's monopoly of leadership contradicts the fundamentals of restructuring and democratization.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Perouansky, M 5:30), a RERUN from January 23, observed that the decision to leave Nagorno-Karabakh formally under the jurisdiction of Azerbaijan but, in fact, have a committee directly responsible to Moscow manage it is a step in the right direction but only a temporary solution.

HUMAN RIGHTS (Fedoseyeva, M 5:30) read between the lines of a short notice in Moskovskiy Novosti of January 22 which described a brief protest rally by Crimean Tatars in Moscow, regularly protesting the unresolved problem of their return to their homeland. The program drew attention to a supplement dedicated to human rights, which appeared in the December issue of Novoye Vremya, and noted that the discussion of the basic right of self-determination is the concern of the Crimean Tatars.

Pegged to an announcement in Izvestia of the retirement of the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Uzbekistan, THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 1:30) interviewed an Uzbek staffer who said the newspaper's charges of an abuse of power and corruption are justified.

9. Human Rights. On HUMAN RIGHTS (Fedoseyev, M 7) the editor of the human rights section of the independent journal glasnost discussed certain inconsistencies in three articles appearing in the supplement dedicated to restructuring and human rights in the December issue of Novoye Vremya. The journalist observed that national determination is not guaranteed in the constitution and that the party has the final word on national determination. He reported that there are still obstacles to Soviet citizens' freedom of movement, but refuted the accusation that the US is to blame. It was also observed that the law provides for the forcible hospitalization of persons considered "dangerous" to society.

On THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 4:30) a Moscow journalist gave details on recent arrests and detentions of members of the Democratic Union and the Ukrainian Helsinki Society, the head of the Constitutional Group in Yerevan, and members of the Karabakh Committee. The latter were thought to be held as common criminals under harsh conditions.

FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 29:30) broadcast the 46th installment of Alexander Solzhenitsyn's book The Gulag Archipelago Part III.

10. The Media. HUMAN RIGHTS (Shragin, NY 12:30) backgrounded the sharp protests in the republics that central mass media reports about events in the republics are often inaccurate, one-sided, and incomplete. Citing an article in The New York Times of December 17, the program agreed that Soviet reporting is still an instrument of official propaganda the main goal, of which ever since Lenin, has been to provide a specific viewpoint of an event. The program reminded the editors of Pravda that their first responsibility is to provide their readers with information of good quality. Pravda of December 3, the Lithuanian Komsomolskaya Pravda of November 23, the central Komsomolskaya Pravda of November 21, and an all-Union radio broadcast of November 30 were cited.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 5:3) broadcast a review of the Soviet press by a Moscow journalist, who drew attention to an article in Pravda of January 24 which took the party line against Armenia in its slanted depiction of a trial of Armenian activists in Yerevan, criticized the irresponsibility of several newspapers which published articles of an earthquake prognosis at this time, and found an interesting interview in Komsomolskaya Pravda with the writer Viktor Yerofeyev.

11. Society. ROUND TABLE TALK (Roitman, Gordon, and Henkina, M 20) discussed major social problems of special concern to Soviet women, which Aleksandra Biryukova, the sole woman in the

Politburo, touched on at a press conference on January 23. Observing that restructuring has not affected the daily experiences of Soviet women, the program criticized Biryukova for still referring to the ideals of restructuring and not concentrating on the reasons for no results. The continuing high rate of abortions, for example, performed under primitive, demeaning conditions was attributed to the indifferent attitude toward human life in general in the Soviet Union, the catastrophic condition of Soviet health care, the absence of a proper medical culture or care of the body, widespread ignorance about contraception and the dangers of abortion, and the unavailability of simple birth control devices. Biryukova's explanation for the continuing food and consumer goods shortages was considered a direct prevarication. Finally, the program observed that, contrary to reports, Soviet woman has not returned to the hearth, because she still lacks her own kitchen, bedroom, and even apartment in most cases. Moskovskiye Novosti of January 22 was cited.

On OVER THE BARRIERS (Dovlatov, NY 7) the emigre author Sergey Dovlatov disagreed with a recent article in Literaturnaya Gazeta which claimed that fear of the authorities was the reason for the contractual price sections being closed in Leningrad bookstores. Dovlatov explained that the bookstores have always been an "island of realism in a world of fiction" in which the contractual prices were formed by trade and cultural mechanisms directly reflecting reality. He suspected that there is currently too much uncertainty about which authors are no longer taboo and which are still off limits.

12. The Archives. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Tolz, M 8) took issue with an explanation of the continuing inaccessibility of Soviet archives in an article in Ogonek, No. 2, which naively attributed it to the abandonment of Lenin's norms and Stalin's creation of an atmosphere of secrecy. The program observed that the archival system and the mentality of its officials are a carbon copy of the totalitarian system itself, and the NKVD's assumption of responsibility for the state archives 50 years ago is simply a logical development. To reorganize the archival system, the program concluded, it is necessary to reorganize the Soviet system.

13. Agriculture. HUMAN RIGHTS (Raminskaya, W 10) contrasted the disadvantages of the current legal situation of farmers who contract or lease land to the situation during the 1920s to explain why so few peasants have responded to Gorbachev's agricultural reforms. The program agreed with one of the participants in a discussion on land reform, published in Izvestia from December 20, who stressed that a law about ownership of the land is needed, not a land-lease law.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY TODAY (Chalidze, NY 1:30) described the extensive erosion in the Soviet Union caused by overproduction and wondered whether it can be stopped effectively without the farmers first becoming the owners.

14. Literature and Human Rights. OVER THE BARRIERS (Paramonov, Vail, and Genis; NY 21) assessed the historical importance of Yuly Daniel and Andrey Sinyavsky for both Soviet literature and for the human rights movement in the Soviet Union. The trial of the two authors in 1965 for anti-Soviet works published in the West under pseudonyms was said to be a milestone marking the end of Khrushchev's "thaw" and the beginning of the consolidation of social forces in the battle for more human rights: a battle in which the word "protest" and the literal observance of the law were the major weapons against the authorities' arbitrary interpretations. The program then discussed Sinyavsky's image of the artist as the stranger who is always in opposition to the accepted social norms and his launching of a new genre, literature about literature.

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

1. Eastern Europe. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 10) calculated the actual percentages involved in the unilateral reductions of armed forces announced by all Eastern European countries except Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Romania. Despite certain negative aspects of these measures, the program still considered them a partial guarantee for the prevention of an armed conflict.

2. Eastern Europe - the Vatican. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 1) highlighted statements made by Cardinal Casaroli, at the annual conference of the Christian Union of Businessmen and Firm Directors meeting in Rome, concerning improved relations with Hungary and Yugoslavia, but continuing disagreement with Poland and Czechoslovakia.

3. Czechoslovakia. Pegged to the announcement of the government's harsh reactions to peaceful protests in the country, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fistejn, M 8:30) highlighted Charter 77's call for a TV debate between the government and the opposition and excerpted a letter of the Head of the Czechoslovak Catholic Church, Cardinal Tomasek, in support of such a dialogue. A statement by Dubcek in l'Unita of January 22 was also cited.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 1:30) broadcast audio materials of US State Department spokesman Redman who condemned the use of force by Czechoslovak authorities against the peaceful protests, calling it a violation of the country's agreement to human rights at the recent CSCE.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 3:30) presented a report by a journalist of the independent Eastern European Information Agency on the latest repressions in Czechoslovakia, foreign responses expressing solidarity with the victims, the protests of the Popular Front of Latvia, and the Democratic Union in the Soviet Union, and the first direct criticism of the government by Dubcek.

On THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 2) an independent Moscow journalist read the text of telegrams sent by the Moscow Democratic Union to the Czechoslovak government protesting the repression of the peaceful demonstrations commemorating the death of Jan Palach and by the northwest division of the Democratic Union which expressed solidarity with the Czechoslovak protestors.

4. The GDR. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 1:30) gave voice cuts of Secretary General Honecker's announcement on January 23 of the GDR's unilateral reduction of conventional arms and a 10 percent cut in defense spending.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Shuster, M 2:30) expressed the opinion that the reductions announced by Honecker on January 23 are not very important from a military viewpoint, but politically significant for the FRG. The reductions are considered the first positive signal of a potential change in Honecker's attitude to Gorbachev's restructuring.

#### C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. Central America. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Polishchuk, W 3:30) backgrounded the failure of diplomacy to end the crisis situation in the area and observed that many Central American countries expect to have more support for a peaceful solution from Bush than was the case during Reagan's presidency.

2. The US. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY TODAY (Chalidze, NY 7) described the causes of erosion in the US in the 1930s and 1980s, and the measures successfully taken against it.



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

1. Technology. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY TODAY (Muslin and Morozov, NY 20) featured an item on the positive and negative prospects of computer technology in the realm of art and an interview with a private detective about his use of computers to collect and analyze information.

2. The Death of Salvador Dali was marked by EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanova, P 6) with a brief sketch of his life, the citation of several ideological cliches from the Soviet publication Surrealism in Art, a short summary of the French media's reaction to the news, and a few quotes of Dali's paradoxical statements from his book The Secret Life of Salvador Dali.

In commemoration of the artist's recent death, THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Shuster, M 2:30) broadcast audio materials of Dali's comments on his own genius and historical role in art.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Wednesday, 25 January 1989

J. Benson

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

1. Soviet-US Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Muslin, NY 3:30) drew on an article in The New York Times of January 24 in reporting on the goal and substance of President Bush's telephone call on his first day in office to Gorbachev.

2. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin M 7) approved the first appearance of the term "Kabul regime" in Pravda of January 27, which was said to signal a realistic view of Najibullah's regime, but criticized the slanted presentation in Pravda and TASS dispatches of the final scenes of Soviet military involvement. Both were said to overlook the ongoing withdrawal of Soviet troops; the continuing bombing in the north and south of Afghanistan, contrary to the Geneva agreement; and their reporters' illogical censure of the Mujahidin for hindering Soviet deliveries of food supplies to Kabul.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Shuster, M 2) played a voice cut of US State Department spokesman Redman's accusation that the Soviet Union is continuing the bombing of Afghanistan and broadcast a telephone interview with the director of the Afghanistan Center of Information who gave details on the bombings.

AT THE NEWSSTAND (Perouansky, M 2) highlighted readers' letters from Trud and Izvestia, both of January 10. Some presented different opinions on whether prisoners-of-war in Afghanistan are traitors and others were incensed that veterans of the war in Afghanistan have to pay for lost or damaged materials as do other soldiers serving their military service at home.

3. Elections. DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Shragin, NY 10) discussed the decision of the Central Electoral Committee on December 20 to reserve one-third of the seats to the Congress of People's Deputies for certain official organizations and higher echelon party members, and noted that, according to a survey conducted by Komsomolskaya Pravda, more than 60 percent of the public are opposed to this decision. Accusing the party of being afraid of losing the election, the program commented that democratic elections are absolutely essential not only for the health of the party but ultimately for the health of society.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyev, M 1) previewed an interview with Sakharov scheduled to appear in the January 20 issue of The US News and World Report. Among other things, Sakharov criticized the antidemocratic electoral law which he said is a result of Gorbachev's wanting but fearing true democracy.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, Rome 3) drew attention to the somewhat pessimistic view of the Soviet pre-election campaigns for the Congress of People's Deputies given by a reporter for Unita, the organ of the Italian Communist Party. The journalist regretted that the changes were only on the surface, noting that the electoral law permits the authorities to exert their will in the election and the bureaucracy to exercise pressure through the plenums of the official social organizations.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rubin, NY 4:30) summarized an AP dispatch of January 24 which described the stormy pre-electoral meeting at which Vitaly Korotich was nominated in absentia for the Congress of the People's Deputies.

ON MAN AND SOCIETY (Mikhailov, W 1) Vitaly Korotich, the chief editor of Ogonek, commented on his nomination to the Congress of People's Deputies, the manipulation of Pamyat members, and talks given by Rasputin and other talented writers in support of Pamyat, which, he said, are not commensurate with their talent as writers.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 4) presented a report from Moscow on events connected with the nominations in Sverdlovsk, Lvov, and Moscow.

4. The Earthquake in Tajikistan. Pegged to an announcement of a day of mourning for the victims of the recent earthquake in the republic, THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 3) presented a telephone report from the responsible secretary of the newspaper Kommunist Tajikistan about the number of dead and injured and rescue operations.

5. The Nationalities. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Nadirashvili and Oganessian, M 19:30) objected to the impression created primarily in the central press that the nationalistic feelings and interethnic tensions in the republics are caused, or at least nourished by a local mafia and local corruption. The program stressed that corruption exists throughout the country, that its roots are in Moscow, that the mafia is always international in nature, and that the basis of nationalism derives from religion and never from economic or social problems. The program conceded that the basic conservatism in the republics makes restructuring more difficult. This was thought to be the reason for the central government's attempt to exercise pressure by campaigning against "bribe takers." The program opined that the problem of interethnic tensions cannot be solved from such an erroneous starting point and that the republics should be allowed to solve their own problems.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyev, M 4) previewed an interview with Sakharov scheduled to appear in the January 20 issue of The US News and World Report in which he predicted that the confrontation between Armenia and Azerbaijan will be a test of Gorbachev's nationality policy. He accused Gorbachev of fearing national movements, said the arrest of members of the Karabakh Committee was unnecessary, and criticized Gorbachev's consistently anti-Armenian position. The program summarized Sakharov's statements in the supplement to the December issue of Novoye Vremya that interethnic tensions are caused by the hierarchical structure of Soviet society and could be best solved by a horizontal supranational system which allows local authorities to solve local problems.

MAN AND SOCIETY (Mikhailov, W 28:30) presented the second part of an interview conducted with Vitaly Korotich, the chief editor of Ogonek, during his visit in Washington D.C. for the presidential inauguration. Among other things, Korotich expressed confidence in Gorbachev's sincerity to solve the interethnic problems. He also pointed to the different levels of the national movements which he attributed to different levels of political culture. The underdeveloped political culture in Russia, he said, which has never experienced party battles or tolerated different views, of necessity must also give birth to perverted movements like Pamyat which Korotich considered dangerous for Gorbachev's restructuring and democratization. However, he warned against forcing that which is sick into hiding, because more exposure will cause the excesses to disappear. He expressed the opinion that Russian was a practical choice for the state language of the Soviet Union, but he stipulated it should not be used to repress the nationalities and felt Latvia's recent measures regarding the Latvian language are acceptable.

AT THE NEWSSTAND (Perouansky, M 5) drew attention to a TASS announcement that a special government commission is continuing its search for archival materials and witnesses of the massacre in the Kuropaty Forest in Belorussia at the end of World War I. The TASS dispatch reportedly contradicts an article in the January issue of the Latvian journal Daugava which exposed the difficulties encountered during the investigation and revealed that it had been officially closed in November.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 7) presented a telephone interview of the deputy secretary of the party committee of Tashkent University, Marat Zakhidov, about his charges against the head of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of Uzbekistan, Bulat Khabibullayev, which led to his retirement. Reports in Izvestia and a TASS dispatch describing his abuse of power were cited.

6. Dissidents and Human Rights. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyev, M 1;30) previewed an interview with Sakharov scheduled to appear in the January 20 issue of The US News and World Report in which he said that the human rights situation in the Soviet Union has taken a step backwards. The main points of his article about the problematics of basic human rights appearing in the supplement to the December issue of Novoye Vremya were highlighted.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 2;30) broadcast a review of incidents of human rights violations reported by an independent Moscow journalist. These involved an Afghanistan veteran who was excluded from the Komsomol and risks the loss of his job because he turned down a nomination to a local office and revealed his support for the Democratic Union; a former political prisoner who was detained and told to leave Moscow; and the leader of the ecology movement Delta who was beaten up by unidentified people.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 5) presented a telephone conversation with a friend of the writer Varlam Shalamov who corrected the inaccuracies and distortions, especially about the writer's death, of a TV program dedicated to him on central TV on January 24.

AT THE NEWSSTAND (Perouansky, M 5) excerpted a reader's letter published in the December issue of Vek Dvadtsaty i Mir which examined the new roles of former dissidents and the government and the long history of force and its consequences in the Soviet Union. Every citizen was entreated to cooperate with the government to improve the country's situation, but not at the price of compromise on the issue of prisoners of conscience.

7. Unofficial Groups. RUSSIA, YESTERDAY, TODAY AND TOMORROW (Levin, W 7) highlighted the main points of a talk on unofficial groups in the Soviet Union given at the Kennan Institute in Washington D. C. by the American Sovietologist Frederick Star. Drawing on personal observations made in the Soviet Union, Star attributed the explosive growth of the unofficial groups, today numbering more than 40,000, to the increased freedom allowed in social activities. He traced the history of such groups; profiled their members and spectrum of interests; and cited factors, such as urbanization, etc., which have promoted the process. Their growth, he said, will be a text of the country's further social development.
  
8. The Peace Movement. AT THE NEWSSTAND (Perouansky, M 6:30) excerpted an article from the December issue of Vek Dvadtsaty i Mir which characterized the persecution complex of Soviet society both now and in the past and remarked that only when the habit of telling those in power and the people unpleasant truths overrides the habit of force will it be possible to have peace.
  
9. Emigres. AT THE NEWSSTAND (Perouansky, M 2) presented a slightly abridged letter of the writer Larissa Miller which was published in the December issue of Vek Dvadtsaty i Mir. Miller argued the case for the moral superiority of emigre writers such as Solzhenitsyn, Voinovich, Sinyavsky, etc. and called for the publication of their works. Silence about them and their works, she said, will turn the epoch of glasnost into an epoch of half-truths.
  
10. The Special Army Forces. AT THE NEWSSTAND (Perouansky, M 1:30) drew attention to an article in the December issue of Literaturny Kirgizstan, in which the authors described their as yet unreleased film on the training of the special forces.
  
11. History. RUSSIA, YESTERDAY, TODAY AND TOMORROW (Kaminskaya, W 9:30) drew on the memoirs of Fedor Burlatsky published in the October issue of Novy Mir in recounting the tragic fate of the innocent postgraduate student Valentin Lifshitz who was denounced to the Secret Police by his friend Prof. Serafim Pokrevsky, who, in his capacity as agent-provocateur, collected and falsified evidence for Stalin's plan to bring "jurists-saboteurs" to trial.
  
- RUSSIA, YESTERDAY, TODAY AND TOMORROW (Levin, W 8:30) profiled Count Pavel Kiselev and reviewed the importance of his preparatory work for many of the 19th century reforms, especially the abolition of serfdom.

On THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 4:30) the publisher of the unofficial journal Vybor reviewed articles in the Soviet press dealing with the period of Stalin. Sovetskaya Kultura of January 24 and issue No. 20 of Neva were cited.

AT THE NEWSSTAND (Perouansky, M 4) criticized an otherwise accurate article in Izvestia of January 16 about the development of Russia until 1916 for giving a cliché explanation for what went wrong: Lenin's legacy was abandoned and Bukharin's council was disregarded. The program recalled that Lenin was still alive when the provisional government was crushed.

12. Culture. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 19:30) gave a brief review of the Daniel and Sinyavsky affair, surveyed the works of Andrey Sinyavsky, and then interviewed the author and his wife, Maria Rozanova, about their recent visit in Moscow. They both found the city itself very depressing, dark, and rundown, but the Muscovites made a very positive impression of talking freely and valuing their work. Sinyavsky and Rozanova defended statements made in interviews published in Moskovskiye Novosti and Nedelya about Sinyavsky's primarily esthetic differences with the Soviet government, the positive experience of his term in a Soviet labor camp, and Gorbachev's becoming a dissident. In conclusion Sinyavsky mentioned talk about his works of literary criticism being published in the Soviet Union.

13. Literature. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Henkina, M 5) exposed the self-righteous mendacity, hypocrisy, and blindness to reality expressed by the writer Yuri Sbitnev in a recent article in Literaturnaya Gazeta in which he defended the meeting of the plenum of the board of the RSFSR Writers' Union against charges of chauvinism, Russian nationalism, anti-Semitism, etc. The program expressed the belief that if freed from the bonds of false unanimity for a few years, the people of the Soviet Union will finally learn to say what they actually think.

14. Religion. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Potiyev, M 3:30) observed that according to the existing laws on religious cults both the request of local officials in Krasnoyarsk to the Church for help and the willing response of believers to provide the care desperately needed by the sick due to shortages in medical personnel are still illegal. The program agreed with the journalist who prepared the radio broadcast on this subject for Moscow Radio that this problem must be reflected in the law on freedom of conscience now in preparation. A TASS dispatch of January 23 was also cited.

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

1. Eastern Europe. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 6:30) excerpted articles from the international press commenting on the growing crisis in Eastern Europe. Articles in The Financial Times, the Sueddeutsche Zeitung, the Frankfurter Rundschau, The Philadelphia Inquirer, and The Economist were cited.

2. Hungary - Czechoslovakia. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fistejn, M 8) reviewed the open treatment of the past week's repressions in Czechoslovakia by the Hungarian press and TV, excerpted petitions of several independent organizations condemning the repression, and mentioned the mass protests in the country. Drawing on an article in the weekly Budapest Rundschau, the program backgrounded the strained relations between the two countries.

3. Czechoslovakia. On THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 3:30) a journalist of the independent Eastern European Information Agency gave the latest news on the arrests in Prague, cited several international letters of protest to the government, and noted that for the first time since the creation of Charter 77 there were protests within Czechoslovakia.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 2) played voice cuts in which the initiative to organize American writers, actors, producers, and playwrights to protest against the arrest of Václav Havel and others last weekend in Prague was described and their protest letter to the Czechoslovak government was read.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. NATO - the Warsaw Pact. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Dubinsky, W 2:30) drew on a Washington special of January 24 in explaining the recommendations made by American specialists to broaden and improve ties between the NATO and Warsaw Pact countries. A major point of the proposal was that the two organizations exchange permanent missions composed of military professionals to monitor the armed forces of one another in Europe.

Pegged to a voice cut of Honecker's announcement of a unilateral reduction in the army of the GDR, THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Shuster, M 2) presented a telephone statement by the chief editor of the department of domestic affairs of the journal Der Spiegel who discussed the significance of this measure.



2. The US. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Muslin, NY 1) highlighted an article in The New York Times about President Bush's telephone diplomacy on his first day in office.

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Morozov, NY 9) presented an interview with a member of the US private social organization ACORN who explained how a "social organizer" helps lower-income families improve their lot.

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Krasin, NY 8) summarized an article appearing recently in The New York Times Magazine in which a former Democratic Minister of Health, Education, and Welfare in the Carter administration discussed the reasons for the Democratic Party's loss of popularity among US voters.

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

1. Literature. OVER THE BARRIERS (Yurenen, M 30) marked the 70th birthday of the American writer J. D. Salinger with comments on the importance of his confessional novel The Catcher in the Rye in America, France, the Soviet Union, and England.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead  
story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Thursday, 26 January 1989

M. Frost

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

1. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, 8) reported on the continuing withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and commented on a Pravda article of January 26 which referred to "complications" due to resistance attacks on Soviet convoys and government-held towns. The program pointed out that the Soviet Air Force has engaged in indiscriminate bombing raids in the last few weeks, actions which have further exacerbated a highly tense situation.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Shuster, M 2) presented a telephone interview with Lev Timofeyev, editor of the Moscow independent journal Referendum, who stressed on the need for the USSR to save its conscience, not just its face, in leaving Afghanistan. Timofeyev said that the Soviet Union should provide the people of Afghanistan with significant humanitarian support in view of the material and human destruction caused over the last nine years.

2. Soviet-US Relations. Using a Reuter report of January 25, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Vail, NY 5) reviewed US policy on human rights issues in the USSR in the Carter and Reagan administrations and conveyed President Bush's views on the need to maintain a constant vigil on any human rights abuses in the Soviet Union in the period before the human rights conference scheduled to take place in Moscow in 1991.

3. Sino-Soviet-US Relations. Drawing on a CND report from Washington of January 25, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Polishchuk, W 4) considered the implications for the US of closer cooperation between the USSR and the PRC. The program cited an independent Washington research report which concluded that greater

stability in the region, combined with China's continuing reliance on Western technology, can only enhance US-Chinese relations.

4. The Nationalities. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 4) presented a telephone report from Tallinn from a council member of the Estonian Independence Party, Sander Sis, on a recent meeting between the council and local Estonian CP officials on democratic developments in the republic. Sis then relayed an interview with one of the five leaders of the Estonian Independence Party, Lagle Parek, who spoke about the responsibility of the authorities for alleviating tensions between Estonians and Russians in the republic.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rahr, M 5) commented on a TASS announcement from Vilnius that Lithuanian is now the official language of Lithuania. The program gave a demographic breakdown of the republic and described the role that the Catholic Church has played in preserving the cultural traditions of the Lithuanian people.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 3) presented a telephone report from Riga from Ekspress-Khronika correspondent Mikhail Bombin, who detailed coming meetings of the Latvian Popular Front and the Democratic Union and reviewed articles from the republic's unofficial press.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 3) presented an interview with seismologist Igor Gubin on the lessons to be learned from the Armenian earthquake. Gubin concluded that the process of predicting the location and force of earthquakes needs to be improved along with the compilation of better maps of the whole country.

5. Restructuring. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 3:30) commented on an interview with economist Leonid Abalkin published in the January 26 edition of The Washington Post. During the interview Abalkin, a leading proponent of Gorbachev's restructuring process, said that it is unrealistic to expect any substantial benefits from the reforms before 1995. The program also pointed out the dangers of an excessive budget deficit and the inherent inefficiency of a command economy.

6. Glasnost. MAN AND SOCIETY (Mihajlov, W 29) presented the third and concluding installment of an interview conducted in Washington with the chief editor of Ogonek, Vitaly Korotich, who discussed the legacy of Marxism in the Soviet Union and the new role of dissent in Soviet society. Korotich said that Marxism had at times been far too rigidly applied in the USSR, but warned that it is a mistake to blame Stalin for all the mistakes of the past for which Soviet society is now paying so dearly.

Korotich then fielded questions on the status of Soviet-Polish and Soviet-Czechoslovak relations and talked about the constructive role that RFE/RL can now play in shaping Soviet public opinion.

Referring to articles appearing in Pravda and Moskovskiye Novosti, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Matusevich, M 5) commented on the changes in the coverage by Soviet foreign journalists of events in the West since the introduction of glasnost in the Soviet Union.

7. Democracy, Dissidents, and Human Rights. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Belotserkovsky, M 5:30) commented that the political platforms of some candidates for the Congress of People's Deputies published in Moskovskiye Novosti cannot be taken seriously as they are riddled with contradictions. The program then covered Sakharov's interview with US correspondents in which he said that the West should refuse to participate in the planned 1991 Moscow human rights conference in light of the recent arrests of members of the Karabakh Committee in Armenia.

DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyev, M 28) featured correspondents' reviews of the latest issues of the independent journals Referendum and Saratovskie Izvestia and profiled political prisoners Muzikevicius and Dzhabarov.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 4:30) presented a telephone report from Moscow from Glasnost staffer Alexander Manannikov on various human rights issues covered in the unofficial press in Yerevan, Riga, Saratov, and Vilnius.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Pomerantsev, L 4:30) cited commentaries on the current wave of democratization in the USSR and Eastern Europe from The Times (London), The Independent, and The Guardian.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 4) presented a telephone report from Moscow from independent journalist Yury Mityunov, who highlighted recent articles in the Soviet press on the election campaign and on human rights issues in the USSR.

8. History. Pegged to the announcement that the Soviet authorities have decided to reopen the investigation of the massacres at Kuropaty, where, according to official sources, up to 30,000 people were executed by the KGB between 1937 and 1941, ROUNDTABLE (Roitman, Tolz, and Fistejn, M 20) examined the available evidence relating to the atrocity and commented on the KGB's refusal to open its archives to independent investigators.

9. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Dovlatov, NY 12) commented on an appeal published in Ogonek for 1990 to be declared the year of young writers. The program observed that it is unrealistic to expect established Soviet authors to relinquish publishing contracts in favor of unknown authors and urged the establishment of cooperative printing houses to satisfy the huge demand for all types of reading material throughout the USSR.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Genis, NY 15) presented an interview with Dartmouth College Prof. Losev, who talked about the relationship between politics and poetry in the works of Iosif Brodsky.

FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 29:30) presented the 34th installment of Alexander Solzhenitsyn's autobiographical novel The Calf and the Oak.

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

- \* 1. Poland. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fotiyev, M 3) profiled the Polish priest, patriot, and Solidarity supporter Stefan Niedzielak, who was discovered dead in his church apartment on January 21. In this context the program recalled the case of another Polish priest, Popieluszko, who was murdered by Polish police agents in 1984.
- \* EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Belotserkovsky, M 10) interviewed Jerzy Milewski, director of Solidarity's Coordinating Bureau Abroad, which is headquartered in Brussels. Milewski discussed the significance of the Polish government's deliberations over legalizing Solidarity and speculated on the future political direction of the country.
- 2. Czechoslovakia. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 3:30) featured a telephone report by Jan Urban, a correspondent of the recently created independent East European Information Agency on the latest developments in Prague. The program also deplored the Czechoslovak authorities' practice of rearresting demonstrators at recent gatherings for further periods of 48 hours after technically releasing them from police custody.
- 3. Romania. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 5:30) highlighted an interview in Le Figaro of January 26 with Romanian writer Dan Petrescu, who described the appalling political, economic, and social conditions currently prevailing in Romania.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. East-West Relations. Drawing on an article from The Washington Post from January 25, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 3) highlighted the official US reaction to the GDR's announcement of unilateral troop reductions.

2. Israel. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Miloslavsky, Jerusalem 9) reported on Israeli and Palestinian reactions to a peace plan proposed by Israeli Defense Minister Rabin which involves elected representatives from the occupied territories negotiating with Israel over some form of autonomy for the Palestinians living in these territories.

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

1. Religion. JUDAISM (Lvov, Vail, and Haskelvich, NY 28) profiled the outstanding Jewish educator Rabbi Note-Girsh Finkel, presented Jewish songs from London, and explained why the names of the pharos are not mentioned in the Torah.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis  
for Friday, 27 January 1989  
M. Rudin

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

1. Soviet-US Relations and Afghanistan. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 1:30) used Audio Section materials in presenting excerpts from Secretary of Defense-designate Tower's testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee, during which he commented on US-Soviet relations and the present strength of the US Navy.

- \* THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 1) cited comments by US State Department spokesman Redman on the latest Soviet military actions in Afghanistan and on whether the American Embassy in Kabul will remain open. The program used Audio Section tapes.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Polishchuk, W 4) highlighted an article from The New York Times of January 25 which reported on a classified letter which Secretary of State Shultz wrote to Defense Secretary Carlucci on the last day of the Reagan administration recommending that the US lift the stringent trade controls imposed after Soviet forces entered Afghanistan once the Soviet Union completes its withdrawal from Afghanistan.

2. The Earthquake in Armenia. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rubin, NY 4) covered a briefing held at the US mission to the UN at which a team of 18 American scientists who went to Armenia after the earthquake reported on their impressions of the situation in the Soviet republic. The program was based on a CND report from New York of January 25.

3. The Nationalities. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Volchek, Moscow 6) reviewed articles in the Soviet press dealing with the nationality question. The program highlighted an interview in Pravda with Kazakh writer Suleimenov and excerpted articles from Komsomolskaya Pravda and the independent journal Express-Khronika.

THE LATEST ON UNOFFICIAL ORGANIZATIONS (Alexeyeva, NY 27:30) reported on the goals and activities of the Karabakh Committee, which is striving for the reunification of Nagorno-Karabakh with Armenia, discussing the role of the committee in last year's events in Armenia; contrasted the goals of the party-supported Unity association in Lithuania, the rival group to the Lithuanian Restructuring Movement; and discussed the political club "Demos" of the youth newspaper Komsomolets Kirgizii, which was almost closed down by the authorities.

ROUNDTABLE (Roitman, Krimerman, and Malinkovich, M 20) featured a discussion about developments in Moldavia, in particular the language issue and nationality rights. The program discussed these problems against the background of the January 26 meeting of the bureau of the CC of the republican party, which met to discuss the unsanctioned demonstration that took place in Kishinev on January 22 and the report issued at the end of December by a special committee. The report recommended that the Moldavian language be made the state language and that the Latin alphabet be reintroduced and called for an admission that the Moldavian and Romanian languages have similarities in them.

4. The Baltic Republics. AT THE NEWSSTAND (Perouansky, M 7) read a letter in the Latvian monthly Daugova by Muscovite A. V. Gladky, who discussed the language problem in Latvia. Gladky observed that the Russian-speaking inhabitants of Latvia must learn to speak Latvian and said that this is necessary to stop a process which threatens the extinction of the Latvian language and culture.

AT THE NEWSSTAND (Perouansky, M 5:30) excerpted an article from Komsomolskaya Pravda by a Lithuanian who also discussed the language problem in Lithuania.

5. The Independent Journal "Glasnost." THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 6) featured an interview with Dmitry Volchek, an editor of Glasnost, who commented on the awarding of the Golden Pen of Freedom Prize of the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers to Glasnost's chief editor, Sergey Grigoryants.



6. Sakharov. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 19) read the text of an interview with Andrey Sakharov and his wife Yelena Bonner which appeared in Le Figaro of January 26. The interview was based on lengthy conversations Sakharov and Bonner had with French journalist Barou. Sakharov and his wife spoke about the restructuring process, the nomination of candidates to the Congress of People's Deputies, events in the Caucasus, the situation in the Baltic republics, and other matters of importance in the USSR today.

7. Terrorism. Pegged to the opening of US-Soviet talks in Moscow on cooperation in the fight against terrorism, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 9) discussed the Soviet Union's past participation in the training and support of terrorist groups. Czechoslovakia's involvement in international terrorism was also noted. The program cited an article in Literaturnaya Gazeta of January 18 dealing with Libyan leader Gaddafi.

8. The Congress of People's Deputies. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Malinkovich, M 5) assessed the results of the first phase of the election process -- the nomination of candidates to the Congress of People's Deputies -- which ended on January 24. The program observed that the new nomination procedure is imperfect and intricate and that the loopholes in the electoral law were for the most part used against the supporters of restructuring. The program gave examples.

9. The "Memorial" Society and Related Developments. On THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Mityunov, Moscow 4:30), independent Moscow journalist Yury Mityunov discussed the various problems facing the Memorial society on the eve of a conference of the group which will be held at Moscow's Aviation Institute Palace of Culture. The program mentioned the ambiguous attitude of the authorities toward the organization, discussed the disputes within the society itself about a proposed monument to the victims of repression, and recalled the inception of the society in the fall of 1988.

CHRISTIAN RUSSIA: THE SECOND MILLENNIUM (Rahr, M 10), a RERUN from January 20, quoted from an article by Gleb Pavlovsky in the journal Vek XX i Mir about the Valley of the Dead in the vicinity of Madrid, which is a grave for victims of the Spanish Civil War, and said that something similar could have been done in the USSR.

CHRISTIAN RUSSIA: THE SECOND MILLENNIUM (Rahr, M 7), a RERUN from January 20, considered what the future monument for the victims of Stalin's terror should be like and what form would be appropriate to the memory of those millions who perished during that period.

10. Human Rights. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 6:30) featured a telephone interview with Mikhail Tsaregorodtsev, one of the founders of a new Moscow-based public group in defense of the victims of Soviet psychiatric abuse. Tsaregorodtsev gave information on the members of the new group and discussed its goals, noting that the main goal is to stop the forced hospitalization of people who do not suffer from psychiatric illnesses and the rehabilitation of those who were illegally incarcerated. According to the group's incomplete figures, about 500 people are still kept in psychiatric hospitals for political and social reasons.

CHRISTIAN RUSSIA: THE SECOND MILLENNIUM (Rahr, M 11), a RERUN from January 20, focused on the law recently adopted by the Estonian Supreme Soviet stipulating that the political repressions between 1940-1950 be considered as crimes against humanity.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Shelkov, Moscow 3) gave a chronicle of recent abuses of human rights in the USSR.

11. The Economy. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Kroncher, M 5) assessed several ideas proposed by Voprosy Ekonomiki chief editor, Gavriil Popov, including his calls for the private farming sector to be defended against the central power and for the immediate introduction of a convertible ruble for enterprises and the population.

MAN AND SOCIETY (Shapiro, M 4) discussed the reasons why the Soviet economic system does not stimulate the production of inexpensive and high quality goods.

12. Ideology. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Tolz, M 6:30) explained why the USSR Writers' Union postponed until March the confirmation of writer Anatoly Strelyany to the post of director of the publishing house Sovetsky Pisatel. The program observed that it is questionable whether the Writers' Union will approve Strelyany, saying that it is not only a question of Strelyany's personality but of the democratization process taking place today.

13. The Environment. MAN AND SOCIETY (Komarov, M 4) noted that the new head of the Soviet environmental agency, Morgun, told a conference organized by Time and held in Washington that the USSR needs to switch to new Western technology that is better for the environment. The program observed that before acquiring the new technology, the USSR must concentrate its efforts on laying the groundwork for the eventual effective use of the technology.

14. Literature. AT THE NEWSSTAND (Perouansky, M 7:30) reviewed the December 1988 issue of Novy Mir.

- \* 15. The Emigration. AT THE NEWSSTAND (Dovlatov, NY 9:30) commented on an article by Leonid Pochivalov in Literaturnaya Gazeta which discussed the question of the treatment of Soviet emigres in the Soviet Union. The program observed that after a very sober and reasonable assessment of the question, Pochivalov reverted to the use of stereotypes which he himself called on the readers to fight against.

16. Jewish Affairs. JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Roitman, M 8:30) excerpted an interview in Sovetskaya Litva with the well-known writer Grigory Kanovich, who became the head of the organizational committee of the constituent congress of the Society for Jewish Culture. Kanovich spoke about the goals and composition of the society and discussed the prospects for its future work in Lithuania.

JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Roitman, M 12) read an article from the Riga-based journal Sovetskaya Molodezh dealing with the seminar "Riga Readings on Judaism," which was founded in the mid-1970s. The article discussed the professional fate of some of the participants in the seminar.

17. Book Review. OVER THE BARRIERS (Robson, L 9) reviewed a book by Tarik Ali, a leftist radical of Pakistani-origin, which explains and interprets the present-day USSR in light of its history.

18. History. MAN AND SOCIETY (Gordin, M 6) read a passage from Yevgeniya Ginzburg's autobiography dealing with the sad fate of children in Stalin's prisons and camps, where the author herself spent 18 years. The program noted that while the weekly Semya published only a chapter from the book, the Latvian Daugova published the whole novel and included a brief profile of the author.

MAN AND SOCIETY (Krasin, W 5) read a passage from a book by Ivan Solonevich about the fate of peasants who were repressed during Stalin's collectivization. The book was published 50 years ago in Paris.

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

1. Czechoslovakia. On THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Urban, Prague 4), Jan Urban from the East European Information Agency read the text of a petition to Federal Prime Minister Adamec by leading cultural figures in Czechoslovakia calling for an end to the

repression of human rights activists, in particular the release of playwright Vaclav Havel and others recently detained in Prague.

2. The Imposition of Reciprocal Customs Restrictions on Tourist Shopping Within CMEA was noted on EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 3:30). The program explained why this measure will not get to the root of the problem.

3. The Italian CP. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, Rome 5:30) reported on the difficulties being experienced by the PCI in the ideological sphere in connection with the changes taking place in the USSR. Articles in the Italian press were cited.

#### C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. US-Chinese Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 3:30) previewed President Bush's coming trip to China and reviewed relations between the two countries. The program used a CND report from Washington of January 27.

2. The US and Military Matters. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 3:30) highlighted statements by William Burns, the Director of the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, at a US Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearing on chemical weapons. Burns said that verification of compliance remains the main obstacle to concluding an international treaty banning chemical weapons. The program used an article in The Washington Post and a CND report from Washington, both of January 25.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 5:30) highlighted Defense Secretary-designate Tower's statements during confirmation hearings before the Senate Armed Services Committee. Among other things Tower said that the Bush administration would try to move from an offensive deterrence strategy to a defensive one. The program used a CND report from Washington of January 27.

3. Israel. JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 4) reported on developments in Israel, including the government's new policy on absorbing new repatriates.

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

1. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Pyatigorsky, L 11) reviewed a portrait of French novelist Albert Camus recently broadcast by BBC 3.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Pomerantsev, L 5) reviewed the late West German director Rainer Fassbinder's last movie, which was recently shown in London.

2. Free Medical Aid in the US. MAN AND SOCIETY (Morozov, NY 6:30) discussed the new form of free medical aid which is being developed in the US.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis  
for Saturday, 28 January 1989  
D. Felton

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

1. Soviet-US Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Muslin, NY 4:30) highlighted designated US Defense Minister John Tower's statement at Senate hearings that the Bush administration does not consider as feasible an SDI system capable of protecting the entire American population. Rosenthal of The New York Times was quoted that Tower's statement will certainly be accorded close attention by the Soviet leadership.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 3:30) reported on the establishment of a joint venture in the US between two Leningrad factories and the Soviet state Energomasheksport organization and the American Bering Electric Company. The program suggested that if the venture proves successful, future ventures will tend to be set up outside the USSR where conditions for efficient economic operations are better.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 1:30), in a review of events in and around Washington in the past week, reported that several American firms have expressed interest in acquiring the bugged American Embassy building in Moscow.

2. The Soviet and US Armed Forces. SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, M 19:30), citing extensively from the Soviet press, noted numerous calls in the USSR for a volunteer army such as exists in the US, and drew comparisons favorable to the US Army as regards discipline, training standards, conditions, drug abuse, and facilities and treatment for women soldiers.

3. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 6:30) suggested that Soviet Defense Minister Yazov's visit to Kabul was simply intended to mitigate the effect on the Kabul regime of the exodus of foreign personnel from the country. The program said that the Soviet artillery and bombing attacks aimed at driving the Mujahidin out of the Salang Pass area could cause the Soviet troops additional losses.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 1:30), in a review of events in and around Washington in the past week, mentioned the closing down of the US Embassy in Kabul, the evacuation of its staff for safety reasons, and State Department reports on the destruction by Soviet and Afghan government forces of several villages along the road between Kabul and the Soviet frontier.

4. The Afghan and Vietnam Wars. SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, M 8) looked at similarities and differences between the two wars, citing a report in Ogonek by Artem Borovik who interviewed Vietnam war veterans in the US. Soviet and US troop morale toward the end of the wars was low, and the Soviet and US engagements ended with massive bombing raids. Regarding the conclusion made by American author Joe MacGuinness, quoted by Borovik, that there were no American heroes in the Vietnam War, the program gave background information on the two wars showing that the American involvement was justified. A case history in Komsomolets Uzbekistana was quoted in which the desolate situation of Afghan War veterans was contrasted with the generous facilities offered to Vietnam War veterans.

5. Joint Ventures. OUR PLANET (Gordin and Kroncher, M 5:30), a RERUN from January 23, commented on the decision by the Italian "Astro-Pizza" firm, which ran a mobile pizza van in Moscow, to close down operations and move to Finland. The program said that the firm found it impossible to operate under the conditions of Soviet reality and its experience is symptomatic for joint ventures in the USSR.

6. The Emigration. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanova, P 19:30) presented a review, with extensive quotations, of the January 27 issue of the Paris-based Russian-language newspaper Russkaya Mysl.

7. Restructuring. ASPECTS (Roitman, M 3) commented on the first phase of the nomination of candidates for the Congress of People's Deputies. The program noted the indirect, basically undemocratic nature of the election system and expressed the hope that the supporters of restructuring will, nevertheless, be reasonably represented.

HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE USSR (Malinkovich, M 5), a RERUN from January 27, assessed the results of the process of the nomination of candidates to the Congress of People's Deputies. The program observed that the new nomination procedure is imperfect and intricate and said that the loopholes in the electoral law were, for the most part, used against the supporters of restructuring. The program gave examples.

HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE USSR (Malinkovich, M 10) gave a lengthy excerpt from a paper delivered by Oleg Rumyantsev, the head of the Independent Moscow club "Democratic Restructuring" and a staffer of the Institute for the Economy of the World Socialist System, at the latter institute on the conflict between official and unofficial organizations in the restructuring era. The article speaks of the idea of a "people's parliament" as a possible first step toward strengthening socialist democracy.

ASPECTS (Paramonov, NY 5:30) commented on an interview given to The New York Times of January 22 by Nina Andreyeva, the Leningrad teacher whose letter to the Soviet press became known as a kind of antirestructuring manifesto. The program explained Andreyeva's continued adherence to her principles as a psychological defense mechanism.

8. The Nationalities. ASPECTS (Roitman, M 2:30) drew attention to a recent large unsanctioned demonstration held in Kishinev by members of a literary and musical club demanding that Moldavia be given the status of a state language with its original Latin alphabet. The program suggested that the Moldavian CP's attempts to suppress the club took place with Moscow's blessing.

BALTIC BEACON (Rahr, M 20) gave the abridged text of an article by Ilan Polotsk in last December's issue of the Riga newspaper Daugava on the case of Modris Lujans, who was arrested and charged for displaying a poster just prior to a meeting last June in Riga held to commemorate the victims of Stalinist terror. Lujans, a Komsomol member, was an orderly at the meeting. His poster was sharply critical of Molotov and Stalin, as well as the Latvian delegates to the 19th party conference. In the end the charge was dismissed by a court.

9. The Economy. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 3:30) doubted whether the plans to increase the production of consumer goods mentioned by the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers' Social Development Bureau, Alexandra Biryukova, will prove very effective, since they are clearly based on the obsolete quantitative approach to the problem.



10. Society. ASPECTS (Henkina, M 3) included an item on the moral degeneration of the intellectual under the Soviet regime as illustrated in Bulgakov's A Dog's Heart and Sergey Solov'ev's Assa.

11. The Armed Forces. ASPECTS (Predtechevsky, M 5:30) discussed the present debate in the USSR over the need to reform the country's excessively large armed forces, for example, by reducing the manpower level and length of service, or by introducing a volunteer army. The program examined the pros and cons of the various options.

12. The Law. HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE USSR (Kaminskaya, W 8), discussing the draft of a new basic criminal law for the USSR, spoke positively of many of the proposed changes, such as those concerning recognition of legitimate professional or economic risks, the limitation of punishment for the nonreporting of criminal offenses to particularly serious crimes, the exoneration of close relatives from the obligation to report crimes, and clearer provisions on the right to self-defense.

13. Telephones. In WRITERS AT THE MICROPHONE (Dovlatov, NY 7) Soviet emigre writer Sergey Dovlatov recalled how in the USSR he was summoned to the militia after a "conspiratorial" telephone conversation with a friend about a secret drinking session. Dovlatov said that it is not surprising that there are so few telephones per capita in the USSR, since they are regarded by the authorities with suspicion owing to the fact that they broaden the possibilities for private communication. Dovlatov said that Ogonek recently admitted that the USSR is a long way down on the world telephone ratings.

14. Culture. In WRITERS AT THE MICROPHONE (Voynovich, M 19) Soviet emigre writer Vladimir Voynovich described how he came to write his novel The Life and Extraordinary Adventures of the Soldier Ivan Chonkin, now being serialized in Yunost.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Geller, P 8) traced the process of reappraisal of Stalin in Soviet literature following Khrushchev's speech at the 20th CPSU Congress.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Yurenen, M 9) featured a telephone report from Moscow by writer and independent publisher Dmitry Volchek on the confrontation between the "old thinking" and the new esthetics in Soviet literature.

ASPECTS (Henkina, M 8) included an interview with the author of a Russian song about paradise, poet Henri Volokhonsky. A recording of the song was played.

15. Religion. NOT BY BREAD ALONE (Aksenov-Meyerson, NY 7:30 and Rahr, M 10) included a further profile of a new Russian martyr, St. Petr (Zverev), Archbishop of Voronenzh, who died in imprisonment on the Solovki islands in 1929, and the abridged text of an article by Nikolay Tulpinov in Kontinent, No. 58, regretting that the Russian Orthodox Church in the USSR has failed to use the opportunity of the millennium of the Christianization of Russia in order to publicly commemorate those who suffered on account of their belief.

SUNDAY SERVICE (Rahr and Kholodnaya, M and NY 49:30) featured a Russian Orthodox Church service.

16. Zhukov on Stalin. ASPECTS (Sezeman, P 5:30), commenting on recollections of Marshal Zhukov on Stalin which have just been published in Pravda, noted that he places the blame for Stalin's crimes on others, and, in general, displays the attitude of a slave grateful to his master for having spared his life.

17. Listeners' Letters. ASPECTS (Yurenen, M 2 and Panich, Fedoseyeva, and Zorin, M 5:30) broadcast a reply to a listener from Odessa about RL's programs and programmers and gave the text of a letter from a listener in Leningrad in which he expressed satisfaction over the end of jamming and spoke of his favorite programs, programming requests, and the continued attacks against RL in the Soviet press.

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

1. Poland. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, Rome 4:30) reported on an interview given to the Italian newspaper La Repubblica by PUWP Politburo member Czyrek in which he expressed optimism regarding the upcoming round-table talks between the government and the opposition. The program expressed skepticism over Czyrek's reference to building a humane and democratic socialism from a "constructive" position and noted his statement that the Polish constitution, which refers to the party's leading role, could be changed and his vague answer to the question of whether he could imagine Prime Minister Rakowski being replaced by Walesa in free elections.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fistejn, M 5:30) featured a telephone interview with Wojciech Maziarski, head of Solidarity's information center in Warsaw, on Walesa's press conference on his meeting with representatives of the regime. Maziarski said a decision has clearly been taken to relegalize Solidarity. The regime has dropped its objections to the participation of Solidarity advisers, such as Kuron and Michnik, in the upcoming round-table talks. Walesa said Solidarity would push for the necessary structural changes in the political system. He spoke of the favorable influence on the Polish situation of the changes taking place in the socialist camp.

2. Czechoslovakia. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fistejn, M 6:30) gave the slightly abridged text of an appeal to Sakharov by members of the Charter 77 movement asking him to inform the Soviet public of the present repressions being carried out by the Czechoslovak authorities.

3. Bulgaria. In OUR PLANET (Salkazanov, P 3:30) RL's special correspondent who accompanied French President Mitterrand on his recent visit to Bulgaria talked about some of the paradoxes in that country. Officials talk a lot about restructuring and glasnost, but members of an unofficial club for the support of restructuring and glasnost are persecuted. There are no lines outside the stores, but this is because there is usually nothing to buy.

#### C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. US-PRC. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 5), in a review of events in and around Washington in the past week, previewed President Bush's upcoming visit to the PRC, mentioning as points on the agenda regional conflicts, the growth of Soviet influence in Asia, and the Korean problem. The program said the visit is of particular significance in the light of Gorbachev's planned visit to the PRC.

2. Israel. OUR PLANET (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 3) reported on the case of the Israeli Supreme Court of Justice's overruling the military censors' attempt to ban an article in the Israeli newspaper Yaa'ir critical of the Mossad secret service.

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

1. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Sapguir, P 10) reported on the controversy in France over the dismissal of world-famous conductor Daniel Barenboim as artistic director of the new people's opera house on the Place de la Bastille.

2. The Family. ASPECTS (Fotiyev, M 3:30) commented that the attitude toward marriage is less religious today than it used to be. Personal egoism and unsatisfactory living conditions were mentioned as major obstacles to marriage and family life, especially in Third World countries and the USSR.

3. Religion. NOT BY BREAD ALONE (Rahr, M 2 and Benigsen, NY 8:30) included an excerpt from the Gospel of St. Luke on Christ's healing a blind man near Jericho, which is read out in

Orthodox churches this Sunday, followed by a talk about a passage from the Apostle Paul's first epistle to Timothy which is used as a prayer before communion.

4. Facts and Figures Illustrating the High Standard of Living in West Germany were given in OUR PLANET (Gordin, M 1:30).

5. The Transition to a Five-Day Working Week in Japan was the subject of an item in OUR PLANET (Gordin, M 1). The program noted concern on the part of Japanese sociologists over a possible increase in the divorce rate as a result of husbands spending more time at home. In the USSR, said the program, the divorce rate is increasing although husbands and wives often hardly see each other because they are on shift work.

6. The Electronic Monitoring of Prisoners Under House Arrest in Australia was the subject of a brief item in OUR PLANET (Gordin, M 2).

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead  
story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis  
for Sunday, 29 January 1989  
M. Frost

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

1. Afghanistan. THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Predtechevsky, M 10) presented commentaries from the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung and the Sueddeutsche Zeitung on the deteriorating situation in Kabul in the wake of the Soviet troop withdrawal.
2. Restructuring. COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Krasin, W 7) gave a history of private property in the Soviet Union and commented that until the Soviet leadership relinquishes the hold of the state over property in the USSR, the future of the restructuring process will remain doubtful.

THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Predtechevsky, M 5) presented commentaries from The Wall Street Journal and Die Welt on the social aspects of the restructuring process.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 4) cited commentaries from The Los Angeles Times, The Washington Post, and The New York Times on the changing attitude in the USSR toward foreigners and Western business practices and on the vagaries of the Soviet democratic process.

3. Democracy. THE LATEST ON UNOFFICIAL ORGANIZATIONS (Alexeyeva, W 27:30) presented a report on the phenomenal growth of unofficial organizations in the USSR over the last few years. The program described the activities and location of the numerous groups from stamp clubs to drama studios but commented that, contrary to public opinion, the majority of new clubs were concerned with historical conservation, the environment, and providing assistance for the aged and the infirm. There followed a telephone interview with Ekspress-Khronika staffer Sergey Lezov who explained that Moscow

is now on the periphery of the civil rights movement as the most important developments are taking place in the Baltic states and the southern republics.

COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Levin, W 6) reported on a question and answer session conducted by Ogonek editor Vitaly Korotich at the Kennan Institute during his recent trip to Washington. Korotich showed a video film of a Moscow nomination meeting which was disrupted by Pamyat supporters and answered questions on the election process and other related issues.

4. Dissidents and Human Rights. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 7:30) presented a telephone interview from Moscow with Glasnost staffer Dmitry Volchek who relayed Andrey Sakharov's latest pronouncements on the Moscow Human Rights Conference planned for 1991 being placed in jeopardy due to the arrest of the Karabakh Committee in Armenia.

5. Emigres. OVER THE BARRIERS (Sapguir, P 10) presented an interview with the Russian avant-garde artist living in Paris, Vulyam Bruya, on his life and work and on the controversy surrounding the closure of his latest exhibition of erotic photographs.

6. Arms Control. THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Predtechevsky, M 5) cited commentaries from the Brussels-based NATO Letters and The Independent on the significance for the West of Gorbachev's latest announcement on unilateral weapons and troop reductions in Europe.

7. The Constitution. LAW AND SOCIETY (Kaminskaya and Simis, W 20) continued the discussion of the proposed legal reforms in the USSR and drew comparisons with the sweeping judicial reforms carried out in the 1860s when the judicial system was transformed from a medieval inquisitorial institution into a modern, democratic judiciary. The program commented that, despite all the discussion of legal and judicial reform under Gorbachev, very little has reached the statute books and the critical problem of the independence of the judiciary and the investigative organs has yet to be properly addressed.

8. History. SOVIETOLOGISTS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Shragin, NY 20) introduced and presented excerpts from US historian Paul Avrich's authoritative work on the Kronstadt uprising, Kronstadt 1921.

9. Sport. WORLD OF SPORTS (Rubin, NY 20) included items on the continuing controversy surrounding personnel changes in the TsSKA hockey club, on the falling gates at Soviet soccer stadiums, and on the successful trip of an Israeli basketball team to Moscow.

10. Literature. FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 29:30) broadcast the 34th installment of Alexander Solzhenitsyn's autobiographical work The Calf and the Oak.

11. Literature. EX LIBRIS (Panich and Yurenen and Vail, Dovlatov, and Genis, M and NY 50) introduced and broadcast chapter two of Venedikt Erofeev's chilling tale of an alcoholic train journey from Moscow, Moskva-Petushki.

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

1. Czechoslovakia. EAST EUROPEAN VARIANTS (Fistejn, M 10) presented a telephone report from Prague by Jan Urban of the East European Information Agency who provided details of the charges filed against members of the Charter 77 group for trying to place flowers in Wenceslas Square and for the January demonstrations commemorating the self-immolation of Jan Palach.

EAST EUROPEAN VARIANTS (Fistejn, M 7), a RERUN from January 25, covered East European reaction to the crack-down on demonstrators in Czechoslovakia and contrasted Hungary's reform program with the reactionary policies of the Czechoslovak party.

2. The DDR. EAST EUROPEAN VARIANTS (Levin, M 7) described the climate of repression in the DDR and chronicled the series of crack-downs against human rights activists in the country which are reminiscent of the Soviet regime's attempts to demoralize the nation with arrests and trials of activists during the time of stagnation.

3. Romania. EAST EUROPEAN VARIANTS (Krimerman, M 20) reported on Michel Colombe's recent trip to Cluj to visit his sister-in-law, the Romanian human rights activist Doina Cornea. The program described the draconian measures of the the Romanian security forces to restrict Cornea's association with friends in Cluj and to curtail all communications with foreign contacts.

4. Communism. COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Vail, NY 8) focused on an article in the January 22 edition of The New York Times which presented selected responses to its questionnaire on communism sent to various citizens in the communist sphere.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. Israel. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Miloslavsky, Jerusalem 7) reported on the latest developments in the 13-month "intifada" in the occupied territories and on international efforts to create a new Israeli-Palestinian dialogue.
2. The US. COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Simis, W 6:30) reported on a conference entitled "Anti-Communism in the US," organized by the extreme left wing of the US political spectrum to highlight the political oppression which the communist party in the US is alleged to endure. Drawing from an article in the 12 December 1988 edition of The New Leader, the program commented that the conference delegates failed to mention the generally undemocratic regimes of most countries where communist parties are in power.

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

1. Music. OVER THE BARRIERS (O. Voynovich) described the major trends in modern music and played a pop song currently fashionable among teenagers in the FRG.
2. Literature. OVER THE BARRIERS (Levin, M 10) reviewed Stephen King's latest science-fiction thriller Tommyknockers.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Monday, 30 January 1989

N. Petroff

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

1. Moscow Conference on the Cuban Missile Crisis. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Vail, NY 6:30) examined the results of the week-long conference in Moscow called to discuss the events around the Cuban missile crisis that brought the two superpowers to the brink of nuclear war in 1962. It was the first time that the three principle parties, the US, Cuba, and the USSR, agreed to meet and openly discuss the problems and attitudes on all sides that led to the showdown. The high point of the conference was the Soviet admission, for the first time in 26 years, that nuclear warheads were indeed in Cuba at that time, and could have been made operational within a few hours for a missile attack against the United States.

2. The Nationalities. THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Malinkovitch, M 10) explored the question of why Ukrainian writers who favor democratization of relations between Soviet nationalities decided to invite the editors and writers of Nash Sovremennik for a meeting to exchange ideas and opinions. The program regretted the attempt to establish good relations with the Nash Sovremennik group, which, it considers, represents the forces of "superpower chauvinism" and opposes the interests and goals of the national minorities. However, it is no accident that the meeting took place. According to the program the Ukrainian literati are in need of a strong ally to offer support for their national aspirations. The Moscow liberal intelligentsia, on the other hand, repulsed by any mention of

the word "nationalist," is, at this time, unwilling to be that ally, whereas Rasputin, Belov, Astafyev, and other "antiliberal" writers are always ready to embrace the nationalist idea.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Sys, Tallinn 3) reported the disbanding of the Department for the Study of Marxism-Leninism at the Tallinn Polytechnical Institute. In its place, said the program, the institute created a Department of Political Studies.

BALTIC DIARY (Rahr, M 20) commented on selected letters received from RL listeners in Latvia who addressed various problematic aspects of the nationality problem in the Baltic republics.

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NATIONALITIES QUESTION (Malinkovitch, M 9) traced the background and history of the Volga Bulgars. The program discussed the creation of small independent clubs of ethnic Bulgars who are rediscovering their self-identity and demanding recognition by the Soviet authorities.

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NATIONALITIES QUESTION (Pimonov, Copenhagen 8) provided an interview with Latvian political activist Yanis Peters who focused his attention on the problem of refusal by the Soviet authorities to officially acknowledge the historical validity of the secret protocols of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Bombin, Riga 4:30) reported on the work of the second congress of the unofficial Democratic Union party. The delegates met under Russian, Ukrainian, Estonian, and Latvian national flags in a hotel auditorium outside Riga. The 100 participants with 40 voting members discussed the current political situation in the USSR. The Democratic Union is dedicated to a nonviolent struggle with communist dictatorship in the Soviet Union.

3. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 6), pegged to the recent visit to Kabul by Soviet Minister of Defense, General Yazov, the program commented on the present military situation in Afghanistan and drew attention to the belief, expressed by many foreign observers, that although the Soviets have pledged to complete their total withdrawal from the war-torn country by February 15, a significantly large contingent of military advisors are expected to remain. The uninterrupted supply of war materiel, coupled with air combat support unaffected by treaty obligations, indicates a protracted struggle to oust Najib in the post-Soviet era of the Afghan war.

4. Unofficial Groups. A independent Moscow reporter telephoned his observations for THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Mityunov, Moscow, 4:30) concerning the January 28-29 constituent conference of the unofficial Memorial society. The program said that the two words which can best describe the conference sessions are compromise and success. A new uncommon atmosphere of compromise and tolerance prevailed during the two-day conference proceedings. This in itself, said the program, was a colossal achievement for a country inexperienced in democratic practices.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Anishchenko, Moscow, 6) reported the recent conference held in Moscow by the Memorial society. The program said that the prime objective in reaching an agreement on the structure of an organizational charter that is acceptable by all the group's members was reached.

5. Human Rights. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Podrabinek, Moscow 4) provided a report on the latest human rights situation in the Soviet Union based on information contained in the latest issue of the unofficial weekly journal Express-Khronika. The program discussed the latest unsuccessful attempt by the disenfranchised Crimean Tatars at getting their chosen candidate's eligibility for the upcoming election to the People's Congress of Deputies recognized by the authorities.

The Soviet human rights activist and publisher of the independent journal Glasnost, Sergey Grigoryants, was reported by EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanov, P 4:30) to have been awarded the Golden Pen of Freedom prize in Zurich on January 27 by the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers.

6. Labor. MAN AND SOCIETY (Belotserkovsky, M 15), via a telephone conversation with a Moscow representative of the Union of Free Laborers, SMOT, briefly outlined the most recent labor related events and underscored the undemocratic methods used in designating candidates for the upcoming election to the Congress of People's Deputies.

7. Religion. RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Potiev, M 15:30) discussed the failure of Soviet authorities, contrary to the spirit of perestroika, to grant permission for members of the Krishnaite sect to make pilgrimages to India, and explained how one should correctly interpret scriptural authority.

8. The Media. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Volchek, Moscow 4:30) reviewed the latest issue of the unofficial journal Soglasie published by the Lithuanian Movement for Perestroika and announced the appearance of a newsletter called Primireniye

published by a Seventh Day Adventist Group in Tula. The newsletter is, in part, supported by financial contributions from Adventists in the US.

AT THE NEWSSTAND (Perouansky, M 29:30) presented excerpts from a number of recent articles from the Soviet press on topics of special interest to the Soviet listener.

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

1. Hungary. FACTS AND OPINIONS (Roitman, Malinkovich, and Fistejn, M 20) devoted this week's round-table discussion to the recent announcement, read over the radio by a member of the Hungarian Politburo, saying that what up to now has been officially called the Hungarian "counterrevolution" of 1956 will be termed a "people's uprising." The discussants noted the different liberalizing trends in the political, economic, and social life of Hungary that have paved the way to this radical reassessment of the Hungarian Revolution.

2. Poland. MAN AND SOCIETY (Belotserkovsky, M 13) included a RERUN from January 26 of an interview with Jerzy Milewski, Director of Solidarity's Coordinating Bureau Abroad, who discussed the significance of the Polish government's deliberations over legalizing Solidarity and speculated on the future political direction of the country, and concluded with a reading of the text of the basic principles of Solidarity.

3. Czechoslovakia. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Urban, Prague 2), in a telephone call, discussed the unsettled political atmosphere in Czechoslovakia that emerged after the recent police beatings of demonstrators in Prague.

4. Yugoslavia. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Bensi, M 1:30) reported the recent Central Committee plenum of the LCY. The meeting took place in a strained atmosphere that was heightened by the rival hostilities in evidence between Stipe Suvar and Slobodan Milosevic.

#### C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The US. THE USA TODAY (Morozov, Handler, Paramonov, Vail, and Genis, NY 27:30) provided news briefs of important events of the week in the US, drew on comments from the "man on the street" on what to expect from George Bush, and speculated on the new president's style of leadership and what shape his foreign and domestic policies will take.

2. East-West Relations. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 1) featured an exclusive RL interview with Mark Palmer, US Ambassador to Hungary, who said that President George Bush was "very keen about the opportunities opening up in East-Central Europe." In his election campaign he had "talked about almost no other area of the world," said Palmer.

3. The West Berlin Elections. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fistejn, M 3) reported the stunning defeat for majority control of the Berlin city government suffered by the Christian Democratic Union and the surprising 7.5 percent gain won by the relatively new right-wing conservative Republican Party.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gordin, M 6) discussed the rise of the extremist right-wing Republican Party in West Germany and its growing popularity, as evidenced by the significant gains it made in the recent West Berlin elections.

4. Western Defense. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 1:30) summarized an address by the West German Defense Minister Rupert Scholz to the International Defense Symposium in Munich in which he called for a European Security Union. He said Europe must take more responsibility for its own security. The 12-nation European Community should be open to neutral and East European countries and future European integration should not impair Western security.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 1) aired an excerpt from a speech delivered before the International Defense Symposium by Britain's Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, who said the credibility of Soviet foreign policy continues to suffer from the subversive activities of the KGB abroad. If anything, those activities have intensified since Mr. Gorbachev became the leader of the Soviet Union.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Predtechevsky, M 3) presented some of the more salient comments by the NATO defense ministers attending the Munich symposium.

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

1. Religion in the US. RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Fotiev, 8:30) described the special features which characterize the private or church school in the US where there is a strict separation of church and state.

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### RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

#### Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Tuesday, 31 January 1989

V. Frank

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

1. Afghanistan. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Vail, W 4) quoted American newspapers about the military developments in Afghanistan, as well as a statement by Richard Murphy concerning the political situation in Afghanistan after the complete evacuation of Soviet forces.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fishtein, M 3) cited a report by Reuters from Kabul about developments in Afghanistan immediately prior to the departure of the Soviet troops. According to reliable reports the last Soviet soldier will leave Afghanistan not later than February 6. It was reported that the Soviet air raids on villages along the road leading from Kabul to the Soviet frontier caused large casualties mainly among the civilian population. The food situation appears to be desperate. It was reported that the resistance forces will refrain from attacking the major towns in order to spare the lives of the civilians.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 4) described the reaction of the US government to the latest military actions in Afghanistan and the renewed Soviet attacks on areas along the road leading to the Soviet Union. The State Department condemned these raids. It was also stressed that the United States does not expect the present communist regime in Afghanistan to remain in power after the Soviet forces leave the country.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 3:30) quoted a statement by the State Department's spokesman Charles Redman about the latest military developments in Afghanistan. He stressed that the United States strongly condemned what he called the scorched earth policy by the Soviet troops about to leave Afghanistan. The recent, very intensive air activity was likewise condemned. With regard to a political solution he said that the United States supports efforts by the Afghan resistance to form a political structure. A statement by the Afghan Vice-President Abdul Rahim Hatf made in a US TV interview was also quoted.

2. The Nationalities. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fishbein, M 4:30) gave a list of violations of human rights in the Ukraine. The first example concerned a candidate to the Congress of People's deputies who was chosen by the majority of his fellow workers. The director of the factory gave instructions that his candidature be cancelled. Members of the Ternopol Helsinki association were arrested before a meeting was held. A group of citizens in Chernowitz who were demanding an investigation of the causes of an unknown disease afflicting children were persecuted. Several other cases of similar measures taken by authorities against the population were cited.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Pimonov, Copenhagen 11:30) interviewed the Latvian minister of culture, Raimunas Pauls, who visited Denmark at the invitation of the Soviet Ambassador in Copenhagen. In answer to questions by the RL correspondent, Pauls stressed the difficulty of his activity and stated that he wholeheartedly supports the program and the aims of the Popular Front. He was of the opinion that his first and foremost task is to stop the disintegration of Latvian culture and to acquaint the West with what is left of it. He accused the Latvian Service of RFE of broadcasting untruths about himself, in particular, that he was supposed to have forbidden the celebration of Christmas. He stressed his joy that a common language with the Church has been found. Pauls reacted negatively to a question about whether Latvia could become a second Hungary, stressing that it could not exist independently for economic reasons. Finally Pauls observed that he lives with the hope that Latvia will sooner or later recover her independence.

3. Warsaw Pact. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 6) commented on the data of the relative strength of the Warsaw Pact and NATO, recently published in Moscow. It was stressed that this information was given for the first time. Since the policy of glasnost came into effect there has been an increasing demand in the Soviet Union for the publication of data concerning the strength of the armed forces within the Warsaw Pact. Western specialists were certain that the data is deliberately distorted. Nevertheless this new development was welcomed by the military leaders of NATO.

4. USSR-France. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 6:30) quoted from an interview given by the former French President Giscard d'Estaing after his visit to the Soviet Union. He expressed the opinion that the Soviet leaders will cut the strength of the armed forces mainly for economic reasons. Giscard d'Estaing was pessimistic about Gorbachev's chances of managing to streamline the economy in the foreseeable future and spoke out against providing financial assistance to further Gorbachev's present reform policies.

5. Society. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Malinkovich, M 7:30) discussed the system of choosing candidates for the elections to the Congress of Peoples' deputies and stressed that even the Soviet press covered this question rather critically. It was pointed out that the electorate was actually only be able to suggest candidates, one of whom will later be selected by a certain group not responsible to the electorate. The conclusion was reached that the procedure for choosing candidates is far from democratic and that it will be extremely difficult for a candidate to become a deputy who is not acceptable to the authorities.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Savitzsky, M 6:30) analyzed an article by the former Moscow correspondent of The Washington Post, Robert Kaiser, published in the journal Foreign Affairs. His analysis of the present changes seemed rather optimistic in as much as he considers a return to the past impossible or, at least, very unlikely. Touching upon the problem of the economy, Kaiser is of the opinion that the Soviet Union will not be able to compete with Western nations for a long time. Psychologically the Soviet man is not ready for democracy in view of the general apathy pervading all strata of Social life.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Volchek, M and Moscow 5) gave a review of the Soviet press. In particular, Dmitry Volchek, a correspondent of the independent journal Glasnost, quoted an interview with the military procurator Popov, which was published in Pravda, concerning the rehabilitation of persons who were victims of unlawful repressions for their activities during the war years. The question was posed about the fate of all those Soviet citizens who found themselves in Germany or were the so-called "victims of Yalta" and after the war were convicted of war crimes. A number of examples of unlawful convictions were given. The next subject covered by the press-review concerned an article in the newspaper Uchitelskaya Gazeta about the right of students to have an independent view of historical events. The difficulties of the practical implementation of this were pointed out.



EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Henkina, M 3:30) considered the tragic speed of growth of AIDS in the Soviet Union and especially pointed to the absence of any information concerning it. It was noted that there are hardly any prophylactics available, nor does there exist a sufficient number of medical installations for diagnosing the illness. The author stressed that the social conditions prevailing in the Soviet Union favor the spread of AIDS to a much larger degree than the West. Lack of knowledge, lack of prophylactic devices, and a general apathy of the population seem to be an ideal grounds for AIDS.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Mitunov, M and Moscow 5) discussed the problem of the methods used in the USSR for the prevention of the spread of AIDS. The backwardness of Soviet medicine was stressed, as well as the absence of any coordinated policy in this field. Nothing beyond repressive measures is being applied to combat the "plague of the 20th century." On the basis of rumors and denunciations, lists of possible carriers of AIDS were prepared by the Ministry of Interior. It was pointed out that the recommendations worked out by the World Health Organization were not followed. The present situation makes the Soviet Union the most susceptible country in the world to the spread of AIDS.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Manannikov, M and Moscow 5:30) gave a review of events in the Soviet Union which were not covered by Soviet mass media. Various examples of violations of human rights and Soviet laws were quoted which took place in Petrozavodsk, Leningrad, Armenia, Kerch, Orel and some other places.

MAN AND SOCIETY (Belotserkovsky, M 11) cited the entire text of Andrey Sakharov's election program as a candidate for the Congress of Peoples' Deputies. It was published in the Parisian Russian newspaper Russkaya Mysl. The main points of this program concerned the economy, agriculture, ecology, nuclear energy, innovations in the wage-system, the liquidation of the financial caste-system, and the convertibility of the ruble. In the field of social and national policies Sakharov demanded the freedom of association and the alternation of the present election system, the equality of all nationalities, freedom of the press, the liquidation of the internal passport system, the complete equality of all nationalities, freedom of the press, the liquidation of the internal passport system, and the complete equality of sexes. Next Sakharov called for the elimination of Stalin's legacy and the introduction of public control over the organs of internal security. With regard to foreign policy, Sakharov advocated disarmament, including nuclear disarmament; the participation in the elimination of regional conflicts; and a gradual rapprochement of socialist and capitalist countries.

MAN AND SOCIETY (Belotserkvsky, M 5) featured a telephone interview with Andrey Sakharov's wife, Yelena Bonner, about the interview published in various West European countries. Yelena Bonner stressed that it was not an interview, but an ordinary conversation with a person who introduced himself as a friend of her son-in-law. During the course of the conversation, she and her husband mentioned their disagreement with the new system of elections of the head of state and stressed its negative sides. In particular they mentioned the theoretical possibility of Gorbachev being deposed by those who elected him. This could not happen, for example, to Mitterrand, since he was elected by the people. All this was mentioned in view of the French correspondent's utter lack of understanding of the Soviet system. She, herself, underlined the fact that she would have elected Gorbachev since there is no one else. Ms. Bonner requested that Radio Liberty bring her explanations to the attention of the Soviet people.

7. Dissidents and Human Rights. FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 29:30), a RERUN from 23 January 1979, featured the 35th installment of Alexander Solzhenitsyn's literary autobiography The Calf and the Oak. The program was pegged to Solzhenitsyn's recent 70th birthday.

8. Unofficial Organizations. THE LATEST ON UNOFFICIAL ORGANIZATIONS (Alexeyeva, W 27:30), a RERUN from January 29, took a look at unofficial organizations in Moscow, with special reference to the Democratic Restructuring Club. The program featured an interview with a collaborator of the Moscow independent journal Ekspress-Khronika, Sergey Lezov.

9. Soviet media. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Vishnevskaya, M 6:30) was devoted to a Soviet TV interview with former political prisoner Revolt Pimenov which was carried in the program "Vzglyad" a few days ago. The reason for the interview was the fact that Pimenov became a candidate for the election to the Congress of Peoples' Deputies. A detailed account of his trials and sentences was given in the program. In his TV interview Pimenov stressed that he had no disagreements with the present leadership on matters of principle, yet he can not agree with a number of details of the present policy. Answering questions by the interviewer, Pimenov said that the KGB should not be permitted to deal with matters of ideology. It's concern should be limited to the security of the state, such as the prevention of a coup d'etat, as happened in 1964 when Brezhnev ousted Khrushchev.

11. Journalism. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Mirsky, P 10) carried an interview, which was made in Paris with Tamara Grigoryants, the wife of the chief editor of Glasnost. The interview was pegged to the award of the "Golden Pen of Freedom" to Sergey Grigoryants by the International Federation of Editors. In answer to questions, Tamara Grigorianys stressed that the award was especially appropriate at a time when the future of the journal is in danger. She mentioned various measures, taken by the authorities to harass members of the editorial board, such as the arrest of its correspondent in Sverdlovsk; searches, during the course of which various materials were confiscated; the switching off of the telephone; and other things. She was of the opinion that official glasnost is something entirely different from the principle of glasnost as it is understood and implemented by the journal. Should the new law on freedom of the press come into force, it will, in fact, mean the virtual end of the journal Glasnost.

11. Radio Liberty. MAN AND SOCIETY (Belotserkovsky, M 2) gave an answer to a listener's letter complaining about the continuous use of the word "pluralism" in RL's programs. It was suggested that although that term could be replaced by a number of synonyms, the word "pluralism" has a definite political meaning and as such is irreplaceable. Perhaps the listener's negative attitude can be explained by the comparative novelty of the word in the Russian political language, having been recently introduced with the senseless prefix "socialist."

12. Religion. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fotiev, M 5:30) commented on an article, published by the Latvian newspaper Sovetskaya Molodezh on January 14, which included an interview with the Orthodox priest Aleksander Kudryashev and Rabbi Mendel Nidel. Kudryashev, who belongs to the leadership of the Popular Front of Latvia, stressed that with regard to religion there are enormous controversies between the Popular Front and the other organization called Inter-front. The membership of the latter seems to consist of that portion of the bureaucracy which is against any reforms and tends to strive for conditions which existed in the past. The hope was expressed that these differences will eventually be overcome. Both stressed that now that the sins of the past have become public, the time has come to work for an improvement of the moral and material sides of life. The continuing discrimination against believers was also mentioned, as well as the fact that religious groups still have no judicial status.

13. Literature. OVER THE BARRIERS (Yurenen and Itzelev, M 29:30) presented an interview with the Soviet writer Grigory Gorin made during his visit to Munich. It was recalled that during Gorin's speech at the European Parliament he said that

the end of perestroika would mean not only the end of himself and people like him, but probably also the end of most of those present. Gorin stressed that satire, as a literary genre, was more necessary during the Brezhnev period than it is now. Since the beginning of perestroika many satirical works which could previously not be published are now available. He especially mentioned the works of Vladimir Voinovich, who now lives in Munich. Gorin voiced the opinion that satire is unable to change conditions. Its purpose consists rather in pointing out certain ridiculous sides of social and political life. He pointed to the phenomenon of the annihilation of a sense of humor and the ability to laugh about oneself, the causes of which are to be traced to the development of Soviet society.

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

1. Yugoslavia. ROUNDTABLE (Roitman, Bensi and Fishtein, M 20) discussed the internal difficulties of Yugoslavia resulting from a catastrophic economic situation and nationalism which seems to tear the country apart. It was suggested that the threat of the armed forces to take over the government might lead to even greater controversy. The armed forces appear to be the most conservative, almost "Stalinist" element in the Yugoslav society. They are allied to the Serbian communists, who may also be classed as conservative. The Serbs are using the present national conflict in Kosovo, where the Albanian majority is harassing the Serbian minority, as an excuse to draw attention away from real problems.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Ognev, M and Belgrade 3:30) presented a report by Vladimir Ognev from Belgrade about the deep controversy within the Union of Yugoslav Communists demonstrated during the session of its Central Committee. He stressed that everyone in the country expected a serious discussion of the most urgent problem the country faces: that of inflation. Instead the leadership of the Yugoslav Communists once again devoted itself to a passionate discussion between the three factions: those that support the Croat Suvar; those who are the followers of the head of the Serbian Communist Milosevic; and, finally, the ideological allies of the communist leader of Slovenia Kucan.

### C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The USA. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 2:30) quoted from a speech by Vice-President Dan Quayle, who stressed that the yearning for freedom was nowhere more deeply felt than in the communist world. He also pointed to the positive changes happening in the Soviet empire.

MAN AND SOCIETY (Simis, W 5) discussed the system of presidential elections in the United States and, in particular, that of the role the electoral college plays in this procedure. After a historical survey of various amendments to the constitution the author quoted authoritative voices demanding the end of this obsolete and archaic system.

2. The United Nations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyev, M 40) talked about the conference of the United Nations Human Rights Committee which opened in Geneva recently. It was stressed that the agenda will include questions of human rights in a number of countries, including the socialist ones, as well as the present situation in Afghanistan. The problem of the death penalty and the torture of political prisoners will likewise be discussed.

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

1. Medicine. MODERN MEDICINE (Muslin and Morozov, NY 27:30) described various new medical developments, in particular those concerning the prevention of cancer by vaccination. The hope was expressed that this new method may be successfully used in about five years. The next item described the difficulties in transplanting hearts. Finally the adverse effects of nicotine on heart disease and the prophylactic characteristics of garlic against certain types of cancer were described.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Wednesday, 1 February 1989

D. Felton

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

1. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 7:30) reported on the Soviet military operations to clear the motor road through the Salang Pass resulting in heavy losses among the civilian population. The program noted the irritated reaction by the commander of Soviet forces in Afghanistan, Lieutenant-General Gromov, when asked about US State Department references to the Soviet forces' scorched earth tactics, and the claim by Gromov and another top Soviet military leader, Bronislav Omelichev, that partisan leader Massoud was to blame for what had happened. The program remarked that the Soviet air and artillery attacks came after a vain Soviet/Kabul attempt to woo Massoud. The program pointed to the possibility of Massoud's forces attacking the withdrawing Soviet troops following the carnage among the civilian population.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 4:30) included a telephone report from Moscow by independent journalist Yuri Mityunov on Soviet press reaction to the final phase of the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan. Mityunov noted sparse references to the imminent withdrawal, a report in Krasnaya Zvezda giving the impression that all the Soviet troops had been doing was to help in the economic development of Afghanistan, a Pravda article hinting at the tough resistance offered to the Soviet troops, and an article in the trade union newspaper Trud on the Afghan veterans' fight for assistance after returning home.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 1:30) cited, with a voice cut, the former US Charge d'Affaires in Afghanistan, John Glassman, to the effect that now the USSR is confronted with the problem of establishing normal relations with a future government of its neighbor, Afghanistan. Audio Section material was used.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 4) featured an RL telephone interview with CBS TV correspondent Kurt Loebek in Peshawar in which he talked about the tense and uncertain situation in Kabul, the Mujahidin's plans regarding the capture of the city, and the Soviet intention to retain influence in Afghanistan.

PRESS REVIEW (EVENTS AND PEOPLE) (Pomerantsev, L 1:30), in a review of the British press, cited The Times (London) that most British diplomats in Kabul would have preferred to stay on in order to witness further developments and The Morning Star that the exodus of foreign diplomats from Kabul is part of an evil plan to create a crisis.

PRESS REVIEW (EVENTS AND PEOPLE) (Mirsky, P 7) reviewed French press comment on the events surrounding the Soviet troop withdrawal from Kabul. The program cited Le Figaro, Le Quotidien de Paris, Liberation, and Le Monde, among other things, on the Soviet bombings of civilian targets in the area of the Salang Pass and the press conference given by the commander of Soviet forces in Afghanistan, Lieutenant-General Gromov.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gordin, M 4) cited a report by Olaf Ihlan in the Sueddeutsche Zeitung on the situation in beleaguered Kabul.

2. USSR-PRC-US. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 5) commented on Shevardnadze's upcoming visit to the PRC. The program said that the Chinese are attaching much greater importance to US President Bush's forthcoming visit and their political relations with the US are much closer than with the USSR. Although the USSR has been making efforts to meet the PRC's three preconditions for a summit between Gorbachev and Deng Xiaoping, improvements in Sino-Soviet relations have so far been quantitative, not qualitative.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Shuster, M 3) included an RL interview with Robin Pauly, editor of the Asian department of The Financial Times, on Shevardnadze's current visit to the PRC. Pauly mentioned the three obstacles to a normalization of

Sino-Soviet relations which will be topics of discussion during the visit and spoke of the possible announcements on a Gorbachev-Deng Xiaoping summit and a reduction of Soviet troop strength on the Chinese border, in which case Shevardnadze's visit would end with a success.

3. USSR-Britain. PRESS REVIEW (EVENTS AND PEOPLE) (Pomerantsev, L 1:30), in a review of the British press, cited The Times (London) on British Shadow Foreign Minister Gerald Kaufman's speech in a Moscow club for the support of restructuring in which he emphasized that socialism is not an end in itself but a means of acquiring freedom.

4. Unofficial Organizations. RUSSIA YESTERDAY, TODAY, TOMORROW (Vl. Tolz, M 8) featured telephone talks with two members of the board of the unofficial Memorial society, Dmitry Yurasov and Yuri Afanasev, on the society's constituent conference. Among other things, they expressed approval of the charter adopted by the society and spoke of its aims of democratizing Soviet society by giving it back its past and preventing a return to Stalin-type totalitarianism.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Malinkovich, M 11) featured a telephone interview with one of the organizers of the unofficial Memorial society, Leonov, on the society's recent constituent conference in Moscow. Leonov said the fact that the conference took place was, in itself, a success in the light of previous distorted reporting about the society by the Soviet media. He expressed satisfaction with the charter adopted at the conference.

5. Yeltsin. RUSSIA YESTERDAY, TODAY, TOMORROW (Vl. Tolz, M 10) featured a telephone comment from Moscow by Soviet publicist Anatoly Strelyany on former Moscow city party chief Boris Yeltsin, who is one of the candidates for the Congress of People's Deputies. Strelyany described how when he proposed Yeltsin's candidature in response to a request from a Soviet newspaper, he was informed that the newspaper could not accept the candidature of someone like Yeltsin. Strelyany criticized Yeltsin's utopian, childish view of socialism and claimed that he does not have the qualifications of a statesman, but gave him credit for producing brilliant ideas when he stopped to think.

6. Gorbachev. PRESS REVIEW (EVENTS AND PEOPLE) (Pomerantsev, L 1), in a review of the British press, cited The Daily Telegraph on information in the Soviet press on Gorbachev's salary, equivalent to 17,500 pounds sterling. The program regretted that The Daily Telegraph and other British newspapers failed to explain that the standard of living of a Soviet leader is guaranteed not so much by his salary as by his position.



7. Restructuring. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Henkina and Malinkovich, M 10) remarked that the countless unofficial associations which have sprung up in the USSR are still deprived of the possibility of taking part in political life, and so one cannot yet say that democracy exists in the USSR. The program pointed to the process of sifting out independent candidates in the elections to the Congress of People's Deputies, as a result of which few will be elected in the end. The independent associations are not allowed to submit their own candidates. The program mentioned proposals for a "lobby" to support independent candidates and for the formation of a "people's parliament" by representatives of unofficial associations. Eventually, said the program, the pressure of circumstances will eventually lead to these representatives being admitted to the power structure.

8. The Economy. DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Shragin, NY 4) took a critical look at the USSR Council of Ministers' recent resolution regulating the activities of cooperatives. The program cited statements made by senior government official Prostoyakov in an interview with Izvestia elaborating on the resolution which reflects the state's reluctance to surrender any part of its monopoly to the cooperatives. However, said the program, the resolution will surely be but an episode on Soviet society's road to democracy.

AT THE NEWSSTAND (Perouansky and Kroncher, M 8) discussed an article by unorthodox Soviet economist Gavriil Popov in Ogonek, No. 3, on the difficulties experienced by cooperatives due to the fact that they can produce goods cheaply, which conflicts with an economic system based on fulfilling plans using quantitative criteria, such as value of goods produced. The program disagreed with Popov's claim that the bureaucratic apparatus is to blame, pointing out that, in fact, the fault lies with the totalitarian political system.

9. The Nationalities. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 8) featured a telephone report from Riga by Mikhail Bombin on the glasnost stand operated by a movement for Latvian independence, the upcoming resumption of Sunday services in a Riga cathedral, a statement by US Consul General Mile to representatives of the Latvian Popular Front to the effect that the US position regarding the annexation of the Baltic states remains unchanged, and a meeting of the Parliament of Active Youth of Latvia about to be constituted. This was followed by a further telephone report from Riga by Glasnost collaborator Manannikov on the Second Congress of the Democratic Union in the Latvian capital.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 4:30) excerpted a statement by the Estonian National Independence Party protesting against the persecution of members of the Karabakh Committee and calling for the Armenian people to be allowed to exercise its will regarding the Mountainous Karabakh issue.

AT THE NEWSSTAND (Perouansky, M 8) drew listeners' attention to articles in Druzhba Narodov, Zhurnalist, and Sobesednik on nationality problems. In particular, the articles give a more or less objective picture of the situation in the Baltic republics. Excerpts were given from an article in Druzhba Narodov by Janis Peters, board chairman of the Latvian Writers' Union, in which he showed how Moscow's economic policy is highly detrimental to Latvia.

RUSSIA YESTERDAY, TODAY, TOMORROW (Levin, M 6) gave the contents of a paper recently presented by US State Department expert Paul Goble at the Kennan Institute on the USSR's present search for models for the solution of its nationality problems in Soviet history, the works of Lenin, and foreign experience.

10. Labor. MAN AND SOCIETY (Belotserkovsky, M 15), a RERUN from January 30, featured a telephone conversation with a Moscow representative of the Union of Free Laborers, SMOT, on the most recent labor-related events and the undemocratic methods used in designating candidates for the upcoming election to the Congress of People's Deputies.

11. Atomic Energy. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 5) included a telephone report by Moscow ecologist and activist of the Trust Group, Alexander Soykhnet, who spoke of the negative reaction by his group to the TASS English-language service's announcement that the Chernobyl atomic power station had resumed normal working. Soykhnet spoke of radioactive emissions into the soil from the damaged reactor block, the health hazard to operating personnel, and the questionability of the return of former inhabitants to risk areas.

12. Soviet Psychiatrist Marat Vartanyan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 11:30) backgrounded and quoted an open letter by Soviet biologist Viktor Gindilis to the Medical and Biological Department of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences (AS-6331) protesting against the election of psychiatrist Marat Vartanyan as a member of the Academy. Gindilis describes Vartanyan as immoral and incompetent.

A. Russians and Americans. AT THE NEWSSTAND (Dovlatov, NY 7) commented on a recent article by Anatoly Druzenko in Moskovskiye Novosti comparing the Russian and American characters in which, among other things, he contrasts the business-like efficiency of

Americans with the attitude of the Russians. The program pointed out that this difference may be attributed to the differences between the two systems.

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

1. Poland. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Potiyev, M 4:30) said that, on the eve of the round-table talks between the government and the opposition, the Polish public is alarmed over the latest price increases and the mysterious death of Rev. Stanislaw Suchowolec shortly after the murder of Rev. Stefan Niedzielak. The program noted the different viewpoints of the regime and the opposition on these cases, and pointed to the possibility that the two priests were murdered by persons with an interest in frustrating the dialogue between the authorities and the opposition.

MAN AND SOCIETY (Belotserkovsky, M 13), a RERUN from January 30, included an interview with Jerzy Milewski, Director of Solidarity's Coordinating Bureau Abroad, who discussed the significance of the Polish government's deliberations over legalizing Solidarity and speculated on the future political direction of the country. The program concluded with a reading of the text of the basic principles of Solidarity.

2. Czechoslovakia. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD and EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyev, M 3) featured a telephone report from Prague by a correspondent of the independent East European Information Agency, Jan Urban, on recent developments on the human rights front in Czechoslovakia. These included new signatures under a petition by cultural personalities calling for the opening of a dialogue between the regime and the public and for the release of playwright Vaclav Havel and other political prisoners. The Czechoslovak media made only sparse reference to the petition. On the other hand, the media published Prime Minister Adamec's reply to a letter by Cardinal Tomasek, who protested against the use of force against peaceful demonstrators. The Cardinal's original letter and a subsequent one were not published. Urban also reported on developments concerning Havel and other political prisoners and a demand by the Polish Helsinki Committee that during his upcoming visit to Czechoslovakia, Polish Prime Minister Rakowski will request an official explanation from the Czechoslovak government concerning political prisoners and the use of force against peaceful demonstrators.

3. Yugoslavia. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 5:30) commented that the latest LCY CC plenum brought victory for the reformist wing of the party over the dogmatists. The program cited top Yugoslav military leaders on the issue of possible intervention by the army on the political scene and observed that the army

is virtually the only ideologically oriented, centralized organization remaining in Yugoslavia, and it would be able to carry out a coup and impose a rigid dictatorship.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 5) featured a telephone report from Belgrade by independent journalist Vladimir Ognev on the plenum of the LCY CC. Ognev spoke particularly of the open clash between the Serbian and Croatian groupings; the statement by the Deputy Minister of the Armed Forces to the effect that the armed forces would defend the countries' frontiers, but on no account individual or group interests; a Macedonian worker's expression of disappointment over the quarreling; and speeches by Kosovo leaders indicating the pressure to which they have been subjected by the Serbian leadership.

4. Eastern Europe. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanov, P 5:30) gave the contents of an editorial in Le Monde on the wide variations now existing among the East European countries as regards respect for human rights. Moscow's cautious position was noted.

#### C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. East-West Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Polishchuk, W 5) reported that the US and other NATO countries have welcomed the publication by Warsaw Pact countries of information on their troop strength, but they disagree with their claim of approximate parity between the two military organizations. The program placed this development in the context of the upcoming new round of talks in Vienna on a reduction of conventional forces. A CND report from Washington was used.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, M 5) gave the contents of an article in The New York Times by former US Ambassador to Czechoslovakia William Luers on what policy the US and its allies should pursue toward the USSR and the East European countries.

2. The Middle East. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Miloslavsky, Jerusalem 7:30) outlined Israeli Prime Minister Shamir's two-phase plan for a settlement of the Palestinian question which he talked about in an interview with Le Monde. The program pointed to a certain readiness on the part of the Israelis and the Palestinians to reach agreement on many urgent issues but the main conflict centers around Palestinian statehood. The program mentioned various ideas expressed on the subject by Israeli and Palestinian political observers.

3. The US. DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (V. Morozov, NY 8) included an RL interview with the president of the chamber of commerce of Hunterdon County, New Jersey, on the positive and negative aspects of full employment.

4. Burma. DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Shragin, NY 4) reported on the first visit to Burma by a group of foreign journalists since 1962. The program noted that despite an assurance by Brigadier-General Khin Nyunt that the government intended to hold free elections, the journalists did not have the impression that such elections would take place this year.

5. Democracy. DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Shragin, NY 10) noted that, while in Soviet publications restructuring and democratization are presented as a unique challenge to Soviet society, at present there is a worldwide movement toward democracy. The program cited an article by American political scientist Samuel Huntington in the Political Science Quarterly which examines the reasons for this development and lists the virtues of democracy.

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

1. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Golomshtok and Genis, NY 16, and Paramonov and Volkov, NY 10) featured an obituary of surrealist painter Salvador Dali and RL music expert Solomon Volkov's choice of the three best American records of the year.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis  
for Thursday, 2 February 1989  
N. Petrov and L. Mardirossian

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

1. Soviet-Chinese Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, M 5) excerpted articles from The New York Times, The Washington Post, and The Independent on Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's visit to the PRC and on the prospects for an improvement in Soviet-Chinese relations.
- \* 2. Afghanistan. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Vail, NY 2:30) provided excerpts from an address to the people of Afghanistan read by UN Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar. In his speech Perez de Cuellar called on all warring Aghan parties to "give peace a chance" and to try to resolve their political differences without resorting to violence. He emphasized the need for the creation of a central government in Afghanistan in which all major groups and political factions will be represented.
- \* THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 2:30) noted the official US response to the Soviet explanation for the bombing sorties against Afghan villages. State Department spokesman Redman said that the Soviet contention that the raids were a necessary defensive measure to protect the last of the departing Soviet troops from Afghanistan was unacceptable. He contrasted this most recent example of Soviet aggression with the Mujahidin's restraint from military action against the withdrawing Soviet Army.

- \* Pegged to the recent Soviet bombing raids in Afghanistan, THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Kuznetsov and Shuster, M 3) carried an interview with Prof. Krakauski of Boston University on the possible reasons for the massive bombing attacks. Krakauski, a former Pentagon specialist, said that he believes the surprise raids prove that the Soviet Union has no intention of abandoning its political control of Afghanistan.
- \* THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD and EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 7) opined that despite the Soviet withdrawal no one can say that it marks the end of military activity in Afghanistan. The struggle will continue, but it will enter into a new phase which will determine just what kind of government will take shape in this war-torn country.

3. Dissidents and Human Rights. DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 8) broadcast a telephone talk from Moscow by Asya Lashchiver highlighting the contents of the fourth issue of the samizdat journal Stranichka Uznika, which appeared in January. The issue includes reports on the continuing harassment of dissidents and democrats and on political abuse of psychiatry in the Soviet Union and a commentary on recent changes in penal laws.

An international seminar organized by Amnesty International on the abuse of psychiatry for political purposes was held at the UNESCO headquarters in Paris recently. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 9:30) focused on such abuse in the Soviet Union. The program read a letter that Soviet dissident Alexander Podrabinek sent to the participants of the seminar condemning the continued use of compulsory psychiatric measures to deter or punish acts of dissent in the Soviet Union. These measures continue despite the efforts of the Soviet authorities to enhance the prestige of Soviet psychiatry under Gorbachev. Tamara Grigoryants, the wife of the editor of the Moscow-based unofficial journal Glasnost, Sergey Grigoryants, who is in Paris as a guest, addressed the seminar. She reported on very recent cases of the confinement of mentally healthy dissidents in psychiatric hospitals, among them contributors to Glasnost, including Sergey Kuznetsov. Kuznetsov's case history was dealt with by the program, which used an interview given by Tamara Grigoryants to the BD's Paris correspondent on January 31. The program also referred to an article in Le Monde of February 2.

4. Unofficial Media. In a telephone discussion with Alexey Manannikov of Moscow, THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 4:30) surveyed the phenomenal growth of several new samizdat publications.

DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 6) broadcast a telephone report from Novosibirsk by Alexey Manannikov, who reviewed some samizdat publications in that city, such as Novaya Zhizn, Gorodskoy Byulleten, and Severnyy Telegraf.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 2:30) aired a telephone report from Moscow on recent significant events in the social, political, and economic life of the USSR that were not reported in the official press.

5. The Official Media. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 5) presented a telephone report from a BD contributor in Moscow reviewing the Soviet press. The articles cited in Pravda and Izvestia were said to indicate a cooling trend in the political atmosphere.

6. The Nationalities. DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 6) broadcast a telephone report by a member of the Lithuanian League for Freedom, Valdas Anneljauskas of Vilnius, discussing Lithuanian samizdat, which numbers more than 100 publications ranging from semiofficial Sajudis newspapers to student journals. The program focused on the Lithuanian League for Freedom's News Bulletin, founded in November 1988, and on the Lithuanian Democratic Party's newspaper The 16th of February, whose title symbolizes Lithuanian Independence Day.

DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 10) broadcast a telephone report by Dmitry Volchek, an editor of the the Moscow-based unofficial journal Glasnost, dealing with a booklet published in Yerevan entitled Prosecuted. The booklet includes profiles of the 13 jailed members of the Committee for the Reunification of Nagorno-Karabakh with Armenia. Volchek said that all 13 are detained in Moscow on charges of stirring up national hatred.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fishbein, M 8:30) cited a representative in Moscow of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union on a conference in Vilnius of various national democratic movements which ended on January 29. The program read the text of an appeal by the participants addressed to "the Russian intelligentsia" condemning Moscow's nationality policy, based on Russification, and calling for the implementation of the right of nations to self-determination. The appeal also noted that the Russian intelligentsia has not yet displayed courage enough to come to a decision on the nationality question.

7. Anti-Semitism. MAN AND SOCIETY (Belotserkovsky, M 28) featured a BD interview with Soviet journalist Andrey Cherkizov which was conducted during his stay in Italy this past December and January. Cherkizov told of anti-Semitic feelings among members of the organization Pamyat, pointing out that anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union today is nothing but a renewal of the practice under Stalin and Brezhnev of hunting down "plotters" and other "enemies." Cherkizov also noted that Pamyat



has been trying to delude people into believing that the October Revolution was a plot perpetrated by Zionists and Freemasons and that the organization derives encouragement from "above," including from the nomenklatura, the bureaucratic class, and the party leadership. He stressed the necessity to put into practice laws prohibiting the spread of racial and religious hatred.

8. The Economy. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD and EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 4:30) discussed the full range of economic problems associated with the nonconvertible ruble and how this situation affects trade with the Soviet Union.

9. Elections. In a report received from a Moscow contributor, THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 6) highlighted a demonstration of scholars and scientists that took place in front of the building housing the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences. The demonstration was in reaction to the slate of candidates chosen by the academy for the coming elections to the Congress of People's Deputies.

10. The Military. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Zamashchikov, W 4:30) discussed the removal of the commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact forces, Soviet Marshal Kulikov, who held the job since 1977; noted his replacement by Soviet General Lushev; and profiled both generals.

11. The Remuneration of High Officials. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD and EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyev, M 3:30) excerpted a recent interview with Ogonek editor Vitaly Korotich, who commented on the pay of high officials in the state and military bureaucracy.

Gorbachev's salary was a subject of EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rubin, NY 5:30), which used an article by Keller in The New York Times of February 1 about an interview that Ogonek editor Korotich gave to Molodezh Moldavii in which he said that Gorbachev makes more than 1,500 rubles a month, plus perks. Gorbachev's salary appears low by Western standards, but the perks of his office are considerable and include an apartment in Moscow, a house in the countryside, and a vacation place in the Crimea.

12. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Konovalov, M 7) dealt with Belorussian painter Alexander Isachev, who died on 4 December 1987 at the age of 32. Christened at the age of 19, Isachev dedicated his work to the Bible. His first and last official exhibition was held in November 1987, shortly before his death.

The emigre Russian monthly Strelets has recently been turned into a voluminous literary, political, and social journal of more than 300 pages. On OVER THE BARRIERS (Glezer, M 6), Strelets's chief editor Alexander Glezer reviewed the contents of the journal's first issue.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Falkov, M 9) reviewed articles in the newspaper Moskovskie Novosti (Alla Latynina) of January 1 and the monthly journal Yunost (Olga Khrustaleva) of December 1988 which pointed out that the new Soviet literature has not yet become official despite the policy of restructuring and that samizdat is still the only outlet for those writers whose works by far outshine those of official writers because of their commitment to universal values. They are "the silent generation," which has refused censorship and self-censorship long before restructuring.

After noting that writer Petr Kozhevnikov distinguished himself 10 years ago with his first novel, Two Notebooks, which dealt with Leningrad's younger generation, OVER THE BARRIERS (Yurenen, M 6:30) broadcast a telephone report from Moscow by Volchek of the unofficial journal Glasnost who discussed Kozhevnikov's activities within the Delta environmental group aimed at protecting Leningrad's water resources against "economic banditry" and at preventing the construction of the Leningrad dam. Kozhevnikov was beaten up twice by unknown persons.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanova, P 19:30) aired an interview given to the BD's Paris correspondent by Alexander Glezer following his recent visit to Moscow 14 years after he left the Soviet Union. Glezer, who is chief editor of the emigre Russian journal Strelets and director of the Paris-based Contemporary Russian Art Gallery and of the printing house Tretya Voilna, reported on two meetings in Moscow to discuss his journal, Solzhenitsyn, and other issues related to the emigration organized by some unofficial literary societies; previewed two art exhibitions in Moscow to be held in May 1989 and January 1990 with works from the Paris gallery; and dealt with an agreement he reached with the publishing house Moskovsky Rabochy to create a joint printing enterprise. Answering questions about dissidents and national activists in connection with the arrest of Karabakh Committee members in Armenia, the interviewee said that the new wave of repression was a step back with regard to perestroika, but added that since his visit to Moscow was devoted exclusively to literature and art, he did not tackle the problem with his interlocutors. He also discussed his idea to create an International Association of Intellectuals for the Defense of Perestroika and Glasnost with the aid of Soviet and foreign intellectuals, as put forward during a roundtable talk near Paris.

ROUNDTABLE TALK (Róitman, Lyubimov, and Matusevich, M 20) dealt with the current state of the Soviet theater. Boris Lyubimov, a member of the Board of the Union of Theatrical Workers of the RSFSR and a member of the RSFSR government commission for republican state prizes, answered questions about the

publication in the Soviet Union of Solzhenitsyn's literary works, especially his plays, noting that any decision to that effect will be useful for openness; about his own stance on the current tasks of the Soviet theater, which, he said, is in a crisis; and about the social role of the theater.

FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 28), a RERUN from 26 January 1979, read the 36th installment of Solzhenitsyn's novel The Calf and the Oak.

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

1. Yugoslavia. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Kuznetsov, M 4:30) interviewed prominent dissident Milovan Djilas, who spoke about the present economic and political crisis in Yugoslavia.

#### C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The US. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 1:30) reported that the man President Bush wants to be his defense secretary, former Senator Tower, defended his moral character in a further appearance before the Senate Armed Services Committee.

2. US-Japanese Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 3:30) previewed Japanese Prime Minister Takeshita's coming visit to the US and highlighted the current state of US-Japanese relations.

3. US-Iranian Relations were discussed by EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Polishchuk, W 5), which cited comments on the subject by US State Department spokesman Redman, President Bush, Iranian Deputy Foreign Minister Larijani, Iranian President Khomeini, and an article in The Los Angeles Times.

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

1. Religion. JUDAISM (Lvov, Vail, and Haskelovich, NY 28) discussed Rabbi Iosif Yuzl Gurvich's life and work; aired an interview given to the BD by a member of the Editorial Council of the New York-based weekly Jewish Press, Julius Lib, dealing with the aims and organizational structure of this newspaper; and highlighted the Jewish calendar.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis  
for Friday, 3 February 1989  
J. Benson

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

1. The Soviet Union - Italy. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 7:30) drew attention to an article by the Soviet historian Vladimir Naumov in a recent issue of Kommunist in which he blamed the errors of the Brezhnev era for the differences that arose with the Italian Communist Party in the fifties and sixties. Contrary to Naumov's false image of a new harmony between the two communist parties in the era of Gorbachev, the program said that the CPI has been convinced by the exposures of glasnost that it must distance itself even more from the Soviet system.

2. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 7) drew on Reuter's and UPI dispatches in reporting on the recent bombings and early withdrawal tactics of the Soviet forces. The program refuted the justifications for the bombings given by General Gromov and Ministry of Internal Affairs official Perfilev, quoting observers in Pakistan who interpret the bombings as a means of placating Najibullah and of punishing resistance forces leader Massoud for refusing to participate in a joint government with Najibullah.

- \* THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fistejn, M 3) presented an interview with the director of the Afghan information center in Peshawar who described the tense situation in the major cities, attributing numerous civilian casualties in Kabul and Kandahar to the Soviet carpet bombings. He noted the gains made by the resistance forces and predicted the Kabul government's move to the north if the Salang Pass cannot be held after the Soviet withdrawal.

- \* THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fistejn, M 2) quoted the Estonian newspaper Noorte Haale of January 29 on the figures of 40,000 Soviet soldiers dead and 110,000 wounded during the Afghanistan War. The figures were believed to be reliable since they had been sent through official channels from Moscow.
  - \* EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, M 3:30) surveyed major articles in the international press on the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. An article in Die Welt of February 3 detailed the condition of the country after nine years of war, and an editorial in The Washington Post focused on future potential problems due to the disagreement among the resistance forces on the composition of a new government.
  - \* THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fistejn, M 3) summed up General Gromov's statements at a press conference in Kabul where he said the Soviet Union will not bomb Afghanistan from the Soviet Union after withdrawal is completed and expressed optimism about the ability of the Kabul regime to hold its own.
  - \* THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fistejn and Shuster, M 1) corrected the fabrications appearing in the last issue of the weekly Argumenty i Fakty about RFE journalist Savik Shuster.
3. The Election. ROUND-TABLE DISCUSSION (Roitman, M 20) discussed the significance of the demonstration in front of the Academy of Science on February 2 protesting the Academy presidium's selection of candidates for the Congress of the People's Deputies. It was observed that the members of the presidium belong to an older generation than the protesters who were both supporting more prorestructuring candidates and also demanding the resignation of Academy director Marchuk and Vice-President Rudryatsov. The official argument about the need for preselection when more than three candidates are chosen was felt to be illogical. A tape of a telephone conversation was presented in which a member of "Memorial" told of the organization's plan to campaign for Sakharov and more detail was provided on Sakharov's program, especially the points dealing with ethnic problems and social justice. In conclusion, it was recalled that 10-15 years ago the presidium members were considered liberals, and the fact that they appear as conservatives now is a sign of how far restructuring has progressed in the Soviet Union.
- \* THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Manannikov, Moscow 2) gave a detailed account of the rally before the Academy of Science on February 2 protesting the undemocratic selection of candidates by a

presidium of the Academy of Science for the Congress of the People's Deputies and proclaimed resolutions calling for new nominations and the election of a new presidium.

4. Unofficial Organization. MAN AND SOCIETY (Belotserkovsky, M 28) broadcast a taped interview with Boris Kagarlitsky, a member of the coordination council of the Moscow Popular Front and editor of the unofficial journal Levy Povorot, during a press conference arranged by "Friends of the Earth" in Rome in 1987. Kagarlitsky discussed the possibilities of democratizing the party, which he said has started within the unofficial organizations, where the more radical communist party members meet, and is concentrated primarily in the provinces. He expressed the opinion that democratization must first take place in the kraikom, obkom, and gorkom, where local power is wielded. Kagarlitsky attributed the very moderate image of the Soviet intellectuals to the fact that the central press is controlled by writers of the sixties who have resumed their main theme of anti-Stalin exposes interrupted during the Brezhnev era, but that this is no longer a major problem for society.

5. The Pamyat Group. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fishbein, M 1) highlighted an interview with Anatoly Korotich, the chief editor of Ogonek, in which he attributed Ku Klux Klan characteristics to the extremist wing of the Pamyat movement and speculated that they must be receiving support from anti-Gorbachev elements in society. The interview appeared in the US-based Ukrainian-language newspaper Ukrainsky Visti of January 29.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fistejn, M 6:30) clarified an apparent discrepancy between a report in issue No. 4 of the Pamyat information bulletin about the removal of Pamyat head Dimitry Vasiliev on grounds of financial irregularities and a telephone reply by Vasiliev who denied it. The program commented that this is another sign of the development of two warring factions of Pamyat, one of which is healthier than the Vasiliev faction, but both tend to undemocratic behavior.

6. Restructuring. OVER THE BARRIERS (Pomerantsev, L 7) presented the impressions of changes in Soviet society gathered by British historian Mervyn Matthews during a recent trip to Moscow after 10 years of being refused a visa. Among other things, Matthews noted that foreigners are no longer isolated nor are they privileged, the consumer shortages seem greater than ever and the growth of cooperatives is very impressive.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Volchek, Moscow 4) excerpted a reader's letter from Komsomolskaya Pravda of February 3 and an article from Glasnost, No. 28, both of which complained that

customs' officers seem to arbitrarily confiscate books, articles, and cassette tapes from Soviet citizens returning from the US in contradiction to the spirit of glasnost and restructuring.

7. The Nationalities. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fishbein, M 5:30) highlighted the main points of an interview with Anatoly Korotich, the chief editor of Ogonek, which appeared in the US-based Ukrainian-language newspaper Ukrainsky Visti of January 29. Korotich attributed the slow progress of restructuring and Ukrainization in the Ukraine to the low level of political thought and the passivity of the masses. However, he was optimistic that persistence can with time change this situation, but only from below. He also gave evidence of his Ukrainian roots to refute rumors that he is Jewish.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fistejn, M 4) presented a telephone report from Tallinn on the celebration of the 69th anniversary of the peace treaty between the Soviet Union and Estonia after World War I which was to ensure the independence of Estonia. This year's celebration was contrasted with previous anniversaries and an article in Sovetskaya Estoniya of February 2 about the history of the treaty was excerpted.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Manannikov, Moscow 2) reviewed the official legal charges brought against members of the Karabakh committee which included stirring up ethnic strife, the disturbance of public order, and the organization of rallies and demonstrations that fail to function properly.

8. The Economy. AT THE NEWSSTAND (Gregory, M 17) presented excerpts from an article in the January issue of Znamya by the Soviet economist Nikolay Shmelev. Among other things Shmelev argued that market conditions and a convertible currency are necessary for the economy and said the major cause of shortages of food and consumer items is simply an incredible waste. He supported the introduction of collectives, land leases, and contracts, and criticized the difficulties being created by envious neighbors and local authorities, saying the best way to stop this destructive trend is to raise the salaries of the envious workers.

9. Human Rights. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 4) filled in the blank spots of the official Soviet version of Jesse Jackson's visit to Yerevan and Moscow. The program observed that the reactions of the CP of Armenia to Jackson's intercession for the arrested members of the Karabakh Committee lacked all the signs of restructuring, diplomacy, and simple politeness. An article in The Washington Post from February 3 was cited.



On MAN AND SOCIETY (Murzhenko, NY 8:30) the former political prisoner Aleksey Murzhenko told of the life of Ivan Svetlichny, a Ukrainian dissident and literary figure in the 1950s and 1960s, who was sentenced twice to labor camps and exile and is now an invalid who lives in poverty. Murzhenko said that restructuring will only really begin when Svetlichny and other former political prisoners are rehabilitated.

10. The Legal System. MAN AND SOCIETY (Kaminskaya and Simis, W 9:30) discussed legal aspects of the recent trial and sentence of Arkady Norinsky, a Leningrader who forged the name of the Pamyat organization to letters threatening social activists in Leningrad. The program expressed the opinion that Norinsky's actions did not violate the law of hooliganism, however, his use of deception was immoral despite his basically good intention of creating a legal precedence for trying members of the group. Articles from Pravda and Komsomolskaya Pravda from November and Nash Sovremennik from January were cited.

11. The Emigration. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 19) reviewed the contents of the February 3 issue of the Russian-language newspaper Russkaya Mysl, giving extensive excerpts of articles by Natham Sharansky and Aleksandr Ginzburg, a letter protesting the recent arrests in Czechoslovakia, and items on Afghanistan, Soviet primary education, and culture.

12. Culture. AT THE NEWSSTAND (Perouansky, M 13) featured an interview with the Soviet literary critic Boris Lyubimov who attributed the current crisis of the Soviet theater primarily to the absence of new, young people who have innovative ideas about the artistic presentation of a play. The current freedom to perform almost any drama, he said, was not being used in a talented way. Lyubimov's article in Issue No. 4 of Ogonek was cited.

13. Religion. CHRISTIAN RUSSIA: THE SECOND MILLENNIUM (Rahr, M 7) summarized the main points of an article by Sergey Filatov in issue No. 5 of the journal Sotsiologicheskiye Issledovaniya and agreed with the author's main thesis that the internal isolation of the church has proved negative for both church and society, even promoting the rise of such organizations as Pamyat which misuse Orthodoxy for their dubious political aims. The program expressed the hope that the new pluralism will allow the church to exercise a positive influence on society.

CHRISTIAN RUSSIA: THE SECOND MILLENNIUM (Rahr, M 12) cited several articles and paragraphs from laws forbidding religious education from 1918 down to the present as an explanation for the program's skepticism about the promises connected with the



new law on religious cults. The program found particularly absurd and not at all reassuring the statements made by Chairman of the Council on Religious Affairs Kharchev in this regard.

14. Judaism. JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Markish, Geneva 16) discussed a series of essays about Lithuanian Jews written by the Jewish writer Ben-Ami and published in the Russian-language Jewish monthly Voskhod which appeared in Saint Petersburg around the turn of the century.

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

1. Poland. OVER THE BARRIERS (Pomerantsev, L 7) gave a summary of the Polish documentary film entitled "A Very Polish Secret," an independent production which breaks the 43-year-long silence surrounding the massacre of Polish partisans by the communists in 1944.

2. Czechoslovakia. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fistejn, M 5) broadcast a taped news report from Prague about recent events in the country connected with street discussions and the government's attempt to begin a dialogue with different sectors of the society.

#### C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The MBFR. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 3:30) remarked that the one single concrete result of the 16-year-long MBFR talks is a souvenir tie designed for all participants. The program, nevertheless, was optimistic about the new talks on conventional forces in Europe since negotiations will take a new tactic and try to reach agreement on the final numbers to which arms shall be reduced.

2. The US - Central America. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Plishchuk, W 5) drew on Western news agency dispatches and articles in The Washington Post from February 1 and 2 in sketching the first official trip of Vice-President Quayle to Venezuela and El Salvador where he discussed the major problems of Third World debts and civil wars.

3. The US. MAN AND SOCIETY (Morozov, NY 7) featured an interview with the head of welfare in Westchester County in New York state, who explained how the American system of welfare operates.

4. Israel. JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 8) reviewed the main topics of interest during the past week. These included a move to appoint the Jewish activist Natham

Sharansky to the post of Israel's UN representative and the possible ramifications for relations between Israel and the Soviet Union, the granting of political asylum and repatriation of Soviet mathematician Yakov Kogan, the increase in Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union, and American moves to limit Jewish emigration to the US by granting refugee status less often.

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

1. Culture. JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Roitman, M 2:30) announced a philanthropic concert given by Israeli artists to collect money for a memorial to Jews in Latvia and broadcast a poem by Aleksandr Levin which appeared in the leaflet Rassvet of the Estonian society of Jewish Culture.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Cherfas, L 6) criticized the playwrights of the recent British play about Stalin's concentration camps in Siberia entitled "A Question of Geography" for plagiarizing Evgeniya Ginzburg's memoirs Krutoy Marshrut and Vasily Aksenov's novel Ozheg.

2. Don Juan. OVER THE BARRIERS (Rayfield, M 7) traced the changing image of the literary figure Don Juan down to the present.

3. Jewish Youth in the US. JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Roitman, M 2:30) excerpted an article from the US journal Moment which examined the new interest in Jewish roots being expressed among young Jews in America.

4. Religion. CHRISTIAN RUSSIA: THE SECOND MILLENNIUM (Rahr, M 10) described three methods of modern religious education practiced in the West: religion as a normal subject in the West German public schools; the separation of state and private confessional schools in Belgium; and religious instruction in the Thursday, Saturday, or Sunday Schools of the Russian emigres.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Saturday, 4 February 1989

J. Benson

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

1. Soviet-US Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rubin, NY 5:30) drew on an article in The New York Times of February 2 in reporting on the changes in American immigration policy as they pertain to emigrants from the Soviet Union and explained the political and financial reasons behind the changes.

2. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Vail, NY 4), a RERUN from February 2, highlighted the main points of UN Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar's speech at the UN on February 1, in which he called for peace in Afghanistan and financial and material aid to help rebuild the country.

ASPECTS (Paramonov, NY 4:30) said that the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan is of psychological importance for Soviet society, because it is one of the few times the Soviet Union has admitted that a policy was wrong. The program observed that such failures make the country confront reality and by doing so are more beneficial than a victory. An article in Referendum, No. 24, was cited.

SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, M 12) covered a press conference held by Lieutenant General Gromov and armed forces general staff official Omelichev regarding Soviet bombings and the American charges of a Soviet "scorched-earth policy" in Afghanistan, explained the political objectives of the Soviet actions, and reviewed the role played by the Soviet parachute divisions in the Afghan War.

3. The Coming Election of the Congress of People's Deputies. ASPECTS (Roitman, M 2:30) commented on the rally held by academics in front of the Academy of Sciences on February 2. The program said that the rally indicates that scientists take restructuring and glasnost more seriously than does Pravda, which had described the selection of candidates by the academy as being completely democratic.

Pegged to the protest rally held in front of the Academy of Sciences on February 2, HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE SOVIET UNION (Malinkovich, M 7) drew attention to the important points left out of the description of Sakharov's election platform in Komsomolskaya Pravda of January 27, particularly the section dealing with social and ethnic justice. The full text of this section was then broadcast. The program stressed that Sakharov's platform needs to be discussed in detail and, while disagreeing with Sakharov on some points, remarked that if such a platform is realized the Soviet Union will be transformed into a democratic society.

4. Restructuring. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 9:30) disagreed with a TASS dispatch of February 2 which exaggerated the advantages and minimized the problems of converting part of the military industry to produce consumer goods. The program pointed to a number of disadvantages, including central planning, the unreal prices prevalent in the military industry, its narrow specialization, favored access to resources, etc., and remarked that a total structural reorganization of the military enterprises and retraining of the staff will be necessary. Even then such a restructured military industry will be defective unless individual firms are allowed full freedom.

On WRITERS AT THE MICROPHONE (Voynovich, M 16:30), emigre author Vladimir Voynovich reflected on the mundane, uninspiring nature of the term "restructuring," but greeted the real changes for both Soviet society and the author himself, who expressed his pleasure at the publication of his works in the Soviet Union, his increased meetings with friends abroad, and his letter contacts with readers. While admitting that he would like to return to the USSR for a visit, Voynovich noted, however, that the cancellation of his citizenship has not been rescinded.

5. The Nationalities. BALTIC DIARY (Rahr, M 4:30) described the roundtable discussion organized by the Danish newspaper Politiken in the Betty Nansen Theater in Copenhagen on January 29 at which Latvian officials proposed that Denmark give support to Gorbachev's policy by recognizing the Soviet order in Latvia.

6. Unofficial Groups. Drawing on several republican and central newspapers, BALTIC DIARY (Rahr, M 11) reported on the increasing attacks by the official Soviet press against unofficial groups in Latvia, particularly the Latvian Helsinki Group 86 and the Latvian Movement for Independence. The program excerpted an article from Krasnaya Zvezda of January 20 criticizing the extremism of such groups and described a briefing for journalists given by the state procurator, who announced cases were being prepared against the two groups because their goals are allegedly contrary to those of a communist society. The program agreed with an article in Sovetskaya Molodezh of January 17 which defended the existence of such groups as promoting the growth of democracy. Excerpts from the article were broadcast.

7. The Democratic Union. BALTIC DIARY (Rahr, M 4:30) described the unfavorable conditions and police surveillance under which the second convention of the Democratic Union took place in Riga on January 27. According to one guest no unity was achieved among the different factions comprising the party and time was wasted on exposing provocateurs.

8. Human Rights. HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE SOVIET UNION (Yudovich, M 4:30) explained how before restructuring the constitutional right to work was controlled by the government through a system of work permits, earning norms, and the centralized distribution of food products. The program exposed the false claim that the Soviet worker's lower earnings are compensated by more social services, noting the Soviet Union lags far behind the US and the majority of West European countries in this area.

OUR PLANET (Salkazanova, P 5:30) contrasted an article in Volzhskaya Kommuna of January 22 which strongly disapproved of unofficial social groups with a description of a recent meeting between the French Minister of Education and representatives of an unofficial French group called the Independent Democratic Federation of Schoolchildren, which seeks improvements in the French school system. The program commented that whereas French schoolchildren learn about their rights in school and know them, many Soviet citizens know only submission to the state.

9. Child Labor. HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE SOVIET UNION (Krasin, W 9) quoted articles from the central Soviet press exposing the continuing use of child labor in the Central Asian republics during the harvest months. Despite the illegality of interrupting schooling and the detrimental effects of such labor on the children's health, local officials continue to justify the traditional practice as the only way to meet the plan. Articles in Pravda, Sovetskaya Bukhara, Pravda Vostoka, and Ogonek as well as a TASS dispatch were cited.

10. The Economy. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 4:30) examined the recent Politburo resolution to prevent price changes not accompanied by improved quality. The program considered this a typical feature of a bureaucratic process in which one resolution tries to correct the consequences of a preceding resolution, in this case a resolution to promote the pace of production growth, with the result that the economic situation does not improve.

11. The Army. ASPECTS (Henkina, M 4:30) presented a telephone conversation with Sergey Zamashchikov, a former Komsomol worker in Riga who is now a researcher with the RAND Corp. in the US. Zamashchikov highlighted some of the main themes of a conference in Washington which dealt with everyday problems of the Soviet Army. Among other things these included Soviet youth's attitude toward the armed services, the professionalization of the army and its consequences for the country's economy, and the demographic profile of current draftees.

12. Yeltsin. On WRITERS AT THE MICROPHONE (Perouansky, M 11:30), a shortened RERUN from February 1, writer and publicist Anatoly Strelyany profiled the former Moscow city boss Yeltsin, drawing attention to his conservative, utopian, "childish socialism" on the one hand and his innovative ideas about how to solve economic problems on the other.

13. Crimes in the Stalin Era. HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE SOVIET UNION (Kaminskaya, W 8:30) assessed the juridical aspects of a proposal made in an article in Molodezh Estonii of 12 December 1988 to try both the living and dead perpetrators of Stalinist repression. While agreeing that a full picture of the past cannot be gained by rehabilitating only the victims of such repression, the program drew attention to legal difficulties in trying perpetrators still living and said it is morally preferable to show them mercy rather than call for their severe punishment.

14. A Listener's Letter. ASPECTS (Henkina, M 5) broadcast the text of a letter from a Soviet listener in the town of Mariupol (Zhdanov) who expressed his appreciation for the information and knowledge provided by RFE-RL for over the years.

15. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Savitsky, P 27:30) presented an interview with the Soviet poet Aleksandr Kushner, who was on an official visit to Paris with other Soviet poets at the invitation of the French Ministry of Culture. Among other things Kushner talked about his work, his poetic genealogy, the difference between Leningrad and Moscow poets, the reasons for the importance of poetry in Russian culture, and his ties with Josef Brodsky.

ASPECTS (Sezeman, P 4:30) reflected on the consequences that the reintroduction of objective high standards will have for so-called Soviet literature. On the basis of excerpts from a biography published in Ogonek, No. 4, the program predicted that its author's attempts to save Konstantin Simonov from literary obscurity will fail and said that Simonov and writers of his ilk should be collected under the heading "Soviet Literature" in libraries and forbidden to children under 16 so as not to spoil their taste in literature.

ASPECTS (Henkina, M 3) replied to a Soviet listener's request and told about actor Alesha Yershov, whose song "About a Poor Hussar" was broadcast.

16. Religion. SUNDAY SERVICE (Rahr and Kholodnaya, M and NY 49:30) featured a Russian Orthodox Church service.

NOT BY BREAD ALONE (Rahr, M 7) expressed concern over reports that the commission set up by the synod of the Russian Orthodox Church is considering canonization of only those martyrs killed during the Soviet period who have been rehabilitated. The program stressed that the question of canonization is solely a matter for the Church to decide and that a decision on this is long overdue.

NOT BY BREAD ALONE (Aksenov-Meyerson, NY 6) was dedicated to the life and martyrdom of Archbishop Arseny (Avkseny Stadnitsky), Metropolitan of Novgorod.

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

1. Hungarian-North Korean Relations and Related Matters. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Matuzok, M 5:30) drew on Japanese press and TV reports in backgrounding North Korea's strained relationship with Hungary and traced the growth of trade relations between the Warsaw Pact countries and South Korea.

#### C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. NATO and the Warsaw Pact. SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, M 7) drew attention to recent data published in Pravda comparing the military strength of the armed forces of both alliances. The program explained that Pravda arrived at the rough balance by increasing the strength of NATO's forces, decreasing that of the Warsaw Pact countries, and simply excluding those areas where the superiority of the Warsaw Pact countries cannot be denied.

2. Israeli-Egyptian Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Miloslavsky, J 9) reviewed the history of the negotiations over the territory of Taba, claimed by both Egypt and Israel, and assessed the influence of the controversy on relations between the two countries.

3. Chinese-Western Relations. OUR PLANET (Gordin, M 3) explained the reasons for the 7 percent increase in the profits of joint-venture hotels in China in contrast to the declining profits of domestic hotels.

4. Israel. OUR PLANET (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 4) described the success of new businesses which are based on fulfilling customers' material wishes within minutes.

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

1. Miscellaneous Items. OUR PLANET (Gordin, M 5) featured items on living standards in Austria, the courting arrangements of harried Japanese businessmen, and the costly objects to be acquired at auctions in London.

2. Travel. ASPECTS (Henkina, M 4) described the simple pleasures of a vacation on the island of Oleron off the coast of France after a hectic Fasching in Munich.

3. Nostalgia. ASPECTS (Savitsky, P 5:30) indulged in nostalgia while reflecting on its meaning, concluding that nostalgia is both the memory of oneself in the past and the most human means of traveling through one's own memory.

4. Tom Clancey. SIGNAL (Savitsky, P 10) told the success story of Tom Clancey, an insurance salesman who became America's most popular military-adventure novelist, and surveyed his works.

5. Religion. After a reading from the Book of Matthew, NOT BY BREAD ALONE (Benigsen, NY 7:30) presented a sermon on the relevance to believers today of Paul's letters to the Corinthians.

ASPECTS (Fotiyev, M 4) spoke about the causes of suicide, observing that such a step is taken more readily if a person lacks meaning or goals in his life and that a religious person seldom commits suicide.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Sunday, 5 February 1989

M. Frost

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

1. Afghanistan. THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Predtechevsky, M 20) presented commentaries from the Neue Zuercher Zeitung, The Washington Post, the Sueddeutsche Zeitung, and The International Herald Tribune on the situation in Kabul and the prospects for the formation of a provisional government in the light of the Soviet troop withdrawal and the likelihood of the imminent collapse of the Kabul regime.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 4) presented articles from The New York Times and The Chicago Tribune on the prospects for unity within the ranks of the resistance forces in the wake of the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan.

2. Sino-Soviet Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 6) reported on the first foreign ministerial level visit between the PRC and the USSR in 30 years. The program traced the history of Sino-Soviet relations and stressed the Chinese intention of avoiding the mistakes of the past and of establishing normal state to state relations with the USSR.

3. The Baltic States. Drawing on an article from the Danish daily Politiken, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Pimonov, Copenhagen 4) reported on the visit by a Latvian CP delegation to Denmark to improve relations between Scandinavia and the Baltic republics of the USSR. The program focused on the thorny issue of diplomatic relations between Latvia and Denmark as Denmark and numerous other Western states have never officially recognized the annexation of the Baltic states into the USSR in 1940.

4. Siberia. Reflecting on the past and future of Siberia, SIBERIAN DESTINIES (Shapiro, M 10) commented that the "economic

conquest" of Siberia has adversely affected both the environment and the morality of Siberian workers. The program argued that in pre-Revolutionary days settlers intuitively took care of the environment, but that the influx of migrant workers from other areas of the USSR for purely economic reasons encouraged an rapacious attitude to natural resources which is apparent today in the numerous environmental catastrophes afflicting Siberia.

SIBERIAN DESTINIES (Kushev, M 8) traced the idea of economic, social, and cultural autonomy for Siberia within a federal structure from the second half of the 19th century and argued that the regeneration of Siberia can only be accomplished through the creation of a self-governing autonomous region with powers to regulate all aspects of government except foreign policy and defense.

Referring to articles in Izvestia and Komsomolskaya Pravda, SIBERIAN DESTINIES (Krasin, W 4:30) discussed the outrage being expressed by the Siberian public against the system of privileges established by the party nomenklatura during the Brezhnev era.

SIBERIAN DESTINIES (Raigorodetsky, M 7:30) reported on discriminatory practices used against native sable hunters in Siberia.

5. The Law. LAW AND SOCIETY (Kaminskaya and Simis, W 20) discussed the recently-published proposals for a new criminal code for the USSR. The discussants hailed the new code as the most significant set of legal reforms to be introduced since Gorbachev's rise to power and assessed the impact of the proposed changes on such crimes as anti-Soviet propaganda and slander against the state. The program also approved of the decision to reduce the number of categories of non-violent crimes punishable by the death penalty and, in general, gave a positive evaluation of the new proposals.

6. History. COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Rapoport, NY 28) presented a documentary report on the XVII party conference, convened in 1934, and known as the "Congress of Victors" excerpted from the program author's book The Betrayal of a Nation recently published by Overseas Publishers in London.

SOVIETOLOGISTS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Shragin, NY 20) introduced and presented excerpts from US historian Paul Avrich's authoritative work on the Kronstadt uprising, Kronstadt 1921.

7. Literature. FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 29:30) broadcast the 37th installment of Alexander Solzhenitsyn's autobiographical work The Calf and the Oak.

EX LIBRIS (Savitsky, Yurenen,, and Voynovich, M 49:30) introduced and broadcast the third installment of Venedikt

Erofeev's chilling tale of an alcohol-filled suburban train journey from Moscow, Moskva-Petushki.

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

1. Eastern Europe. EAST EUROPEAN VARIANTS (Pimonov, Copenhagen 8) reported on the recent human rights conference held in Louisiana near Copenhagen which posed the provocative question to the attending delegates: "who is afraid of human rights?" The official Czechoslovak representative's claim that he had no information on the recent demonstrations in Prague was met with laughter and British delegate George Urban presented a somber account of the economic and social malaise prevalent in the countries of Eastern Europe.

2. Poland. EAST EUROPEAN VARIANTS (E. Levin, M 8) reported on a January meeting of more than 200 journalists in Warsaw demanding the relegalization of the Organization of Polish Journalists which was formally disbanded seven years ago. The program outlined the 30-year struggle of the organization for freedom of speech under various repressive Polish governments.

3. Hungary. EAST EUROPEAN VARIANTS (Fistejn, M 6) presented excerpts from a listener's letter from Hungary which argued that while all executive power is in the hands of the CP the growth of the cooperative movement will not lead to increased living standards for the nation.

4. Yugoslavia. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, M 5) covered the Yugoslav LCY CC's plenary session in Belgrade and observed that the expected wholesale personnel changes did not materialize. The program also announced the establishment of a "Society for the Yugoslav Democratic Initiative" by leading scientific and cultural figures to provide an all-Yugoslav alternative to the LCY.

#### C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

None

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

1. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Vail, Dovlatov, Genis, and Gendler, NY 27:30) reviewed potential nominations for this year's American "Oscar" film awards.

2. Sports. WORLD OF SPORTS (Rubin, NY 20) included items on the European figure skating championship, on the continuing controversy surrounding the TsSKA hockey club, and on the issue of star status in US professional sports.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis  
for Monday, 6 February 1989  
D. Felton

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

1. Soviet-US Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rubin, NY 4:30) commented on the drawing up of a program of exchange visits by cadets from the West Point Academy and cadets from Soviet military academies. The program said the recent contacts between the US and Soviet armed forces are testimony to the growing trust between the two sides.
2. Russians and Americans. THE USA TODAY (Vail, Morozov, and Genis, NY 23) discussed the results of a public opinion poll conducted simultaneously in Moscow and New York by the New York newspaper The Daily News, American radio and TV companies, and a Soviet sociological institute. The results of the poll have just been published in the The Daily News. The program included an interview with one of the pollsters, CBS radio journalist Art Athens, on his impressions of Moscow. The program said that while one should be cautious in drawing comparisons between Russians and Americans on the basis of the poll, the poll was useful in breaking down stereotypes. The program named senior Daily News staffer Lars-Eric Nelson as its American of the Week.
3. Afghanistan. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 5; Konovalov, M 4:30; and Shuster, M 8) featured an RL interview with The Financial Times' correspondent Christina Lamb on Shevardnadze's visit to Pakistan. Lamb said that Shevardnadze returned empty-handed mainly because he had nothing new to offer in the first place. She said Pakistan's position on Afghanistan is not clearcut. While Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto is mainly interested in having the Afghan refugees in Pakistan return home, some military leaders want a military solution in favor of

the resistance. In a telephone report from Moscow, independent journalist Yury Mityunov spoke of the sparse and stereotyped coverage of the Soviet troop withdrawal and related issues and pointed to the problem of the post-Afghan syndrome among Soviet soldiers. RL Research Department staffer Valery Konovalov cited scattered reports in the Soviet press indicating that Soviet casualties in the Afghan war were nearer to the 50,000 killed and 150,000 wounded mentioned in the Estonian party newspaper Noorte Haal than to the official Soviet figures of 13,310 killed and 35,476 wounded first divulged last May. In another telephone report from Moscow, Soviet historian and military expert Viktor Gershfeld praised the troop withdrawal decision as sensible, and mentioned opposition by Soviet generals who wanted a troop increase in order to seal off the Afghan frontiers and impose a military solution. They also feared that the end of the Afghan war would be a further justification of a reduction of the size of the Soviet Army. Furthermore, said Gershfeld, for psychological reasons, no army likes to withdraw. Gershfeld also mentioned the social problem posed by the demobilization of large numbers of officers.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 8) said that the Soviet troops are in a hurry to leave, and they are being virtually unhindered by the Mujahidin. The Soviet troops are nervous, presumably fearing last-minute losses. Senseless bombings were carried out against the civilian population, and a Soviet patrol fired on a group of French journalists, wounding one of them. The program cited figures published in the Estonian Komsomol newspaper Noorte Haal on the casualties and expense of the Afghan war. Although there are serious political and religious differences among the various resistance groups, they all agree that there should be not a single communist in a postwar government. Soviet diplomatic efforts concerning this issue were mentioned. The program spoke of apprehension in the surrounded government garrisons; the Mujahidin's tactics for taking Kabul; Najibullah's show of bravery; Prime Minister Shariq's appeal to Perez de Cuellar and Sadruddin Aga Khan, coordinator of an aid program for Afghanistan, for help in overcoming the country's food crisis; and the Mujahidin's assurance of cooperation in this matter. In conclusion, the program said that the departing Soviet soldiers are probably asking why they and their comrades had to suffer.

PRESS REVIEW (EVENTS AND PEOPLE) (Gregory, M 5) looked at British press comment on the prospects for future political developments in Afghanistan following the Soviet troop withdrawal, citing The Independent and The Times (London).

PRESS REVIEW (EVENTS AND PEOPLE) (Gordin, M 5) looked at West German press comment on the situation in and around Afghanistan on the eve of the Soviet troop withdrawal, citing Die Welt, the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, and the Sueddeutsche Zeitung (Olaf Ihlau).

4. Dissidents and Human Rights. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Polishchuk, W 5:30) gave the contents of an article by Peter Gambel in The Wall Street Journal on the continuing use of psychiatry in the USSR to suppress dissidence. The article notes that Vartanyan and other Soviet psychiatrists involved in such abuse are still in top positions. On the other hand, said the article, there are signs of a change in the Kremlin's position on the issue, such as the upcoming visit to the USSR by a group of 25 American experts to examine the situation.

5. Unofficial Organizations. MAN AND SOCIETY (Belotserkovsky, M 29:30) featured the second half of a report on a press conference given in Rome by Boris Kagarlitsky, who is a member of the coordinating council of the RSFSR Popular Front, one of the leaders of the Federation of Socialist United Clubs, and an editor of the unofficial journal Levy Povorot. Kagarlitsky talked about the younger generation of intellectuals in Russia, in particular their views on such matters as democracy, political reforms, the market economy, and workers' collectives; the role of the intelligentsia in Russia; the goals of the RSFSR Popular Front; and trends in the actions of the party leadership.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 0:30), in a telephoned report from Moscow by Glasnost collaborator Dmitry Volchek on recent events in the USSR, briefly mentioned the opening in Leningrad of the second conference of social-democratic groups in which representatives from 13 Soviet cities took part.

6. Emigres. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 3), pegged to the insistence by Western countries that the USSR fulfil its human rights obligations as a condition for the holding of an international human rights conference in Moscow in 1991, included a report by Soviet emigre writer Alexander Zinoviev in which he described how permission for his brother Vasily to leave the USSR for the FRG was suddenly revoked by the Soviet authorities. Following the publication of Alexander Zinoviev's book Yawning Heights in the West in 1976, Vasily was dismissed from the army and expelled from Moscow. Alexander Zinoviev expressed the opinion that the Soviet authorities' action was probably cheap revenge connected with his failure to praise restructuring as other Soviet emigre writers have been doing.

7. Restructuring. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 6) featured a report by Viktor Aksyuchits, editor of the Moscow independent journal Vybor, on public debates in Strasbourg on the subject of "Restructuring and Dissidents." Aksyuchits himself participated in the debates. Soviet emigres Alexander Zinoviev, Vladimir Maximov, Alexander Ginzburg, and Leonid Plyushch questioned the motives of restructuring, describing it as being aimed at persuading the West to disarm via political demagoguery and as "playing at democracy." The communist system in the USSR remains immutable, and Gorbachev himself has little influence on events. The situation in the USSR is deteriorating, the economy is degenerating, and repression is increasing. There is more freedom in Chile than in the USSR. Tamara Grigoryants pointed out that while the number of independent publications and sociopolitical organizations in the USSR is increasing, the authorities still deny them official recognition. Aksyuchits himself commented that the party has been forced to carry out reforms by the healthy forces of Soviet society, and also out of self-interest in retaining power and keeping the USSR a great power. However, the party is giving the people as little freedom as possible.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Vail, NY 7) gave the contents of an article in The Los Angeles Times by Henry Kissinger, who recently visited Moscow together with other former top political figures. Kissinger found Gorbachev to be less self-confident as regards restructuring, and said that this year will be a decisive one for him. Kissinger also made recommendations regarding US and West European policy toward the USSR.

8. The Elections. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 2), in a telephoned report from Moscow by Glasnost collaborator Dmitry Volchek on recent events in the USSR, mentioned a meeting in Vorkuta held by the sociopolitical club Solidarity in protest against the candidature of the city's party first secretary and its executive committee chairman, as well as the director-general of a local coal-producing association, and the detention in Sverdlovsk of six members of the Miting-87 group at which the Soviet electoral system was criticized.

9. The Economy. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 5:30) included a telephoned comment from Moscow by independent journalist Dmitry Volchek on an article in Pravda by prominent Soviet economist Abel Aganbegyan on the failure of restructuring so far to bring any substantial economic improvements. Volchek found Aganbegyan's proposals to be absurdly halfhearted, and observed that he was evidently unable to simply say that the fault lies in the socialist economic system.



EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Belotserkovsky, M 6:30) commented on the introduction of shares in the USSR about one year ago. Citing government official Ivanov in Izvestia and Russian Popular Front activist Boris Kagarlitsky at a press conference in Rome, the program found that under Soviet conditions, shares cannot be economically effective, and merely increase social injustice. The lion's share of any profit not previously pocketed by the factory management will be taken by the state. The bulk of the shares are being bought by such people as industrial managers, highly paid specialists, and workers with small families, who will get interest for life.

10. The Nationalities. THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Malinkovich, M 10; Salkazanov, P 9:30; Krimerman, M 4; and Piszbein, M 6) began by examining proposals by the Lithuanian CP CC on interethnic relations which were published in Sovetskaya Litva of January 19. The program noted that in many respects the proposals echo resolutions previously adopted by the Estonian Supreme Soviet which at the time the Lithuanian CP declined to support. This was followed by an RL interview with Latvian poetess Vizma Belsevic, in Paris for a conference of women writers from France, the USSR, and the US. Belsevic talked about the origins of the Latvian Popular Front and how she came to join it, as well as the front's goals. She spoke particularly of the need for individual peoples, including those living in Latvia, to develop their own culture and receive an education in their native language. Belsevic found it difficult to say whether the existence of the front, the fact that the Latvian flag can now be publicly displayed, etc., signify a degree of democratization in the USSR. The program then drew attention to a recent article by Moldavian party leader Grossu in the newspaper Literatura shi Arta in which, in a complete volte-face, he advocated Moldavian being made the republic's state language, although he still insisted that Moldavian was a separate language from Romanian. On the other hand, on January 22 the security forces broke up a demonstration in Kishinev by members of a culturological club, after which the party CC Bureau passed a resolution toughening up repressions against "disturbers of public order." The program concluded with human rights news from the Ukraine taken from the weekly bulletin Informator, issued by the Lvov branch of the Ukrainian Helsinki Association. The news concerned the confinement in a Nikolayev psychiatric hospital of Association member Anatoly Ilchenko, protests in Chervonograd (Lvov Oblast) against the local authorities' frustrating the candidacy of Association member Stefan Khmara for the position of people's deputy, and the detention of Vyacheslav Chornovil and Lev Lukyanenko prior to a joint meeting in Kiev of the local branch of the Ukrainian Helsinki Association and two other independent organizations.

ROUND-TABLE TALK (Roitman, Malinkovich, Bensi, and Predtechevsky, M 20) was about the Muslim problem in the USSR. The program was pegged to a demonstration by about 2,000 Muslims in Tashkent against corruption among Muslim priests in the USSR, in particular the Chairman of the Spiritual Administration for Central Asia and Afghanistan, Mufti Babakhanov. The program spoke of Moscow's concern over the resurgence of Islam, a religion which affects the entire way of life of its adherents, the population explosion among the USSR's Muslims, and the influence of Muslim fundamentalism. Moscow cannot ignore this problem. The program pointed to the difficulty of controlling the Muslims, which the Soviet authorities try to do via the "Spiritual Administrations," and mentioned references in the Soviet Central Asian press to the problem of "wandering mullahs." The program devoted special attention to the problems connected with the large proportion of Muslim servicemen in the Soviet Army (poor knowledge of Russian, clannish isolationism, and unwillingness to pursue a military career in a Russian-dominated army or to take part in military operations against neighboring Muslim countries). Reference was made to the disclosure under glasnost of Moscow's exploitation of the Central Asian republics. Finally, it was suggested that the Uzbek party leadership will eventually revoke its categorical refusal to make Uzbek the state language of the republic.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 4) featured a telephone report from Riga by a correspondent of the independent journal Ekspress-Khronika, Mikhail Bombin, on the Congress of the Latvian Journalists Union. Bombin made particular mention of a protest made at the congress against an open letter by Vladimir Kurmayev, a special correspondent of Uchitelskaya Gazeta, to USSR Procurator General Kurmayev, in which he charged the Latvian press with extremism and separatism. Kurmayev's apartment was searched in connection with the distribution of leaflets signed "Young Patriots of Latvia" calling for the destruction of a monument to Soviet soldiers. Bombin said the congress's main aim is to make the Latvian Journalists' Union an independent organization which would at the same time be a federative member of the USSR Journalists Union. Demands were made for more glasnost and independence in Latvia and the central press was criticized for its distorted coverage of developments in the republic.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 2), in a chronicle of events in the USSR telephoned from Moscow by Glasnost collaborator Dmitry Volchek, reported on the laying of a wreath by Armenian-born French singer Charles Aznavour on the Dzidzernakapert Hill in Yerevan to commemorate the victims of last year's massacre in Sumgait; Aznavour's promise to meet with wives of arrested members of the Karabakh Committee; the

collection at the Armenian cemetery in Moscow of signatures under a petition in defense of the arrestees; a charity evening for the restoration of Armenian cultural monuments destroyed in last December's earthquake; and attempts by Armenian residents of the village of Shulaveri to form a Christian community and open a church.

11. Agriculture. AT THE NEWSSTAND (Perouansky and Gregory, M 16) excerpted two recent articles in the Soviet press on the country's agricultural crisis. The first, by economist Yuri Chernichenko in Znamya, No. 1, gave historical background on Soviet grain exports and (later) imports; noted the secrecy, also for patriotic reasons, over grain imports; and observed that every second ton of grain consumed in the USSR in natural or processed form comes from abroad. The second article, by Anatoly Strelyany in Druzhba Narodov, No. 11, 1988, recalled how Khrushchev at first managed to boost Soviet agricultural production by giving the kolkhozes and their workers greater freedom of action and paying them more, but later retracted these benefits for ideological reasons. Strelyany said the cause of the agricultural crisis lies in a system which tries to force everything into the Procrustean bed of theory.

12. Bureaucracy. AT THE NEWSSTAND (Perouansky and Gregory, M 1:30) cited a letter to Ogonek, No. 4, by a Moscow electrical engineer complaining about the excessively bureaucratic procedure involved in tracing a missing registered letter.

13. Culture. AT THE NEWSSTAND (Perouansky, M 10) presented the second part of an RL interview with Soviet theater expert Boris Lyubimov in which he elaborated on certain points he made in a recent article in Ogonek, No. 4. Lyubimov warned of the financial problems facing the Soviet theater should it become independent of the state, and said that while the Union of Theater Workers, of which he is a board member, has done a lot of good for the Soviet theater in the past two years, art does not need to be "managed." Lyubimov also spoke of the hard lot, in particular the poor remuneration, of the average Soviet actor.

14. Religion. RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Fotiyev, M 5 and Aksenov-Meyerson, NY 7:30) gave the contents of a letter by Orthodox believers in the town of Borzna (Lvov Oblast) to Patriarch Pimen appealing for help in having a church returned to them, which the local authorities have so far refused to do. The letter was published in the February issue of the Paris-based French-language bulletin Orthodox Press Service. The program also reviewed a new Orthodox catechism by Prof. Foma Khopko of the St. Vladimir Seminary in New York, entitled Osnovy Pravoslaviya (The Fundamentals of Orthodoxy), recently issued in Russian.

15. Philosophy. RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Nazarov, M 12) gave information on the collection of articles published 80 years ago in Moscow under the title of Vekhi in which a group of Russian intellectuals rejected the Marxist materialistic world outlook. The collection is still not available to the Soviet general public.

16. RL's Information Sources. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Vl. Tolz, M 7) commented on a TASS report on a reference in the Ukrainian-language Odessa newspaper Chernomorska Komuna to the "dubious sources of information" employed by RL. In particular, former political prisoner Vasil Barladianu is accused of supplying RL with "lies and fabrications." The program gave background on Barladianu and pointed out that RL employs a variety of sources, including Western and Soviet newspapers, samizdat, and eyewitness accounts, and the criteria for their use are reliability, completeness, and topicality.

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

1. Poland. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fistejn, M 6:30), commenting on the beginning of the round-table talks between representatives of the regime and the opposition, said they will doubtless lead to a radical change in Poland's sociopolitical structure. The program listed various political reforms being envisaged besides the expected legalization of Solidarity. Jaruzelski was quoted as saying on Soviet TV that driving oppositional views into the underground is a harmful practice. Recalling Jaruzelski's proclamation of martial law in 1981, the program mentioned some of the domestic problems which have evidently persuaded the generals that it is the workers, not the soldiers, who have the last word. PUWP CC Secretary Leszek Miller was quoted that if the economic situation does not improve, social tension will sharply increase. The program mentioned areas of difference between the regime and the opposition, and cited Walesa's adviser Geremek on the considerable risk undergone by Solidarity in entering into the round-table talks.

#### C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The US. THE USA TODAY (Vail, NY 4:30) included a brief review of some of the latest events in and around the US.

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

1. Philosophy. RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Fotiyev, M 5:30), citing Jung and Max Weber, pointed to the threats to individuality from collectivism and specialization, and their adverse psychological effects.

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### RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

#### Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Tuesday, 7 February 1989

R. Moroe

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

1. US-Soviet Cooperation on Central America was not ruled out by President Bush during his speech of February 7 at a press conference in Washington, IN THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 2) reported. Bush said he was hoping that the two countries could cooperate to resolve the problems facing various Central American countries and the main way in which this cooperation could be shown would be the USSR's acknowledgement of having no "special interest" in this region. The news conference was largely devoted to domestic financial problems.

2. Sino-Soviet Relations. The military stand-off between the world's two communist superpowers seems to come to an end, IN THE COUNTRY AND WORLD and EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 4:30) reported. Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's weekend visit in China ended with an agreement to hold the first summit in 30 years between the two countries leaders from May 15 to 18. Then the program went into the core of the original Sino-Soviet split and noted that the striking feature of their present reawakening relationship is due to the fact that almost all concessions have come from Russians.

3. Afghanistan. IN THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Levin, M 5:30) and EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 7) discussed the morale of the high Soviet military command who are leaving Afghanistan under the Afghan Mujahidin cheers after nine years of bloodshed. Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's Islamabad statement of February 6 saying that in case of continued outside interference in Afghanistan's affairs and an escalation of tension, the USSR

would be forced to recall of its agreement obligations with the Republic of Afghanistan, raised concerns over the possibility of the USSR's renewed involvement in Afghanistan.

IN THE WORLD AND THE COUNTRY (Gregory, M 3:30) and EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, 4:30) featured The Washington Post's Moscow correspondent Dobbs's article of February 7 in which he described Soviet soldiers' reaction and that of their superiors and relatives in the Soviet border town of Termez during a welcoming reception. The Afghan war, in the words of one unidentified Soviet lieutenant colonel, was a big political mistake committed by the Brezhnev leadership. And, in words of one welcoming mother, Soviet soldiers were sent to Afghanistan, as they were told, to fulfil their international duty, however, it took little time for them to realize what "enemies," in fact, they were brought to fight against.

4. The UN on the Situation in Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Vail, NY 4:30) reported that a UN spokeswoman told Reuters UN representatives were trying on two fronts to contain the turmoil in Afghanistan: by encouraging reconciliation among the Afghans and the establishment of a broad-based government, on the one hand, and by providing humanitarian aid for the victims of war, including refugees, on the other hand.

5. Estonia and Afghanistan. The Afghan war turned into a defeat of the whole Soviet political, economic, military, and social system, IN THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Sys, M 5) noted. In the eyes of those Soviet nationalities struggling for independence this defeat was viewed as a defeat for Moscow. While the war showed the vulnerability of the Soviet empire, the defeat, in its turn, has exerted influence over the relations between the central power and the nationalities. Estonia's outspokenness on various Soviet developments and, particularly, its criticism of the Soviet involvement in Afghanistan has been creating discontent in Moscow's ruling circles. Nowadays however, the authorities have been much more aggravated with Estonia's Russian population which criticized the almost continuous disinformation and tendentiousness in the official press on the issue of the criminal nature of the Afghan war.

6. Ideology. OVER THE BARRIERS (Golomshtok, NY 11) marked the 70th anniversary of Lenin's plan of propaganda. Discussing the nature and essence of Lenin's plan and Stalin's theory of Socialist realism, the program pointed to an absurdity which takes place nowadays: namely, that sharp criticism of socialist realism is being conducted side by side with the highest praise of Lenin's plan, which itself created the basis for the ideology of socialist realism and became its nucleus giving a start to the development of Soviet culture in the Stalin era and the

beginning of the totalitarian cult. In 1933 the cult of the dead revolutionaries started to turn into the cult of the living ones with Stalin's in the first place.

4. Agriculture. MAN AND SOCIETY (Krasin, W 8) discussed problems linked with agricultural leases. Soviet leader Gorbachev put his personal seal of approval on this radical innovation saying he saw nothing anti-socialist in the key feature of the lease term now being advocated, i.e., the duration of a lease up to 50 years, the lease brigade's right to purchase agricultural machinery, and the right to hire help. Politburo member Ligachev, on the other hand, saw in all this a definite threat to Socialism saying that the West has been vigorously pushing the USSR toward the capitalistic development and a market economy. Some of the antireformists' concerns that the right to hire help would facilitate the process of turning Soviet peasants into "kulaks" were termed groundless on the program. Exploitation, as such, arises only in cases of unjust labor remuneration, when an imbalance between a monetary compensation and labor expended takes place.

8. Dissidents and Human Rights. IN THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Volchek, M and Moscow 3:30) reported on various human rights violations in Leningrad and Sverdlovsk giving details on continued harassment, interrogations, and criminal actions brought recently against human rights activists there.

9. Political Prisoners. IN THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyeva, M 4:30) and EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 6:30) featured Rosenthal's New York Times article of February 7 entitled "Prisoner at the Window" on still jailed Soviet political prisoners. The author was permitted to visit strict regime Perm labor camp No. 35 situated 1,000 miles from Moscow where many Soviet political prisoners had been held.

10. The Baltic Issue. BALTIC DIARY (Malinkovich, M 20) reported European Parliamentarians' arrival in Vilnius which prompted a wave of protest demonstrations because the visit was interpreted by many as their factual recognition of the Soviet Lithuanian Republic. The program read the Sajudis resolution which was handed to the parliamentarians during the meeting and which called for an independent and neutral Lithuania as part of a Baltic region of International East-West cooperation. The program also featured RFE/RL's interview with Estonia's Popular Front leader in which he supported the idea of the factual International recognition of the Soviet Estonian Republic, providing the USSR acknowledged the Molotov-Ribbentrop secret pact.



IN THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Volchek, Moscow 2:30) highlighted protest demonstrations in Lithuania which were timed to the arrival of a group of European Parliamentarians. The purpose of these rallies was to demonstrate to the delegation members that the Lithuanian nation has been fighting for its independence for 50 years and will never agree to an annexed territorial status.

IN THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Kuznetsov, M 3), based on an interview with a member of the International Human Rights Association, Lithuanian branch, discussed the European parliamentarians' meeting of February 11 with Lithuanian opposition group representatives in Vilnius. The delegation stated that no West European country recognized the legitimacy of the Baltic states annexation by the USSR and asserted that they would support the idea of Lithuania's independence at the European Parliament. However, the Lithuanians were under the impression that the parliamentarians had not worked out a common position on the issue of Lithuania's independence.

11. National Democratic Movements. Having reported the end of the fifth meeting of all Soviet national democratic movements' representatives in Vilnius on January 28-29, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fishbein, M 2:30) read the text of the Soviet national democratic movements' appeal to the world community. It shed light on the negative impact of the forced "merger" of non-Russian nationalities under the umbrella of the multinational empire today and appealed for political and morale support in its striving for national independence.

12. Moldavia. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Krimerman, M 7) discussed the January 22 demonstrations in Moldavia and Moldavian authorities reaction to the rising sense of national awareness in the republic.

13. Armenia. IN THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Semenov, M 3) discussed the acute problems of the Armenian refugees in the USSR and Soviet authorities' attempts to return them to Azerbaijan, which they fled earlier due to violent ethnic clashes with the Azerbaijanis over the territorial affiliation of Nagorno-Karabakh and in fear of their lives.

14. Swedish Television Through the Distorting Mirror of Glasnost. MAN AND SOCIETY (Erikson, M 9:30) noted that, under the existing conditions when foreign information shortcomings continue to prevail in the Soviet media even incomplete or thoroughly censored stories about the Western way of life seem intriguing to an unspoiled Soviet reader. As a result, such "semi-glasnost" in this case could very easily be mistaken for glasnost. Sycheva's Izvestia article about the alarming

situation in Swedish television entitled "When There Is a Choice" was singled out as an example of the disinformation carried out under cover of "semi-glasnost."

15. Glasnost and Soviet Literature. OVER THE BARRIERS (Dovlatov, NY 7:30) explained the situation which has formed in Soviet literature for the last three years. On one hand glasnost has reached startling proportions developing toward "freedom of speech" and on the other hand multivolume works of official Soviet classical writers continue to be published as before. In order to somehow "solve" the problem of the so-called "second culture," which circulates in samizdat journals only, certain exceptions were made concerning publishing a selected number of once banned writers. The program focused on the first issue of the new official almanac entitled The Herald of New Literature which was recently compiled in Moscow and Leningrad. The almanac was accompanied with the editorial "Address to Cultural Workers" in which its purposes and tasks were outlined. The main purpose of the publication is to ensure the equal participation for all in the country's cultural life.

16. The Media. IN THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Volchek, Moscow 5:30) discussed a Komsomolskaya Pravda article of February 7 entitled "The Train Station for One" about the Soviet homeless, pointing to its vague assessment of this serious social problem in the USSR which ignored the reasons behind it. Another article published in Krokodil which featured interviews with Soviet citizens taken at random on their perception of the differences between American and Soviet ways of life, also exhibited shallowness which is typical of Soviet journalists who have been used to treating events in a superficial manner.

17. Space. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY (Muslin, NY 0:30) reported that the Fobos II probe entered the red planet's orbit on January 29 marking the start of the Soviet program to explore Mars. This was the first step in a Soviet space program to be completed by a possible manned mission.

18. Literature. SPECIAL FEATURE (Mirsky, P 29:30) was devoted to the life and achievement of long-suffering Soviet writer Yuly Daniel, whose works in the Western publications bear the pen-name of Nikolay Arzhak, on the occasion of his untimely death at the age of 63 in Moscow on 30 November 1988. The program featured an RFE/RL Paris-based correspondent's interview with the writer's close friends, Andrey Sinyavskiy and Maria Rozanova.

FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, NY 27:30), a RERUN from 29 January 1979 and from 13 February 1976, featured an installment of Solzhenitsyn's The Calf Butts the Oak Tree.

19. Music. OVER THE BARRIERS (Paramonov, M 9) reported the concert held by the National Symphony Orchestra on January 15 in the Carnegie Hall during which a number of until now unknown works of the great Soviet composer Shostokovich were performed.

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

1. Poland. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanov, P 5:25) reported the opening of a round-table discussion on February 6 between the banned Solidarity movement and Poland's leadership. Using Liberation's interview with Solidarity advisor and head of its Political Reform Implementation Commission Geremek, the program assessed the significance of this event.

ROUNDTABLE (Roitman, Fistein, and Bensi M 20) reported the opening of first plenary round-table negotiations on February 6 between the banned Solidarity and the Polish rulers, discussed prospects of the Solidarity's relegalization, and assessed those limited compromises that either side might be willing to make. The program recalled Poland's envoy Urban's visit in Moscow on January 20 during which at a press briefing the latter said that the model of Poland's future system could not yet be defined and that a new era has started, the limits of which are yet unknown.

2. Czechoslovakia. IN THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Urban, Prague 4) reported the detention of prominent Czech playwright Havel by Czech authorities. He was arrested in January in Prague for taking part in commemorative ceremonies for Czech student Jan Palach.

#### C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. US Domestic and Foreign Policy Achievements During President Reagan's Eight-Year Presidency was reviewed on MAN AND SOCIETY (Simis, W 7), based on US press materials.

2. US Science. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY TODAY (Muslin, NY 12) discussed the 155th annual conference held by the American association for the promotion of scientific progress in mid-January in San Francisco and highlighted President of US National Science Foundation, Prof. Frank Press's speech.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY TODAY (Morozov, NY 10:30) featured an interview with the Deputy Director of the American fund to promote the development of a supercomputer network, William Wolf. He explained that the national fund to promote science

and fundamental research in scientific institutes, colleges, and universities took the lead in creating a new supercomputer network.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY TODAY (Muslin, NY 0:30) reported that the Dupont chemical concern took out a patent on a substitute for freon which can be effectively used in refrigeration units and air conditioners. Unlike freon and other CFC compounds, this new chemical does not contribute to the destruction of the ozone layer in the atmosphere.

3. US Space Research. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY (Muslin, NY 4) discussed prospects of the US planetary system research development in the 1990s.

4. England: the Labour Party. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Pomerantsev, L 4:30), pegged its report on the recent visit of the Labour Party delegation in Moscow to discuss the disarmament issues. The only real result of the visit might be the strengthening of Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock's and the pragmatists' positions within the party.

5. Paraguay. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 4) reported that a new government was installed in Paraguay. A military coup in the South American nation overthrew the 35-year government of Alfredo Stroessner. Reports say Paraguay's new President, General Andres Rodriguez, has promised to restore democracy and guarantee civil rights.

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

None

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RADIO FREE EUROPE  
RADIO LIBERTY

RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis  
for Wednesday, 8 February 1989  
V. Frank

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

1. Soviet-US relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rubin, NY 5) reported on the proposed lifting of the ban concerning the export of modern technology to the Soviet Union, which was introduced after the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. Should the withdrawal of troops be completed by 15 February, the State Department will begin negotiations with other Western governments about a cancellation of the ban. Firm opposition toward lifting the ban on the part of the British Prime Minister Thatcher was noted.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Polishchuk, W 5:30) reported on the comments in the American media about the forthcoming visit of Mikhail Gorbachev to China. The The Washington Post wrote that the 30-year-old conflict between the two powers was triggered off by the last high-level meeting. It appears that this conflict will now come to an end. An article by the former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger is quoted. Kissinger noted that China was instrumental in the rapprochement between China and the United States. Another former State Secretary, Vance, voiced the opinion that the United States should welcome the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinski, W 4) commented on Vice President Quayle's visit to Venezuela to attend the inauguration of President Peres. It was pointed out that some South American leaders regard the possibility of solving the conflicts in Central America optimistically since the improvement of Soviet-US relations. A similar position was taken by President Bush, who expressed the hope that the Soviet Union will cooperate in the task of achieving peace in Central America.

2. The Nationalities. BALTIC BEACON (Rahr, M 15) discussed the phenomenon of the refusal by some young men in the Baltic republics to serve in the Soviet armed forces and their demands for the creation of national armed forces. This was supported by national organizations in the three Republics. Several concrete examples of maltreatment of conscripts were given, including the fact that 18 young Lithuanians committed suicide while serving in the Soviet Army. This fact led to a controversy between General Sein, the first deputy of the Commander in chief in the Baltic republics and one of the leaders of the Lithuanian organization "Union in Support of Perestroika," Juraite Musteikite. She refuted the claims of the general that the information cited is untrue and proposed to provide proof for her statement. This led to the publication in the Vilnius newspapers Komjaunimo Tezy and Komsomolskaya Pravda of various materials concerning the hard, often unbearable conditions recruits have to face in the army.

BALTIC BEACON (Rahr, M 4:30) interviewed a member of the Estonian desk, Tina Laur, about the recent registration of the Estonian Popular Front as an official organization. She stressed the importance of the registration since, inter alia, it gives the Popular Front the right to nominate candidates for elections. Being a mass organization, it has become a political force in Estonia. The authorities in Estonia have apparently agreed to officially register the Popular Front, since they regard it as a kind of ally.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Milinkovich, M 5:30) discussed the problem of migration from one Soviet republic to another. This problem concerns mainly the migration of ethnic Russians to the Baltic states and Central Asia. Demands to prohibit this, made by some national movements, were quoted, as well as the official view that every Soviet citizen has the right to live in any area of the USSR. The basic problem consists in the danger that the people of a given republic may become a minority. This danger, as well as some others, such as the Russification of certain non-Russian republics, leads to open conflicts, hatred, and xenophobia.

MAN AND SOCIETY (Shragin, NY 5:30) in a review of the Soviet press reporting on the Nagorno-Karabakh issue, the extremely derogatory language used in describing members of the Karabakh Committee was noted. The articles in the Soviet press about the arrested members of the committee were in the usual Soviet vein: once someone is arrested he must be guilty, wrote the author. The initiative for the acrimonious coverage of that problem in the Soviet press seems to have its origin in Mikhail Gorbachev. The arrests of these members, whom Gorbachev described as "political demagogues," began during and after his visit to Yerevan.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 3:30) quoted a samizdat appeal by the Armenian refugees from Azerbaijan to the President of the United States. The appeal stressed that the Armenian people are once again being subjected to genocide. After describing conditions in the areas they had to flee from, they stressed that the only advice given to them by the Soviet central authorities was to return to Azerbaijan. This, they claim, will only lead to further killings and torture. They appealed to the president and the people of the United States to give them asylum.

3. Afghanistan. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Kuznetsov and Shuster, M 4:30) presented a report by the CBS correspondent, Kurt Lebek, from Peshawar in Pakistan. He reported on the mood of the leaders of the resistance, prior to the session of the Shura which is to choose an interim Afghani government. Asked about the situation in Kabul, he reported that there seems to be no chance whatsoever for the present Afghan government to remain in power. The correspondent quoted a certain resistance leader that the government troops have nothing to fight for.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Muslin, NY 6) gave excerpts from the American press about the latest developments in Afghanistan and, in particular, about the situation after the complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from that country is completed. In one of the articles a parallel was drawn between the present Kabul and Saigon in 1975. Another article compared the reaction of the West and the Soviet Union toward the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. Whereas the West generally stresses the sufferings of the Afghan people, the Soviet media concentrate on the heroism of the Soviet troops. This attitude is reminiscent of the Brezhnev era.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 7:30) presented a review of Soviet newspapers about events in Afghanistan. It was stressed that the reports and commentaries were not concerned with the subject of Afghanistan's future. Even Pravda now refers to the communist government as the "Kabul regime." Much attention was given to the forthcoming session of the Shura, the consultative assembly, and its composition, as well as to the heated debates which are to be expected about the future of the interim government.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Mityunov, M and Moscow 1:30) assessed the coverage of Afghan events in the Soviet newspapers on the eve of the complete withdrawal of troops. It was noted that most of the articles and the photos were more or less the same, stressing the heroism of the troops who have fulfilled their international duty. The problems of veterans

was touched upon in some newspapers, but there was complete silence about the suffering of the Afghan population brought about by the Soviet invasion.

4. Society. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Anishchenko, M and Moscow 4:30) informed listeners about the fact that two English language Bibles were given by the authorities to each participant of a meeting of the Ministry of the Interior staff. It was assumed that these Bibles were sent to the Soviet Union for last year's festivities of the Millennium of Russia's Christianity. The price of a Bible on the black market is about 100 rubles. The program also responded to an article in Izvestia concerning what was called the "humane" application of law in the Soviet Union and demanded a more severe attitude by the judicial organs towards the accused. It was stressed that this article is typical of the authorities' historical attitude toward the population, which, according to principle, has to be dealt with severely. This article was described as a typical example of "lawlessness within the law" which typifies Soviet society.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, M 4) reviewed an article by Max Jakobson, the Finnish ex-ambassador to the United Nations, which was published in The International Herald Tribune. Jakobson, who interviewed general Dmitry Volkogonov, the head of the Historical Military Institute, gave the latter's version about the events which led to the Soviet war against Finland in 1939. Volkogonov attempted to explain Stalin's reasons for the pact with Nazi Germany and the war against Finland. The critical remarks about Stalin by Volkogonov were understood as an attempt to stress the "new thinking" about the Stalin era.

AT THE NEWSSTAND (Percuansky and Fedoseyeva, M 12), pegged to an interview with a member of the procurator's office, Vladimir Andreyev, published in one of the recent issues of the journal Ogonek, discussed the situation with regard to political prisoners in the USSR. Andreyev claimed that there are no more prisoners of that category in the Soviet Union. Answering questions, Fedoseyeva gave a number of examples of new cases, which, although technically not be termed "political," nevertheless have been sentenced for political reasons. There are also those who are incarcerated as believers, among whom many are in psychiatric hospitals, which, in effect, means that they may be kept there indefinitely. It was stressed that even a new category of political prisoners has appeared, the conscientious objectors for religious reasons.

5. The Armed forces. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 7:30) discussed the economic problems in the Soviet Union caused by the preference given to military over civilian production. It was noted that the enormous military contracts during the past



have been responsible for the desolate economic situation the Soviet Union now experiences. The present leadership is well aware of that problem and has consequently taken steps to alleviate the situation, such as the cessation of the Afghan and Angolan interventions. No genuine information about the size of the military budget is available in the USSR. Doubt was expressed about the willingness of the present Soviet leaders to bring about a radical reduction of funds for military needs.

6. Human Rights. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 5) carried a telephone interview with the editor of the independent journal Referendum in Moscow, Lev Timofeyev. In connection with a report by the State Department about a definite improvement in human rights in the Soviet Union, Timofeyev stressed that the people there see the situation in this field somewhat differently. It is true, he said, that during the course of the last few years most of the political prisoners have been released. Yet the camps are full of people who have been sentenced on political grounds or on fabricated charges. The recent arrests of members of the Armenian Karabakh Committee are obviously politically motivated and are violations of human rights. Timofeyev voiced the opinion that the refusal of the authorities to permit a public enquiry about political prisoners is inconsistent with the ever-repeated statements that this problem no longer exist.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Polishchuk, W 4:30) surveyed the State Department report on the present situation concerning human rights in the Soviet Union. It was noted that a definite improvement took place during the course of the last year. Despite this, there were repressions against members of the Armenian national movement and some other human rights activists. Forcible committing of dissidents to psychiatric hospitals occurs as before. The release of political prisoners was noted. It was furthermore stressed that although a more liberal attitude toward the Orthodox Church was introduced, repression of other religions, such as Baptists and Pentecostals, continues.

7. The KGB. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Volchek, M and Moscow 3) gave details about the KGB action against two members of the organ of the Democratic Union in Moscow. After having been taken to the KGB offices they were told that some of the material published by the journal was considered to be antidemocratic. Another incident cited in the program concerned a group of human rights activists in Belgorod.

8. History. DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Shragin, NY 13) recalled the historical development of the principle of federalism in the Soviet Union. It was noted that although a Soviet republic has the theoretical right to secession, this has been in practice an

impossibility. Indeed, the practical implementation of federalism has grown ever since 1922 when the Soviet Union, consisting of four republics, was formed. Now there are 15 republics. During the course of its history the Soviet Union became one of the most centralized states, which is the very opposite of federalism and may be termed as "political atavism." The Brezhnev constitution reaffirmed the right of secession, yet the large number of the so-called "nationalists" in prisons and camps proved that the very idea of independence was considered a political crime. During the course of the last three years, a surge of nationalism has become evident, which may truly be called democratic. For the first time, deputies in the republics have had the chance to vote according to their conscience and not according to Moscow's orders. At the same time, conflicts between some republics and the central government developed, the most obvious one being that of Nagorno-Karabakh. This in turn led to a further curtailment of the constitutional rights of the republics, which caused cautious, yet definite protests on the part of these republics.

RUSSIA YESTERDAY, TODAY, AND TOMORROW (Tolz, M 20) interviewed the Soviet historian Natan Eydelman in Munich, about the role of the historian in present Soviet conditions. Eydelman stressed that history has become one of the most interesting subjects for the Soviet intelligentsia, yet objectivity is only at its inception. It is important to realize that the whole atmosphere has changed, and the fear of outside interference has lessened, and possibilities of getting hold of previously forbidden material have increased. Some historians are beginning to demand archives about the history of the party, if only concerning the period of the late 1920s, and some have been released.

RUSSIA YESTERDAY, TODAY, AND TOMORROW (Mirsky, P 8) interviewed the French historian and member of the academy, Alain Decaux, about the present efforts in the Soviet Union toward a restoration of historical truth. Any attempt to get at the truth is to be welcomed, stressed Decaux, adding that the duty of a true historian consists in revealing and not in hiding facts. Giving a concrete example, Decaux said that Trotsky was a nonperson in the past, whereas at present it is admitted that he existed. How else could it be when, even in the past, "Trotzskyism" existed, whereas he did not.

9. The Economy. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 4) discussed indirect taxation in the Soviet Union, which, according to a recent issue of Argumenty i fakty reduces a worker's income by 60 percent. A citation from an article in the newspaper Trud was given, in which it was maintained that this kind of taxation is required to ensure social justice in Soviet society. It was stressed that the reason for this burden the population has to

bear, lies in the inability of the government to lead an effective economic policy. The question was posed about the way the Soviet system can continue to exist in the face of total economic inefficiency. In the opinion of the author, the answer for the Soviet Union's continued existence may be found in the way the authorities exploit its resources, including the human resources, without considering the inevitable consequences.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Mityunov, M and Moscow 2) cited an article by the member of the Academy of Sciences Albalkin, recently published in Komsomolskaya Pravda, about the mammoth difficulties of the Soviet economy. Albalkin described the present state of the economy in the USSR as something akin to a lunar landscape, and laid the responsibility for this upon the leaders of the Soviet Union, who, for the last 70 years, claim to have implemented the one and only correct economic policy. Albalkin stressed that those strata of society which could now have taken upon themselves the task of putting things in order were physically annihilated. He voiced the opinion that even the most sensible measures will not bring about a recovery of the economy for some time to come.

10. Journalism. OVER THE BARRIERS (Vail, Gendler, Genis, and Dovlatov, NY 28) presented a round-table discussion about the new look at the United States in Soviet journalism. It was stressed that at different periods the United States was differently presented to the Soviet citizen. A certain Soviet journalist was quoted, whose motto about the difference between the United States and the Soviet Union could be condensed to: "Life is there - real people are here." Even now Soviet journalists arrive in the United States with preconceived ideas. A different opinion was also voiced concerning a certain idealization of the United States which has become fashionable in recent Soviet journalism. This may be explained by the subconscious notion ever present in Soviet people that life is better, easier, and more enjoyable in the West and especially in the United States.

11. Religion. MAN AND SOCIETY (Fotiev, M 3:30) dealt with the situation of believers in the Ukraine and cited figures that more than 400 churches were reopened last year. At the same time it was stressed that during the Khrushchev period some 10 thousand churches were closed in the Soviet Union. The disproportion between these two figures was pointed out. An example was given about the vain struggle of a local priest to get permission to reopen an ancient church in Kerch, which, according to the author's opinion, demonstrates the apparently unbridgeable gap between the theory and practice in the USSR.

12. Literature. AT THE NEWSSTAND (Perouansky, M 13) quoted from an interview with the writer Fazil Iskander which was recently published in the newspaper Sovetskaya Estonia. Asked by the reporter whether the so-called "progressive" journals would continue to exist, Iskander pointed to the unfortunate strength of those who oppose any kind of change and to a lowering of morals among the intelligentsia. There is a new phenomenon, the knowledgeable person who is completely indifferent to good and evil. The real intelligentsia is a minority in any society. That's why it can be physically annihilated, but can not be recreated in an administrative way. Turning to Stalin's contempt for the peasants, Iskander stressed the irony of the peasants' role in the revolution. Having been promised land, it was collectivized, and they experienced complete serfdom under the state, which became the new landowner. This, in turn, lead to famine and chaos, said Iskander. The impossibility of owning one's land brought about a disharmony in the peasants' life. Luckily this seems to have been understood by the people on top.

AT THE NEWSTAND (Gregory, M 4) gave a review of the latest issue of the journal Oktyabr. It was noted in particular that there is an article by the late Russian emigre literary critic Georgy Adamovich about Vladimir Nabokov.

13. Culture. MAN AND SOCIETY (Gordin, M 6:30) quoted extensively from an interview a Finnish musical critic made with Tikhon Khrennikov, the chairman of the Union of Composers for more than 40 years. It was noted that Khrennikov seems to be a most controversial character. Shostakovich called him the scoundrel No. 2 after Stalin; the Estonian conductor Janssons claimed that Khrennikov saved Prokofiev; whereas the pianist, Emil Gilels, characterized him as a villain. In the quoted interview, Khrennikov said that he did not see Stalin ("a criminal") personally during the course of the latter's last years. Everything was done in writing, added Khrennikov. He refuted Rostropovich's accusation that he, Khrennikov, was instrumental in shortening Prokofiev's life. "Do I look like a murderer?" he asked in return. The Finnish correspondent came to the conclusion that since not a single composer was shot after 1948, Khrennikov can not be as bad a person as some claim him to be.

14. Ecology. MAN AND SOCIETY (F. Chalioze, NY 7:30) examined the state of erosion in the European territories of the Soviet Union and came to the conclusion that the conditions in these

areas are catastrophic and often beyond repair. The planting of new forests is minimal under present conditions, one of the reasons being that no one seems to be interested in solving that problem. In pre-revolutionary Russia more was done in this respect.

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

1. Eastern Europe. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M & Urban, Prague 4) focused on two recent events in Czechoslovakia. The first one concerned the nomination of the imprisoned Czech writer Vaclav Havel for the Nobel Peace Prize. The nomination was made by an American Congressional committee and by Arthur Miller. The second event covered in this program was the appeal by the human rights group Charter 77 against the plans of the Romanian authorities to destroy several thousand villages and to move their inhabitants to the so-called "Agrocenters."

2. Czechoslovakia. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 7:30) reported on the appeal by an international committee in support of the unofficial human rights organization in Czechoslovakia, Charter 77, to the French President Mitterrand to assist in the liberation of the writer Vaclav Havel. Also quoted in the program was an appeal concerning Havel, signed by Andrey Sakharov, Yelena Bonner, and some others.

3. Romania. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 6) commented on the appeal by the French Prime Minister Michel Rocard for international help in order to assist the unfortunate population of Romania, whose government is violating the most basic human rights. Various examples of this were given, some of which are caused by the government's decision to destroy several hundred villages.

#### C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Muslin, NY 6) focused on the international humanitarian assistance for the Afghan population. It was observed that a number of transport planes with such help are being held up in Pakistan. They will be sent to Kabul as soon as the United Nations coordinator requests. Soviet sources were quoted about the amount of food sent from the Soviet Union to Kabul.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 2) presented a statement by a State Department spokesman about organizing a just distribution of humanitarian help for the Afghan population.

He stressed that at the present time a United Nations coordinator is in Afghanistan to discuss this question with all those concerned.

2. Israel. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Blekhman, Israel 5) reported on the reactions in Israel to the State Department's report concerning violations of human rights in that country. It was stressed that the decision of the Israeli government to quell the Palestinian demonstrations on the occupied territories is motivated by the desire to save lives of Jewish settlers, as well as of the local Palestinian population. Israel continues to be in a state of war against provocation and terrorism and therefore accusations of violations of human rights are unjust. The reaction of the Israeli press was cited, where the fear was voiced that the US government's report may have a detrimental effect upon Israeli-American relations.

3. The USA. DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Morozov, NY 6) interviewed a representative of the New York municipality Katie Marshall about the housing problem in that city. She explained that since the federal government ceased financing the building of houses, a new system has been evolved by the municipality to cater for those who are unable to pay high rent.

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Shragin, NY 4) described the financial difficulties experienced by the State of Connecticut. The imbalance of the last budget led to a crisis, since none of the leading politicians was willing to introduce income tax, which the inhabitants of that state never had to pay. An agreement to raise indirect taxation was not reached and it will probably be decided to cut the number of civil servants as an interim measure to lower the deficit.

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Shragin, NY 4) focused on a conflict which arose between three states and the federal government in Washington concerning the dumping of radioactive material. It was shown that the federal government has no right, nor indeed constitutional possibilities, to give orders to the governors of the states and that a solution, acceptable to all sides involved, will have to be found.

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

None

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis  
for Thursday, 9 February 1989  
M. Frost

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

1. Afghanistan. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 4:30) presented a telephone report from Yury Mityunov in Moscow reviewing articles from Pravda and Komsomolskaya Pravda on the experience of Soviet troops during the nine-year military engagement in Afghanistan. Mityunov commented that, despite attempts by individual Soviet journalists to accurately describe the Afghanistan experience from the point of view of the ordinary soldier, articles on Afghanistan in the Soviet press still abound with such euphemisms as "fulfilling our internationalist duty."

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 5) presented a telephone report from independent Norwegian journalist Hugo Erikson from Peshawar on the latest attempts by the Pakistan-based representatives of the Mujahidin to reach agreement over important political and military matters affecting the future of Afghanistan. The program also reported some sources inside Afghanistan as raising the number of Soviet casualties over the nine year period of the Soviet involvement in Afghanistan from 15,000 to 25,000.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanova, Brussels 11:30) filed a report from Brussels on an international conference on Afghanistan. The program broadcast translated excerpts from Pakistan's Ambassador in Brussels on the plight of the estimated five-million Afghan refugees living in Pakistan and other countries, some of whom have never seen, or can barely remember their homeland.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 3:30) presented excerpts from and commented on Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Armitage's February 7 article in The Wall Street Journal on the importance of maintaining firm US policy goals in Afghanistan.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev and Shuster, M 2) commented on the conflicting estimates of the number of Soviet casualties suffered during the war in Afghanistan and suggested the construction of a memorial wall similar to the one erected in the US to commemorate the US casualties in Vietnam.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 5) reported on the current situation in Afghanistan and focused on the withdrawal of the last remaining Soviet troops from Kabul and political developments within the ruling National Democratic Party.

2. Soviet-Danish Relations. Drawing on an article from Land og Folk, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Pimonov, Copenhagen 2:30) discussed Denmark's decision to care for sixty Armenian children whose families suffered in the earthquake during the Danish school holidays.

3. The Baltic States. With reference to an interview with Viktor Alksnis published in Izvestia from January 27, BALTIC BEACON (Rahr, M 8) discussed the new laws on official languages in the Baltic States. The program broadcast an extract from the recently passed Estonian law on the use of Estonian as an official language in the republic and commented that the law in no way restricts the rights of Russian language speakers as they are guaranteed the right to address Estonian officials in Russian and receive replies in Russian as well.

BALTIC BEACON (Salkazanov, P 5) presented an interview with Latvian writer Vizma Belsevic, in Paris as part of a Soviet literary delegation, on the current situation in Latvia. Belsevic commented that, apart from the Estonian flag hanging over Riga and a few other Estonian cities, there have been no substantial changes in the democratic quality of life in the republic.

BALTIC BEACON (Rahr, M 7) backgrounded the recent legalization of the national flags of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania and broadcast a statement issued by the Latvian Democratic Union calling for full official status for the Latvian flag and the Latvian national anthem. The program also broadcast a report on the proceedings of a session of the Duma of the Latvian Popular Front from the Latvian weekly Atmoda.



EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 12) presented excerpts from an article by The Independent's Moscow correspondent, Rupert Cornwell, on the controversy surrounding the upcoming elections in Lithuania where it is possible that the head of the Lithuanian CP could be defeated by a representative of the Sajudis organization.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Belotserkovsky, M 7:30) conducted an interview with a member of the Latvian BD on the controversy surrounding the Latvian CC's decision to annul the official registration of the Latvian Popular Front.

Using a CND report from the UN from February 8, THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Vail, NY 4) covered a US report on human rights in the Baltic states recently delivered in Geneva to a UN commission on human rights. The report concluded that despite existing limitations of democratic freedoms in the Baltic republics the events of the last year furnish hope that more democratic rights will be granted in the future.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 1) gave further coverage of the confusion surrounding the Latvian party CC's decision to officially annul the registration of the Latvian Popular Front.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 4:30) presented telephone reports from correspondents in Tallinn and Riga on the progress of the visit by a group of European parliamentarians on a fact-finding tour of the Baltic republics.

4. Dissidents and Human Rights. DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 7) broadcast a letter from former political Podrabinek to the participants of an Amnesty International conference in Paris. Podrabinek explained that his absence from the conference was due to fears that he would not be allowed back into the USSR and went on to outline the continued abuse of psychiatric practices against political dissidents in Soviet psychiatric clinics.

DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 4:30) presented a telephone report from Moscow from human rights activist Nina Lisovskaya on the fate of veteran dissident Pavel Kampov who has spent his last 18 years in various forms of penal servitude for his dissident activities.

DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 10:30) presented a telephone report from Moscow from Glasnost staffer Dmitry Volchek on the conditions under which Armenian dissidents are being detained. The program focused on the plight of Igor Muradyan, a member of

<sup>k</sup>  
 the Karabagh Committee, who is being held in a prison in Azerbaidjan in contrast to his colleagues who are in detention in Moscow. Volchek speculated that Muradyan is being held in Azerbaidjan as some sort of concession from Moscow to the Azerbaijan SSR.

DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 7) presented a telephone review from Moscow by Asya Lashchiver of the latest number of the unofficial journal Saratovsky Vestnik, which included items on KGB attempts to disrupt the activities of the Democratic Union in Saratov and on other human rights activities in the Soviet Union.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 4) presented a report from Moscow from the unofficial Moscow journal Glasnost on the case of the editor of Democratic Opposition, Vladimir Yerezenko, who, on February 7, was harassed by the KGB when he went to pick up documents which had been confiscated in a search of his apartment in October last year.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 4) interviewed the editor of the Moscow independent journal Refendum, Lev Timofeyev, on the US report on human rights progress in the USSR. Timofeyev argued that emigration in the Soviet Union is only possible for a very small percentage of the population and that Soviet restrictions on travel abroad are an anachronism in a modern society.

Using a CND report from Washington and an article from The Washington Post, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Polishchuk, W 4) reviewed Assistant Secretary of State for Humanitarian Affairs Richard Shifter's report to the US Congress on progress in human rights issues in the Soviet Union.

5. Emigres. MAN AND SOCIETY (Mirsky, P 20) presented an interview with writers Andrey Sinyavsky and Mariya Rozanova about their recent trip to Moscow to attend the funeral of Yuly Daniel. Sinyavsky and Rozanova gave their impression of the architectural demise of Moscow over the last 15 years and spoke about their reasons for not wishing to return to Soviet Union. Sinyavsky talked about the "civil war" taking place on the pages of the press between the reformers and conservatives of Soviet society and likened the country to a colossal kindergarten in the throes of a maturation process. Reference was made to the literary scene in Moscow and Sinyavsky commented positively on the prospects of his books being serialized in Soviet journals.

MAN AND SOCIETY (Sezeman, P 7) reviewed Sinyavsky's latest book Soviet Civilization.

6. Sakharov. Drawing on an article from the February 9 edition of La Repubblica, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 4) covered Andrey Sakharov's trip to the University of Bologna to collect an honorary doctorate in recognition of his services to mankind.

7. Restructuring. ROUND TABLE (Roitman, Kroncher, Matusевич, M 20) discussed a recent article by Sergey Andreyev published in the Leningrad journal Neva, entitled "The Structure of Power and the Tasks of Society," which holds the party to be primarily responsible for the economic and social woes of the country. The discussants compared Andreyev's description of a "new class" arising from a combination of party workers and bureaucrats with Milovan Djilas's well-known views on the same subject and commented on Andreyev's assessment of the democratic requirements of the Soviet people. In general, the program commended Andreyev for pointing out that if the party controls all aspects of economic and political life, only the party can be held responsible for economic and political failings.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Tolz, M 7) reviewed an article published in Argumenty i Fakty, Vol 3, by Vadim Rogovin on social and economic injustice in the USSR. The program commented that, while disparity in the economic potential of various sectors of Soviet society is a legitimate cause for concern, it is important to concentrate on increasing the overall productivity of the nation and not on "allocating the existing poverty to everyone."

8. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Vail, NY 28) introduced and played excerpts from a collection of Russian martial music compiled over many years by the Yugoslav emigre Valentin Mantulin.

9. Literature. FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 29:30) broadcast the 39th installment of Alexander Solzhenitsyn's autobiographical work The Calf and the Oak.

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

None.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. Israel. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Miloslavsky, Jerusalem 7) gave Israeli official and public reaction to the US State Department report on Israeli human rights violations in the occupied territories.
2. Paraguay. Based on an article from The Washington Post from February 8, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 3:30) covered the recent government coup in Paraguay.
3. Anglo-French Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Pomerantsev, L 4) reported on ministerial meetings in London to discuss a broad range of Anglo-French relations.
4. The US. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 3) covered President Bush's budget address to a joint session of Congress.

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

1. Religion. JUDAISM (Lvov, Vail, and Haskelvich, 27:30) included items on love for the creator in the tradition of the Torah; on the content, aims, and organizational structure of the New York-based magazine Jewish Press; and on time calculations in the Jewish calendar.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead  
story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis  
for Friday, 10 February 1989  
M. Frost

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

1. Soviet-US Relations. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 24) summarized President Bush's first address to a joint session of Congress, in which he urged caution and common sense in dealing with the enormous changes taking place in the Soviet Union.

Drawing on articles from The Washington Post and The New York Times of February 9, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 4) reported on the White House plans to undertake a comprehensive review of Soviet-US relations before any major policy decisions are taken regarding arms reductions.

\* 2. Afghanistan. In light of the impending withdrawal of all Soviet troops from Afghanistan, ROUNDTABLE (Roitman, Bensi, and Malinkovich, M 20) discussed the significance of this event for the future of Afghanistan and described the political problems now facing the resistance leaders. The program pointed out that while the various resistance groups were battling the Soviet invaders, the idea of a common enemy maintained a form of unity among these groups which, from a military point of view, was very successful. Now, however, it will be difficult to mold the various groupings into a cohesive and effective political force. The program then discussed the psychological problems affecting Soviet troops who have served in Afghanistan and compared their experience to that of the US troops returning from the Vietnam War. Despite the discussants' sympathies for the Afghan veterans, they pointed out that over one-million Afghans had died in the nine-year war, many at the hands of Soviet soldiers. To prevent a repetition of such a major foreign policy blunder, the program argued that Soviet society, which for the most part remained silent over the Afghan War, must take a more active role in criticizing the government's decisions.

- \* EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanov, P 12:30) presented an interview on Afghanistan with French Marxist historian and former prominent PCF member Jean Elleinstein. Elleinstein characterized the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan not only as a crime but as a gross political error on the part of the Soviet leadership. Responding to questions on comparisons between the Hungarian and Czechoslovak upheavals, Elleinstein said that Soviet unpreparedness for the Afghans' willingness to fight the invasion and different historical conditions account for the success of the resistance forces in Afghanistan.
- \* Pegged to a meeting of resistance representatives held near Islamabad, THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 1:30) presented a translation of UN special envoy Diego Cordovez's optimistic statement about the prospects for a negotiated political settlement in Afghanistan.
- \* THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 2:30) aired a telephone report from Islamabad from independent journalist Hugo Erikson on the discord between the the various resistance groups meeting near Islamabad to try to find a political solution to their common problems.
- \* EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 3) featured excerpts from an article published in the February 9 edition of Komsomolskaya Pravda which described atrocities committed by Soviet and Afghan government troops in Afghanistan and shed light on the problem of desertion from the Soviet Army.
- \* EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gordin, M 4) drew on an article from the Neue Zuercher Zeitung of February 9 to describe the worsening situation in Kabul on the eve of the final withdrawal of Soviet troops from the Afghan capital.

3. Dissidents and Human Rights. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 4) presented the third part of an interview with the editor of the Moscow independent journal Referenum, Lev Timofeyev, on the US government's latest report on human rights in the USSR. Timofeyev talked about the supreme importance of the freedom of the word, noting that this right is still not enshrined in Soviet law. An independent press, he said, can exercise social control, a control currently lacking in Soviet society. Timofeyev also referred to the difficulties that the unofficial press in the USSR has to overcome to remain in existence.

JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Alexeyeva, W 8:30) described the aims and goals of the Vladimir Slepak Fund, established in the US in memory of the veteran human rights activist who fought for 18 years to emigrate from the Soviet Union. The fund intends to address the full range of human rights issues in the USSR.

4. The Nationalities. Using reports from TASS, Reuter, and The New York Times, THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Shuster, M 13) reported on the February 3 demonstration in Tashkent during which up to 500 people are said to have called for the resignation of the Mufti of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, Shams Ud Dina. There followed a telephone report from Dmitry Volchek from Moscow on the latest news of the demonstration and a commentary by the editor of the London-based journal Central Asian Survey on a new organization called "Islam and Democracy," which apparently organized the demonstration.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Malinkovich, M 3:30) broadcast a telephone interview from Baku with an Islamic specialist at the Azerbaijan State University, Mekhty Mamedov, who characterized Islam in Azerbaijan as a nonfundamentalist phenomenon. Mamedov also said that demonstrators carrying portraits of Khomeini during the Nagorno-Karabakh crisis were foreign students studying at the university and not Azerbaijani fundamentalists as is commonly believed.

5. The Baltic States. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 4) presented a telephone report from Moscow from Ekspress-Khronika staffer Mikhail Bombin on Keston College Director Michael Bourdeaux's visit to the Baltic republics and Moscow to meet with various religious representatives.

6. Democracy. MAN AND SOCIETY (Shapiro, M 9) responded to a reader's letter in Pravda asking how capitalist countries address the problem of residency qualifications. The program explained the economic factors which determine population migrations within Western countries and noted the anachronistic nature of the Soviet system of registration permits.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 4) broadcast a telephone report from Moscow from Dmitry Volchek, who presented commentaries from Pravda and Izvestia on the success of democratization in the USSR.

7. Restructuring. Using a Reuter report from February 9, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Morozov, NY 4) cited the views of US agricultural specialists on ways to improve Soviet agricultural performance. The specialists argued that until the Soviet agricultural system is decentralized, one cannot expect any substantial improvements.

AT THE NEWSSTAND (Perouansky, M 29:30) discussed and presented excerpts from a recent article by Sergey Andreyev published in the Leningrad journal Neva. The article, entitled "The Structure of Power and the Tasks of Society," held the party to be primarily responsible for the economic and social woes of the country.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 5:30) commented on and presented excerpts from an article in The Washington Post of February 10 on public and private responses to the question "Will Gorbachev Survive?"

OVER THE BARRIERS (Pomerantsev, L 7), a RERUN from February 3, presented British historian Mervin Matthews' impressions of changes in Soviet society.

8. The Armed Forces. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 6:30) reviewed an article in Izvestia of February 4 which compared not only the military parity of NATO and Warsaw Pact forces but also described the disproportionate financial burden borne by the average Soviet citizen for defense. The program also discussed Sakharov's arguments, published in Moskovskiye Novosti of February 4, on the desirability of switching over to a leaner, fully professional army as maintained by the US, Britain, Australia, etc.

9. Chernobyl. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 7) commented on the "monstrous delay" in publishing maps of the areas still contaminated by radiation from the Chernobyl nuclear disaster. The program cited a lengthy quotation from Belorussian writer Ales Adamovich, published in Novy Mir in September 1988, on the lack of regard for the health of thousands of ordinary people living in villages affected by the contamination. The program charged that, despite glasnost, information on the extent of the danger of radioactive contamination has been withheld from the very people it most concerns.

10. Jewish Affairs. JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Reznik, W 7:30) reviewed two recently published books on the history of the Jews in the USSR, Nora Levin's A History of the Jews in the Soviet Union from 1917, and Benjamin Pinkus's The Jew in the Soviet Union. The History of a National Minority.



JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Roitman, M 4) featured a short story by Ida Fink published in the Tel Aviv Russian-language journal Nasha Strana.

11. History. OVER THE BARRIERS (Geller, P 9:30) presented the seventh installment of a series on Stalinism as reflected in Soviet literature. This segment examined the image of Stalin as "Emperor of the Planet" as represented in Solzhenitsyn's book The First Circle.

12. Religion. CHRISTIAN RUSSIA (Rahr, M 7), a RERUN from February 3, agreed with an article in Sotsialisticheskoe Issledovaniye which described the negative effects on society of poor Church-State relations.

CHRISTIAN RUSSIA (Rahr, M 12), a RERUN from February 3, gave reasons for its skepticism about the forthcoming new laws on religious cults.

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

1. Czechoslovakia. In a telephone report from the independent East European Information Agency reporter Jan Urban from Prague, THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 3) reported on human rights developments in Czechoslovakia and excerpted a commentary from Rude Pravo on a recent bomb explosion in the country.

\* 2. Poland. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, M 4) reviewed commentaries from The Independent, The Guardian, and the Kurier on the roundtable discussions between the Polish government and opposition representatives.

\* OVER THE BARRIERS (Pomerantsev, L 7), a RERUN from February 3, reviewed the independent Polish documentary film A Very Polish Secret.

#### C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The US. Pegged to the decision of a federal judge to take away the stewardship of state prisons from the state of Alabama, MAN AND SOCIETY (Morozov, NY 7) presented an interview with a state prison official who gave the history of prisons in Alabama and backgrounded the prisoners' complaints against the state.

Using a CND report from Washington of February 2, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rubin, NY 6:30) described the new US immigration policy of selecting certain categories of immigrants by lottery.

2. Israel. JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 5) reported on the week's events in Israel and described Israeli official and public reaction to the US report on human rights violations in the occupied territories.

3. France. MAN AND SOCIETY (Shragin, NY 8) described the post-World War II reforms of French agriculture which transformed this erstwhile neglected sector of the economy into a showcase for agricultural production. The program commented that the USSR could learn a great deal from France's agricultural modernization program.

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

1. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Glikman, M 5) reviewed a retrospective exhibition in Munich of works by the Belgian surrealist painter Paul Delvaux.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Sapguir, P 6:30) reviewed the popular French film Camille Claudelle.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Rayfield, M 7) traced the literary image of Don Juan down to contemporary times. The program was RERUN from February 3.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Cherfas, L 6), a RERUN from February 3, critically reviewed the British play A Question of Geography.

2. Religion. CHRISTIAN RUSSIA (Rahr, M 10), a RERUN from February 3, described three different methods of religious education in the West.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis  
for Saturday, 11 February 1989  
D. Felton

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

- \* 1. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 7) said that while a TASS report on the Afghan resistance's Shura, or consultative council, avoided gloating over its failure to reach agreement, it made the absurd claim that there was also disagreement on the question of relations with the Afghan People's Democratic Party. The program traced the reasons for the differences among the various resistance groups to the spontaneous way in which the groups emerged and stressed the urgency of coming to a political agreement in view of the imminent Soviet troop withdrawal. The program drew attention to a confidential TASS report from Kabul published in the Italian CP newspaper l'Unita expressing skepticism over the prospects for the Najibullah regime's ability to survive and referring to the possibility that the Soviet bombing raids in the Panjshir region have led to an outburst of hatred among the civilian population. Finally the program spoke of preparations by the Mujahidin to take Kabul, Kandahar, and Jalalabad.
- \* PRESS REVIEW (SIGNAL) (Predtechevsky, M 7:30) cited comments on the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan and the prospects for that country from The Washington Post, The Daily Telegraph, the Stuttgarter Zeitung, Die Welt, The Independent, and The Times (London).
- \* EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, M 4:30) reviewed an article in The Independent which said that while the USSR's prestige in the West has been enhanced by the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan and the manner of its execution, the USSR can hardly avoid an investigation into the root causes of the war and the Soviet defeat, who was for and who was against the invasion, etc.

- \* ASPECTS (Roitman, M 2:30), pegged to the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, said the fact that the Soviet press no longer refers to the Mujahidin as "bandits" but as the "irreconcilable opposition" indicates a reappraisal of events which gives grounds for hope that the Soviet policy of exporting violence is a thing of the past. At the same time the program imagined how families of soldiers killed or wounded in Afghanistan will feel when Soviet diplomats start dealing with the former "bandits" at the state level.
- \* SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, M 3:30) examined the military and political reasons for the USSR's defeat in Afghanistan, which stem from the hatred of the population.
- \* EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Pimonov, Copenhagen 3) reported on an increase in Danish humanitarian aid to Afghan war victims and refugees in connection with the imminent Soviet troop withdrawal. Citing the newspaper Berlingske Tidende, the program referred particularly to a new category of refugees seeking asylum in Denmark, namely supporters of the Kabul regime.

2. Soviet Troops in the GDR. SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, M 5:30) summarized a report by Finnish journalist Veikko Pajunen in Die Zeit on the life of Soviet officers and men serving in the GDR. Pajunen noted that the officers are far better off than the other ranks, whose pay is low and whose movements are highly restricted. He mentioned the conditions of American, British, and French soldiers in West Berlin by way of comparison.

3. Dissidents and Human Rights. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 5:30) cited information from the annual list of Soviet political prisoners issued by human rights activist and former Soviet political prisoner Kronid Lyubarsky which disproves claims by Soviet officials that there is now no one in the USSR serving a sentence under Articles 70 and 190 of the RSFSR Criminal Code. The program said that it is also necessary to take into account persons confined in psychiatric hospitals for political reasons as well as persons imprisoned under other articles but for reasons which are in fact essentially political.

4. Unofficial Organizations. THE LATEST ON UNOFFICIAL ORGANIZATIONS (Alexeyeva, W 20) surveyed the various unofficial political, cultural, environmental, and other organizations in Leningrad.

5. The Emigration. On WRITERS AT THE MICROPHONE (Voynovich, M 19), emigre writer Vladimir Voynovich commented on the recent more favorable references in the Soviet press, including by writers, to Soviet emigre writers. At the same time Voynovich criticized the hesitance shown to apologize to those writers forced out of the country and to return Soviet citizenship to those deprived of it. Voynovich also questioned the distinction made between writers who remained at home and those who emigrated.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 19) reviewed the February 10 issue of the Paris-based Russian-language newspaper Russkaya Mysl, which cites material from Soviet unofficial publications and organizations concerning Afghanistan; the case of Anatoly Ilchenko, confined in a Nikolayev psychiatric hospital for political reasons; and the danger involved in introducing a professional army in the USSR. In conclusion the program quoted from an article by a Moscow woman describing how almost all the pupils in one school described the October Revolution and socialism as senseless.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rubin, NY 5) reported on appeals by US congressmen to President Bush and Secretary of State Baker to increase the quota for immigrants to the US from the USSR and to provide a more accurate definition of the term "refugee" in respect to such persons. Among other things the congressmen express concern that many Soviet Jews have failed to be recognized as refugees by the US authorities.

6. Restructuring. HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE USSR (Malinkovich, M 6) excerpted an interview given by former Moscow party chief Boris Yeltsin to the Latvian weekly Jurmala in which he insisted that unless concrete action is taken to improve the lot of the population, restore social justice, radically reform the political structure, etc., the people will lose faith in restructuring, the party, the regime, and socialism in general.

7. Glasnost. HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE USSR (Kaminskaya, W 7) discussed a recent article by legal expert Mikhail Fedotov in Moskovskiye Novosti calling for the abolition of censorship, the very existence of which was until comparatively recently not officially acknowledged. The program said that while one cannot but agree with Fedotov on this point, he failed to mention a factor that is no less of a hindrance to freedom of the press than censorship, namely the state monopoly of the media, which for example makes each individual editor economically dependent on the state.

8. Elections. HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE USSR (Yudovich, M 5) pointed to the unconstitutionality of a law issued on January 12 by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium which allows government officials to also serve as people's deputies.

ASPECTS (Zamashchikov, M 2:30) noted that the election procedure in the Soviet armed forces remains unaffected by democratization and glasnost. The program gave an example from a Moscow military academy in which the candidature of a highly popular officer with an impeccable record in the elections to the Moscow City Council was overruled by the Moscow military authorities and a campaign launched against the officer, whose career was ruined.

9. The Economy. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 4:30) pointed to the paradoxical situation in which the shortage of many consumer items is worsening, whereas the pay of workers in the given sectors is actually increasing. The program said that restructuring is not to blame, but it has transferred the brunt of the problem on to the shoulders of the consumer. Independent accounting has enabled enterprises to raise their prices and the wages of their workers without increasing the volume or quality of their products. The independent accounting which has been introduced is governed not by the market and economic laws but by party and government resolutions. A bureaucratically managed economy can only produce bureaucratic results.

10. The Nationalities. Using a CND report from New York of February 8, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Vail, NY 4:30), a RERUN from February 9, covered a US report on human rights in the Baltic states recently delivered in Geneva to a UN Commission on Human Rights. The report concluded that despite existing limitations of democratic freedoms in the Baltic republics, the events of the last year furnish hope that more democratic rights will be granted in the future.

OUR PLANET (Salkazanov, P 4) excerpted an interview given to French TV by Armenian-born French singer Charles Aznavour during a visit to Armenia in which he talked about his work for the earthquake victims. The program said that Aznavour also expressed his concern over Nagorno-Karabakh in talks with Armenian officials and Soviet Prime Minister Ryzhkov. Aznavour's song "For You, Armenia" was played.

11. Russian Nationalism. ASPECTS (Matusevich, M 3) excerpted an article from The Daily Telegraph on the Russians' fierce patriotism and the dangers it poses to Gorbachev.

12. Society. On WRITERS AT THE MICROPHONE (Dovlatov, NY 8), emigre writer Sergey Dovlatov discussed the untranslatable Russian word "khamstvo," which he defined as the arrogant, high-handed behavior of officials, sales personnel, etc. in the USSR toward people over whom they have some kind of leverage. Dovlatov observed that "khamstvo" does not exist to such an extent in the US because the service sector is in private hands.

13. The Family. ASPECTS (Potiyev, M 2:30) noted that the tough living conditions in the USSR are promoting childless families. A factor concerning religious persons is also that their child would have to go to an atheist school.

14. Public Rest Rooms. ASPECTS (Henkina, M 2:30), a RERUN from February 3, cited an item in Literaturnaya Gazeta of January 25 on a rest room at a Moscow subway station which may only be used free of charge by certain categories of citizen, ranging from Heroes of the Soviet Union down to children of preschool age. The program spoke ironically of the bureaucratic genius of "Soviet Man" and of a mixture of class sensitivity and humanism. The program then quoted from travel notes by British historian and university lecturer Mervin Matthews on a well-appointed rest room at Moscow's Kursk railroad station operated by a cooperative.

15. Culture. ASPECTS (Sezeman, P 4) commented on an interview given to Pravda by painter Ilya Glazunov, who has been appointed rector of a newly founded RSFSR Arts Academy. The program described Glazunov's work as militantly banal and took issue with his statements that he would teach his students the healthy principles of the realistic school which the bad avant-gardists were trying to bury and of course a love of their country. The program said this kind of talk is reminiscent of the views on art of such people as Hitler and Goebbels and Stalin and Zhdanov.

On ASPECTS (I. Tolstoi, P 3:30), Soviet literary critic Ivan Tolstoi described how Russia's literary heritage is being preserved not in Russia but abroad, for example in the Russian bookshops of Paris.

16. Religion. NOT BY BREAD ALONE (Aksenov-Meyerson, NY 7:30 and Rahr, M 10) gave the case history of the new Russian martyr St. Anthony (Grisyuk), Metropolitan of Odessa, and reflected on exhibitions of Russian Orthodox Church artifacts in West Germany. Recalling Lenin's decree ordering the confiscation of Church property, the program said that it is about time that these artifacts were returned to their rightful owner, the Church.

SUNDAY SERVICE (Rahr and Kholodnaya, M and NY 49:30) featured a Russian Orthodox Church service.

17. History. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Pimonov, Copenhagen 4:30) highlighted an interview given to Finnish journalist and former prominent diplomat Max Jacobson by Soviet military historian Colonel-General Dmitry Volkogonov. The interview was published in the Danish newspaper Politiken. In particular Volkogonov criticized Stalin's decision to invade Finland in late 1939 and described the secret Soviet-German agreements on the partition of Poland as "morally indecent." On the other hand he defended Stalin's decision to conclude a nonaggression pact with Germany. Jacobson suggested that Volkogonov's statements on the Soviet-Finnish War were aimed primarily at strengthening world trust in Gorbachev.

HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE USSR (Malinkovich, M 7) carried an interview given by Russian writer and democrat Vladimir Korolenko to the Russian Telegraph Agency in 1919 in which he condemned the Bolshevik terror and the idea of a world revolution. The program noted that although last year Novy Mir published Korolenko's letters to Anatoly Lunacharsky, the Soviet press has still not published the interview despite restructuring.

18. Listeners' Letters. ASPECTS (Henkina, M 15:30) replied to listeners' letters, focusing on one from a Russian specialist in German literature writing from a German university town where he is on an exchange visit. The program took issue with the listener's complaint that RL extols emigre life and does not seem to realize how difficult it is for Russians to live in a foreign country, as well as his claim that Russian Jews "have a completely different program in their blood." The program promised to broadcast talks with emigre writers Voynovich, Vladimov, and Maximov on whether they are happy in a foreign country and also more programming on the history of philosophy.

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

None

#### C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. NATO and the Warsaw Pact. SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, M 10:30), pegged to the replacement of Marshal Kulikov by Army General Lushev as commander-in-chief of the Warsaw Pact forces, examined the similarities and differences between the posts of commander-in-chief of NATO and the Warsaw Pact.



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

1. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Yurenen and Savitsky, M 29:30) was devoted entirely to James Joyce and his novel Ulysses in connection with it finally being published in the USSR, in the journal Inostrannaya Literatura (Foreign Literature). The program included excerpts from the novel and comment by Irish intellectual Maura McGuinness.

OUR PLANET (Rahr and Gordin, M 4), a RERUN from 21 February 1988, included an item on Fasching in West Germany. The program explained the religious character of carnival and mentioned the corresponding religious feast in Russia.

2. Religion. NOT BY BREAD ALONE (Rahr, M 3 and Benigsen, NY 8) featured the usual Sunday Bible reading and a talk about the Meeting of Our Lord.

3. The Italians Have Called on Israeli Rainmakers for Help in Overcoming a Drought, OUR PLANET (Gordin, M 2) noted.

4. The Dead Sea Scrolls. OUR PLANET (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 3) reported on how the text of a disintegrating Dead Sea scroll was deciphered by Israeli experts using special photographic and computer techniques.

5. The Coming Opening of a Hotel for Women in West Berlin was reported on OUR PLANET (Gordin, M 2:30).

6. A Men's Fashion Show in Paris was the subject of an item on OUR PLANET (Gordin, M 2).

7. Reflections on Nostalgia were included on ASPECTS (Savitsky, P 3:30).

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Sunday, 12 February 1989

M. Rudin

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

1. US-Soviet Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Polishchuk, W 3) reviewed developments in US-Soviet relations, noting that President Bush asked the National Security Council to prepare a report reviewing relations between the US and the Soviet Union, that the State Department's annual report on human rights throughout the world said that the situation in the Soviet Union visibly improved in 1988, and that Shevardnadze and Baker will soon meet in Vienna.

2. Sino-Soviet Relations. COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Levin, M 6), a RERUN from February 5, reported on Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's visit to China, the first such visit in 30 years.

3. Afghanistan. THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Predtechevsky, M 20) excerpted articles from Die Weltwoche, Die Zeit, The Independent, The Times (London), the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Le Monde, Die Welt, Le Quotidien de Paris, the Frankfurter Rundschau, and The Washington Post on various aspects of the situation in Afghanistan, including the reasons for the failure of the Soviet military intervention, on the occasion of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the country.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 3) cited an article distributed by the Cox Syndicate dealing with the reaction in the USSR to the return home of Soviet soldiers and with the question of who is to blame for the invasion of Afghanistan and an article in The Baltimore Sun describing a discussion on Afghanistan lead by Pravda journalist Leonid Mironov.

4. An Interview with Former Dissident Leonid Plyushch. EAST EUROPEAN VARIANTS (Mirsky, P 27:30) featured an interview with Plyushch, who took a retrospective look at the goals and aspirations of the dissident movement and spoke about whether the present process of restructuring and glasnost satisfy the dissident movement's position. Plyushch also talked about the impact political changes in the Soviet Union has had on developments in the Ukraine and noted the seriousness of the nationalities problem.

5. The Law. LAW AND SOCIETY (Kaminskaya and Simis, W 20) continued to discuss the legal reform in the USSR, focusing on how best to carry out a reform of the Soviet courts. The program discussed how Soviet courts should become independent of the party and noted in this connection that even Article 155 of the Constitution, according to which interference in the work of courts is inadmissible, will not change the situation. The program analyzed the reasons why judges will not be eager or able to start legal proceedings against those violating Article 155. In conclusion the program discussed the introduction of a jury system in the USSR, saying that this would help make the courts independent, and explained why the prospects for introducing this system are bleak.

6. Crime. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 1) cited an article in The Washington Post about the increasing crime in the USSR due to the appearance of cooperatives.

7. Siberia. SIBERIAN DESTINIES (Naumov, M 5) drew attention to the absence of cooperatives in Siberia and the Far East. The program discussed the reasons why cooperatives are sorely needed in these regions and noted the measures necessary to attract cooperative activity.

SIBERIAN DESTINIES (Krasin, W 6:30) pointed out that Gorbachev's antialcohol campaign has proven ineffective in Siberia and explained how the decrease in the production of alcoholic beverages by the state has been offset by the increased production of illegally distilled spirits.

SIBERIAN DESTINIES (Shapiro, M 8) discussed the inability of officials in Sakhalin to prepare for and deal with the ravages left by the cyclones which hit the Soviet island last November. The program blamed the situation on the relationship between Moscow and the USSR's outlying areas, a relationship in which local authorities are deprived of administrative and economic independence. An article in Izvestia was cited.

SIBERIAN DESTINIES (Raigorodetsky, NY 8) described how the indigenous population of Kamchatka is prevented from freely catching salmon for private use on their land by strict state limitations and bans. The program observed that these state measures deprive the peoples of Kamchataka of their elementary human rights and encroach upon their material interests.

8. Literature. OVER THE BARRIERS (Genis, NY 10) discussed the reasons why emigre writer Vladimir Voynovich's novel The Life and Extraordinary Adventures of the Soldier Ivan Chonkin, which is being serialized for the first time in the Soviet press by the journal Yunost, has caused such an uproar in the Soviet

OVER THE BARRIERS (Dovlatov, NY 9) commented on the abundance of previously forbidden books currently being published in the USSR. The program said that although the maxim "better late than never" certainly applies in this case, books, especially great books, should ideally be read at the right time in a person's development, otherwise something is irrevocably lost. The program was pegged to an article by literary critic Igor Vinogradov in Moskovskiy Novosti.

EX LIBRIS (Yurenen, Grigoryants, and Dovlatov, M 40:30, P 6:30, and NY 3) continued reading from Venedikt Erofeev's chilling tale of an alcohol-filled suburban train journey from Moscow, Moskva-Petushki. The reading was a RERUN from 18 November 1985. The program also featured an item by Tatyana Grigoryants, a staffer of the independent Moscow publication Glasnost presently on a visit to the West, reviewing Erofeev's work. The function of alcohol in Erofeev's novel was also explained by the program.

FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 27:30) featured the 40th installment of Alexander Solzhenitsyn's autobiographical novel The Calf and the Oak.

9. The USSR and Eastern Europe. COMMUNISM AND REALITY (A. Levin, W 6) highlighted an address that Alexander Alexiev of the Rand Corp. delivered at the Kennan Institute in Washington in which he discussed Gorbachev's "new thinking" with respect to the Warsaw Pact.

10. Ideology. COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Krasin, W 9:30) drew attention to the similarities between the socialist system built in the Soviet Union under Stalin and the ideas put forward by utopian socialists centuries before. From this premise it cannot be said that the Soviet system has nothing in common with socialism.

11. History. SOVIETOLOGISTS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Shragin, NY 20) continued to present excerpts from a book by American historian Paul Avrich entitled Kronstadt 1921. The program is reading Avrich's work in order to disprove official Soviet party propaganda that the Kronstadt uprising was not a protest by the masses but the result of a counterrevolutionary plot.

12. Sports. Noting the poor performance of Soviet athletes at recent skiing and skating world championships, WORLD OF SPORTS (Rubin, NY 7) discussed the reasons why these two types of sports are not more developed in the USSR.

WORLD OF SPORTS (Rubin, NY 6) commented on the news that Soviet hockey players Vyacheslav Fetisov and Igor Larionov have signed contracts to play for National Hockey League clubs in North America. The program cited articles in The Toronto Star and Izvestia.

WORLD OF SPORTS (Rubin, NY 7) raised doubts about whether an article in Sovetsky Sport dealing with sports in the West entitled "Sports, Sex, and Business -- What Do They Have in Common?" was really a reprint of an article in the French journal Equipe, as claimed by Sovetsky Sport.

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

None

#### C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The US. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Polishchuk, W 3) highlighted important developments in the US last week, including President Bush's speech to a joint session of Congress and his proposals concerning the national budget for 1990 and the one-day visit of Bush and Baker to Canada.

2. The Middle East. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Miloslavsky, Jerusalem 9) reviewed developments in the Middle East, focusing on Israel's diplomatic activity to counter the recent successes of the PLO in gaining diplomatic respectability for its movement.

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

1. The Presentation of the American Music Awards was covered by OVER THE BARRIERS (Vail and Volkov, NY 9).

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis  
for Monday, 13 February 1989  
V. Frank

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

1. The Nationalities. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Volchek, Moscow 2) read the text of an open letter to the head of the Soviet state and the general procurator signed by the leadership of the main independent mass movements in the three Baltic republics voicing concern about the fate of the arrested members of the Armenian Karabakh Committee. According to law the duration of their arrest should not exceed 30 days. Yet, as stressed in the open letter, the arrested Armenians have now been moved to Moscow, an action which implies that they are faced with criminal charges.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Krimerman, M 4) reported on the visit to Moldavia of Politburo member Chebrikov, noting his strong attacks on the unofficial organizations in that republic. In particular Chebrikov stressed the need to radically improve the work of the Central Committee and government of Moldavia in order to curtail the activity of unofficial organizations. Shortly afterward a meeting of the unofficial Democratic Movement in Support of Perestroika was held in Kishinev. Many participants were arrested by the militia. After another demonstration the head of the local KGB was replaced.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Belotserkovsky, M 7:30) reviewed Chebrikov's visit to Moldavia, quoting from a speech he delivered there attacking unofficial organizations. His attacks were compared to an article in Pravda which singled out the Armenian Karabakh Committee as an example of the efforts to "create political

structures in opposition to party organs." An article in Sovetskaya Industriya on the same theme was considered to be the most radical one yet published. The opinion was voiced that Chebrikov's speech and the various newspaper articles reflected the fear of party leaders concerning the process of democratization.

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Krimerman, M 5:30) discussed the recent founding in Moldavia of an unofficial organization called "Unity," whose aim is to focus on problems of peculiar interest to the republic. It was pointed out that there already exist two other unofficial organizations in Moldavia. The emergence of such organizations prompted the republic's chief prosecutor, Nikolay Demidenko, to publish an article in Sovetskaya Moldavia in which he suggested that the increasing crime rate in the republic may be connected with the activities of these movements. At the same time articles from various Moscow and Kishinev journals were cited which indicated the existence of a "mafia" led by a number of senior officials.

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Malinkovich, M 8) interviewed by telephone a human rights activist in Azerbaijan, the historian Mekhti Mamedov, about the impact of perestroika in that republic. Mamedov said that there is little movement in that respect to perestroika mainly because the conflict with Armenia appears to be the most important problem at present. Also the local authorities are preventing any kind of initiatives which could lead to liberalization, since they consider such initiatives to be a sin of nationalism. Mamedov denied rumors that the Azerbaijanis Muslims are pro-Iranian and added that Shiite traditions are less evident in Azerbaijan than for example in the Muslim areas of Central Asia. Therefore Mamedov does not foresee a danger of fundamentalist tendencies. With regard to Nagorno-Karabakh, Mamedov expressed the opinion that this conflict is instrumental in disrupting the process of democratization and that it should be solved in some way or another. He stressed the difficulties involved, since anti-Armenian sentiments remain as strong as ever.

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Malinkovich, M 6) commented on the move by a member of the Swedish parliament, Haakon Hokmberg, to propose the popular movements of the three Baltic republics for the 1989 Nobel Peace prize. The program stressed the important role played by the Popular Fronts of Estonia and Latvia and by the Lithuanian "Sajudis" movement in furthering political openness and thus preventing destabilization. The program noted that in Estonia the authorities collaborate with the Popular Front and expressed the hope that the authorities in Moscow will one day do the same.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fishbein, M 3) presented a report from Moscow by a member of the Ukrainian Hensinki Union, Anatoly Dotsenko, who recounted that at the end of January the historical "Rukh" society called a meeting in Ivano-Frankovsk to commemorate the victims of Stalinism. The local authorities managed to turn this into a meeting for the commemoration of victims of the nationalist Bandera partisans.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 4) interviewed Mikhail Bombin, the Riga correspondent of Express-Khronika, about the draft law limiting immigration to Latvia. Bombin said that the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Latvia continues to debate the draft law. He added that Latvian TV carried a news item about the decision by workers to organize protest demonstrations if the law is not approved.

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Malenkovich, M 3) cited an article published in the unofficial Moscow journal Glasnost about the problems of the Assyrian minority in the USSR. The article, by the Assyrian A. Vartanov, stressed that the only Assyrian newspaper in the Soviet Union, Zvezda Vostoka, existed from 1928 to 1938, when it was forcibly closed and its editor vanished. Since then the Soviet authorities have consistently declined all requests to publish a newspaper or books in the assyrian language. It was pointed out that there are newspapers, journals, and even radio and TV stations in the Assyrian language in India, Argentina, and the United States. The absence of books and newspapers is a tragedy for all small nations. In this connection the fact was stressed that almost 100 small ethnic groups in the Soviet Union share the tragic situation of the Assyrians.

2. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 8) discussed the situation in Afghanistan after the virtually complete withdrawal of Soviet forces. The Soviet civilian advisers, who during the last nine years have been controlling the Kabul government, have also returned to the USSR. It was pointed out that the Soviet mass media have begun to examine the reasons for the intervention in Afghanistan. At a meeting a Soviet journalist expressed the opinion that the Soviet military commanders apparently wanted to prove to the United States the strength of the Soviet armed forces. Subsequent events, however, proved them wrong. The remarks of a Soviet general who said that the intervention was for the good of the Afghan and Soviet people was met with protests from those present at the meeting.



EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 5) quoted extensively from an article in The Washington Post about the historic significance of the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. It was stressed that about one-million Soviet soldiers took part in the war, of which at least 15,000 did not return. At the outset of the intervention it was maintained that the military action was to safeguard socialism in Afghanistan, whereas practice proved that all the suffering was in vain.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Limberger, M 3:30) carried a report by the independent Moscow journalist Yuri Mityunov about the manner in which Soviet mass media commented on the last stage of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. Generally the usual false tone of reports remained unchanged: the same pseudoheroic soldiers who honorably and joyfully fulfilled their international duty; war veterans were put in charge of reeducating young criminals, etc. Much was written about last Soviet casualties during the final days of the intervention. It was asked, why do the Soviet mass media talk only about Soviet casualties? What about the Afghan dead? The millions of refugees? What happened to the spirit of internationalism? Some articles and TV programs, on the other hand, pose the question of who was responsible for the fateful decision to intervene. Our soldiers have left, yet political problems remain, commented one of the journals.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 3:30) aired a report from Peshawar by the Norwegian journalist Hugo Erikson, who focused on the difficult process of consultation among the various Afghan resistance movements about the composition of the future Shura and the future strategy of the movements.

MAN AND SOCIETY (Bensi, M 6:30) interviewed the Secretary-General of the Front of National Liberation of Afghanistan, Sebghatollah Mojaddedi, about the political future of Afghanistan after the end of Soviet intervention. Mojaddedi expressed the conviction that despite obvious political differences, all resistance groups or parties are united in their ultimate aim: to establish an independent and neutral Afghanistan headed by a Muslim government. Naturally the final decision will rest with the people.

3. Society. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Bombin, Moscow 4) reported on the approval by the CPSU Politburo of a letter written by two of its members. The letter apparently gave instructions to local party organizations, as well as to the media on how to deal with independent mass movements and newspapers and journals, such as Express-Khronika. At present no one seems to know the reason for and likely consequences of these instructions.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Limberger, M 5) carried a report by the independent Moscow journalist Dmitry Volchek, who spoke about the continuing rumors concerning a reorganization of the patriotic movement "Pamyat". Three documents were cited as indicating a deep crisis within the leadership of "Pamyat."

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Tolz, M 5) commented on the strike by Moscow air-traffic controllers, which was reported in the Soviet TV program "Vzglyad." It was stressed that the demands of the strikers are entirely justified, since they refuse to agree to an additional work load which could have a negative impact on the safety of flights. The form of the strike is, however, unusual. The air-traffic controllers continue to work, yet refuse to collect their salaries. This kind of strike was apparently adopted to avoid repressions by the authorities.

AT THE NEWSSTAND (Perouansky, M 8) reviewed the February 5 issue of Moskovskiy Novosti. The program excerpted articles about the pre-election campaign of Andrey Sakharov and about the political program of another candidate, Yuri Chernichenko, a well-known writer and expert on agriculture. The program also quoted a review by Igor Vinogradov of the new film Gorod Zero by Karen Shakhnazarov, which, according to the critic, is a biting satire about present-day Soviet reality.

4. Domestic Developments Last Week. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Podrabinkek, Moscow 4) reviewed events in the Soviet Union last week. The program included various items about Georgia, where a number of dissidents were holding a hunger strike in protest against the sentence given to a participant in an unofficial meeting; a court case against two Armenians accused of organizing demonstrations at Yerevan airport; a protest meeting by a group of Tartars who stopped the destruction of a mosque at Bachchisaray on the Crimean peninsula; and the two cases of persons confined to psychiatric hospitals for political reasons.

5. The Law. MAN AND SOCIETY (Shapiro, Israel 6) discussed the Soviet citizen's absence of rights when confronted with a court case. It was pointed out that Soviet media only recently started to examine this problem and gave a number of examples of glaring miscarriages of justice, such as executions for crimes not committed by the accused. These were not isolated cases; they reflect the abnormal character of a system in which the hierarchical structure places the judge on a lower level than most party officials, who are thus able to control him. An accused may be sentenced not in accordance with judicial norms, but at the instigation of an official. The current reforms will not drastically change the system, since the party will hardly permit the courts to become independent.

6. Dissidents and Human Rights. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 2) carried a telephone interview with Valery Senderov and Sergey Grigoriants, the editor of the unofficial journal Glasnost, about the attacks in Sotsialisticheskaya Industriya on unofficial organizations. Both stressed that there is nothing new in these attacks -- the usual rudeness and untruth, such as blaming these organizations for the Armenian events and accusing them of planning to carry out terrorist acts in Moscow. Any attempt to talk about a possible multiparty system is considered anti-Soviet. The two interviewees pointed out that as long as the Communist Party has the absolute monopoly of power, all reforms will remain purely cosmetic.

7. Religion. RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Fotiev, M 5) described a new Catholic journal called Kataliku Pasaulis, which is being published in Vilnius. The appearance of this journal is apparently the result of changes which have recently occurred in the Baltic republics. At the same time it was noted that the organ of the Russian Orthodox Church, published by the Patriarchate in Moscow, cannot get permission from the authorities to increase its circulation. Evidently the Russian Orthodox Church is totally dependent on the authorities that control it. Nevertheless the journal seems to have become more interesting and carries material useful to the priests. Despite various positive articles about the Russian Orthodox Church appearing in the Soviet press, it cannot be maintained that the Church has obtained its freedom.

RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Aksenov-Meyerson, NY 9) reviewed the latest issue of the unofficial Russian Orthodox Church journal Vybor and discussed theological issues facing the contemporary Church.

RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Tyulpanov, M 13) reflected on the aftermath of the millennium of Russia's Christianity, noting that the occasion has engendered some limited benefits to the Russian Orthodox Church. After mentioning the increased interest being shown in the Soviet Union in religion, the program referred to the need to introduce reforms in religious services. Arguments for and against reforms by authoritative voices in emigration and in the Soviet Union were quoted.

8. Literature. AT THE NEWSSTAND (Dovlatov, NY 8) gave an assessment of the Leningrad journal Neva, founded after Stalin's death in 1958, and commented on the literary merits, or absence thereof of its editors and contributors in the pre-perestroika era. Under the new editorship of Boris Nikolsky, the journal has become one of the leading organs of the new times and has published a number of sensational works.

AT THE NEWSSTAND (Perouansky, M 13) interviewed the writer Vladimir Voynovich, who has been living in West Germany since his expulsion from the Soviet Union. In connection with the publication of various materials about him in a recent issue of the weekly Knizhnoye Obozrenie, Voynovich was asked about his attitude toward contemporary Soviet literature. He explained that the leadership of the Writers Union has remained the same as it was during the Brezhnev era. It is therefore hardly likely that much leeway will be given to really gifted and honest writers. Furthermore he pointed out that it was these very people who excluded him and others like him from the Writers' Union. Should he ever be asked to rejoin the Writers' Union, he will make his decision on the merits of the proposal, Voynovich said.

4. Sports. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rubin, NY 6) discussed the demands raised by the three Baltic republics to form national Olympic committees which would permit them to compete in Olympic games as separate teams. This initiative, made in December last year, was categorically rejected by the All-Union Olympic Committee. Despite this fact a correspondent of Sovetsky Sport, after having visited Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, published an article reiterating arguments of the all-Union Olympic Committee. It was pointed out that the publication of that article is somewhat off, since normally a decision taken by an authoritative organ is considered final.

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

1. Hungary. ROUNDTABLE TALK (Roitman, Malinkovich, and Bensi, M 20) discussed the forthcoming introduction of a multi-party system in Hungary, stressing that this is may be regarded as a unique development in the recent history of Eastern Europe. Hungary will become the first communist country where the ruling party voluntarily gives up the monopoly of power. The reasons for this decision were discussed in detail, and the participants came to the conclusion that the political and economic situation in Hungary has changed so radically that the leadership of the ruling party was obliged to seek some kind of compromise. The possibility of a multiparty system being introduced in the Soviet Union was discussed, and although various points of view were expressed, the general opinion tended to regard this possibility rather pessimistically.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Roitman, M 5) discussed the reasons why the HSWP has decided to introduce a multiparty system. The program reached the conclusion that the party alone is unable to solve the country's crucial problems. It was stressed that the

official media in the Soviet Union have kept quiet about this new development in Hungary, yet unofficially the question of establishing a multiparty system in the USSR is being widely discussed.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Shuster and Kuznetsov, M 5) interviewed the philosopher Gaspar Tamas, a leading member of the Hungarian opposition, about the forthcoming establishment of a multiparty system in Hungary. Tamas voiced the opinion that the ruling Communist Party realized the impossibility of halting the democratization process, which is gathering momentum in the country. Furthermore the party has lost confidence in itself and is becoming increasingly unpopular.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 8:30) reviewed French press commentary on the decision to introduce a multiparty system in Hungary, focusing on articles in Liberation and Le Monde.

2. Czechoslovakia. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 4) carried a report from Prague by the independent journalist Jan Urban. Urban recounted a press conference held by Alexander Vondra, one of the representatives of the human rights organization Charter 77, about a campaign by the authorities to discredit this organization. The campaign consisted of spreading slanderous rumors implying that Charter 77 is engaged in terrorist activity against the population.

3. The Communist Economies. MAN AND SOCIETY (Shragin, NY 6:30) examined the concept of private ownership under socialism. Having established the socialist form of society, the leaders of the Soviet Union were forced to liquidate the peasants as a class of landowner. This action was taken in accordance with Lenin's belief that the peasantry is a constant carrier of capitalism. It was stressed that the established form of state ownership of land is doomed. It is for that very reason that a number of communist countries have come to the conclusion that the introduction of reforms is necessary, which, however, will not alter the basic principle. Detailed examples of the Chinese economic reforms introduced in recent years were given.

#### C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The US. THE USA TODAY (Vail, NY 4) highlighted the main developments in the United States during the past week, focusing on President Bush's speech to both houses of Congress and the controversy over John Tower's nomination as Secretary of Defense.

THE USA TODAY (Genis, NY 6) commented on the controversy caused by the planned increase the salaries of members of Congress.

THE USA TODAY (Krasin, W 6) discussed the deficit in the Federal budget, explaining why it occurs and voicing ways of solving the problem. Concerning the situation in the Soviet Union, it was pointed out that recently Minister of Finance Gostev admitted the existence of a deficit. American experts assume that it is about double that of the US deficit.

THE USA TODAY (Chalidze, NY 7) described the federal measures being taken in the United States to protect the environment and recalled that the first such steps were taken at the beginning of this century.

2. Trade Unions in East and West. MAN AND SOCIETY (Simis, W 6) highlighted the differences between trade unions in the West and in communist countries. Generally speaking trade unions in the East do not defend the interests of the workers, since they are a part of the establishment. Trade unions in the West, however, consider the defense of workers' rights to be their main task.

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

1. American Baseball. THE USA TODAY (Vail, NY 4) presented the program "The American of the Week." This installment profiled the new National Baseball Commissioner, William White.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis  
for Tuesday, 14 February 1989  
M. Rudin

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

1. Soviet-US Relations. Drawing on an article in The Washington Post of February 13, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 3) highlighted statements by Secretary of State Baker concerning the prospects for concluding a US-Soviet strategic arms treaty. Baker, who made the statements during an airborne news conference, said that the Bush administration should thoroughly review the question of strategic arms to ensure that the Senate ratifies the treaty.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY (Muslim, NY 1) noted US-Soviet cooperation in the treatment of alcoholism.

- \* 2. Afghanistan. On THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Erikson, Peshawar 3), independent Norwegian journalist Hugo Erikson reported on the reaction of the Afghan resistance to the news that almost all Soviet troops have left Afghanistan, noting in this connection remarks by a resistance leader that the Soviet defeat is a victory for the Afghan resistance and by the director of the Center for the Study of Islamic Conflicts in Peshawar, who said that the Soviets are leaving behind many problems in Afghanistan. The program also said that the meeting of the Islamic Consultative Council is wrought with disagreement on how to form an interim Afghan government.
- \* EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 7:30) assessed the situation in Afghanistan. The program took issue with an APN item by General Batenin, observing that the remaining Soviet representatives in Afghanistan may very well have to flee the country as did the remaining Americans after US troops left Vietnam; noted that Najibullah charged Pakistan with preparing to invade Afghanistan after the Soviet troops leave; cited an article by Victor Louis

in Le Journal du Dimanche which said that if Kabul falls to the partisans, the capital will be moved to Mazar-i-Sharif; and observed that partisan leaders are becoming more influential than political leaders at the present time.

- \* ROUNDTABLE (Roitman, Bensi, and Malinkovich, M 20) featured a discussion focusing on what will happen in Afghanistan after the withdrawal of Soviet troops and in the USSR after the war in Afghanistan. The discussants assessed the rift between the pro-Iranian and the moderate Peshawar Mujahidin groups and said that a civil war will probably break out. The discussants then noted that no official Soviet body has taken responsibility for the war in Afghanistan, dealt with the question of whether there are mechanisms in the the USSR today that will prevent future invasions, and commented on the question of who should carry the guilt for the war in Afghanistan. The British-made film the Afgantsi was noted.
- \* EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Henkina, M 4:30) reviewed the British film Afgantsi, which was shown on West German television on February 13. The film contained interviews with Soviet military personnel and their parents in the Soviet Union.
- \* THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Volchek, Moscow 3) reported on the results of an opinion poll conducted by Glasnost editor Dmitry Volchek and independent journalist Alexei Manannikov, who asked passersby in Moscow about their sentiments concerning the end of the war in Afghanistan. Although there was a unanimous feeling welcoming the end of the war, views were divided concerning the prospects for the establishment of a future government in Afghanistan and on giving aid to Afghanistan. The program also gave the reactions of the editors of Vechernaya Moskva, the editor of the outspoken Vek XX i mir, and the "Trust" group.
- \* On THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Dobacevich, Leningrad 3), Wanda Dobacevich, a member of the Democratic Union in Leningrad, reported on the results of a poll she conducted in Leningrad asking people to give their opinions about the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and whether they felt that this was a personal achievement for Gorbachev. Almost all the people she talked to condemned the war and attributed the decision to end it either to the changes taking place in the USSR or connected it personally with Gorbachev.
- \* On THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Siss, Tallinn 3), Sander Siss, a member of the Estonian Independent Party Council, dealt with reaction to the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. Siss said that the Soviet Army has always been unpopular with Estonians and observed that Estonians were never duped by official Soviet propaganda because they knew the truth practically from the beginning of the Soviet intervention from watching Finnish television, which they can receive in Estonia.



- \* THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Mityunov, Moscow 5) reported on how the Soviet press has been covering the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. The program noted that during the last two weeks the propaganda section of the CPSU CC has issued various instructions concerning press coverage of the end of the war in Afghanistan. The program referred to articles in the Soviet press, observing that in its coverage the press is ignoring the question of what Soviet soldiers were doing in Afghanistan and that the propaganda that is being published is only an attempt to suppress feelings of guilt.
  - \* EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 5:30) summarized an article in The Washington Post (Dobbs) of February 14 entitled "Soviet Society Bears Wounds of War." Among other things the article described how both the proponents and opponents of Gorbachev's reforms are trying to attract to their ranks the returning "Afgantsi."
  - \* EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Vail, NY 6:30) highlighted an article in Newsday of February 13 which discussed the problems facing Afghan veterans at home, noting that Vietnam veterans were in a similar situation. The article mentioned a movie about Afghan veterans called Belye Vorony, which was produced for Soviet television.
  - \* THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Shuster and Kuznetsov, M 20) presented a special version of the program on the occasion of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. The program was based on materials broadcast in the first THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD of the same day.
  - \* EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Belotserkovsky, M 6:30) analyzed the reasons for and significance of the Soviet Union's decision to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan, the Polish leaders' decision to hold roundtable talks with members of Solidarity, and the Hungarian leaders' decision to introduce a multiparty system in Hungary. The program said that two processes are simultaneously taking place: the intensification of the humanitarian and democratic consciousness of society on the one hand and a weakening of the resoluteness, cruelty, and falsehoods of the leaders of totalitarian regimes on the other.
3. The Baltic Republics. MAN AND SOCIETY (Rahr, M 9) gave the gist of an open letter by three members of the USSR Writers' Union and board members of the Latvian Writers' Union, Lyudmila Azarova, Roald Dobrovensky, and Marina Kostenetska. The letter, which was published in Atmoda, the official organ of the Latvian Popular Front, criticized the work of Interfront and stressed that not all Russians are associated with Interfront and support that organization's position.

MAN AND SOCIETY (Salkazanov, P 18:30) featured an interview with Latvian writer Vizma Belsevic, who was a member of a Soviet delegation to an international conference of women writers held recently in Paris. Belsevic, who is a member of the Latvian Popular Front, spoke about the Latvian national independence movement and observed that there is a real threat of the Latvian people dying out. She noted that Latvians are fighting for the right to receive an education in their native language and for the right to develop their culture and emphasized that Latvians and other nationalities can coexist peacefully in Latvia.

4. Moldavia. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Krimerman, M 4:30) reported on Politburo member Chebrikov's visit to Moldavia, focusing on his meeting with members of the Moldavian Democratic Movement and the Alexey Mateevich Club. Members of the unofficial associations talked about problems concerning the Moldavian language, the environment, and migration policies. The program also reported on the demonstrations that took place on February 8 and 10 in Kishinev centering on the preservation of the Moldavian language and other ethnic issues.

5. Human Rights. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Volchek, Moscow 6) highlighted the case of Oleg Pletnev, who was apprehended while trying to flee from the Soviet Union and whose trial will start on February 15 in Simferopol.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Volchek, Moscow 4:30) reported on the latest developments concerning violations of human rights, including the news that Armenian refugees from Azerbaijan who found a temporary home in Moscow will be forced to return to Azerbaijan.

6. The Armed Forces. OVER THE BARRIERS (Paramonov, NY 9) reflected on a letter by Igor Shatilo published in Moskovskiy Novosti in response to an earlier article in the same publication dealing with the reorganization of the armed forces. It was noted that Shatilo's letter was based to a great extent on the ideas of Russian philosopher Nikolay Fedorov, the prophet of Bolshevism and totalitarianism in Russia and his "philosophy of the common cause," and said that this tradition is apparently thriving in Russian consciousness today.

7. Literature. SPECIAL PROGRAM (Mirsky, P 27:30) featured an interview with Leningrad poet Victor Krivulin, who founded two samizdat journals in the 1970s and whose works have been frequently published in the Western emigre press. Krivulin spoke about the Leningrad school of poetry, describing its beginnings and how it differs from the Moscow school. He also talked about restructuring and about his poetry and recited several of his poems.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Dovlatov, NY 9) reviewed five books recently published in the US by the Russian emigre press. The books were written by Nika Levina, Igor Birman, Efim Etkind, Igor Guberman, and Anatoly Shvartz.

FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 29:30), a RERUN from 13 February 1984, featured the 41st installment of Alexander Solzhenitsyn's work The Calf and the Oak.

8. Religion. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fotiyev, M 3:30) commented on readers' letters in Sovetskaya Kultura of February 7 dealing with religious matters, including a letter from a nonbeliever who expressed surprise that Soviet television did not give Patriarch Pimen the opportunity to convey a Christmas message to believers.

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

1. Hungary. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 7) assessed the extraordinary session of the HSWP CC which called for the introduction of a multiparty system in Hungary. The program presented Soviet reaction to the session, noting a reportage from Budapest by Radio Moscow commentator Vladimir Stepanov and an interview with Boris Yeltsin which was shown on Hungarian television. Articles in The New York Times, the Frankfurter Allgemeine, the Sueddeutsche Zeitung, Liberation, Die Welt, and Le Quotidien de Paris were used.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Urban, Prague 3:30) reported on reaction in Czechoslovakia to the decision of the HSWP to introduce a multiparty system in Hungary, citing positive appraisals by Jiri Dienstbier, a leading Czechoslovak journalist and Charter 77 representative, and Milosz Hajek, a Charter 77 representative last year.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Kuznetsov and Shuster, M 1:30) featured a brief interview with Gaspar Tamas, a board member of the Federation of Free Democrats, in which he said that by introducing a multiparty system in Hungary, the ruling party hopes to divide the opposition.

#### C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. French-Polish Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 4) previewed the visit to France of Polish Prime Minister Rakowski and cited an interview he gave to Le Monde in which he said that the PUPP is against a monopoly of state power. The program also used an AFP dispatch of February 13 and an article in Le Figaro of February 14.

2. Central America. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 4) previewed the two-day summit in El Salvador of the leaders of five Central American countries on how to end the conflicts in their region. The program used an article in The Washington Post.

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

1. Medicine and Health. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY TODAY (Muslin and Morozov, NY 19 and 8) reported on the latest findings concerning the reasons for obesity, featured an interview with an official of an organization in Washington which gives around-the-clock medical advice over the telephone, and presented the latest news from the medical world.

2. The 65th Anniversary of the American Journal "The New Leader" was marked by OVER THE BARRIERS (Morozov, NY 9:30). The program noted that the journal devotes much attention to Soviet and East European themes.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Wednesday, 15 February 1989

M. Frost

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

\* 1. Afghanistan. SPECIAL FEATURE THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, Shuster, and Matusevich, M. Mityunov, and Volchek, Moscow; and Siss, Tallinn 60) presented an interview with UN representative Juan Domenico Pico, who welcomed the timely withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan in accordance with the Geneva agreements and expressed the hope that the Afghans will in the future be able to seek a solution to their problems without any outside interference. The program then carried a report from Peshawar by independent Norwegian journalist Hugo Erikson on the problems of providing humanitarian support for the Afghan people following the Soviet withdrawal. Pegged to the numerous Soviet announcements about how Soviet troops have completed their tasks, the program conducted an interview with an American volunteer doctor in Afghanistan, Preston Derby, a veteran of the Vietnam War, who related the horror of witnessing wounds caused by Soviet antipersonnel mines disguised as children's toys. The Soviet treatment of orphaned Afghan children was discussed in an interview with the editor of Ladies' Home Journal, Joan Goodwin, who discovered through interviews in Kabul that over 100,000 orphaned Afghan children have been transported to the Soviet Union since the beginning of the nine-year war. The program then presented interviews with an Afghan orphan trained in guerrilla warfare tactics at a special school in Tashkent and with a former Kabul resident who published a report on conditions among Afghan women at the refugee camps in Pakistan. There followed a reading of two poems from an anthology of poetry by Afghan women and a report from Leningrad on the opinions of the man-on-the-street regarding the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. Sander Siss from Tallinn then highlighted remarks by two Estonian Afghan veterans, who spoke only on the condition that their identities not be revealed and expressed great relief that the horror of the war was now over. Dmitry Volchek from Moscow analyzed the relationship between

some returning Afghan veterans and the Pamyat society. The program then commented on the Pamyat phenomenon in the context of the Afghan War and concluded with a report from Yuri Mityunov from Moscow on the disappointing Soviet television coverage of the withdrawal. Mityunov lamented that the Soviet media have yet to tell the whole truth about the Afghanistan catastrophe.

- \* THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 2) broadcast a translation of a statement welcoming the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan by Special Assistant to the Secretary-General of the UN Juan Domenico Pico.
- \* THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 4:30) broadcast a telephone interview with independent Norwegian journalist Hugo Erikson from Islamabad on the political aspects of the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, on the problem of the millions of mines left behind by the Soviet troops, and on the Consultative Council taking place in Islamabad to prepare the formation of a provisional government.
- \* THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Shuster, M 4:30) presented a telephone interview from Moscow with Soviet military expert and historian Viktor Gershfeld on the political and military cost of the defeat in Afghanistan for the Soviet Union and on the immediate and long-term effects of the defeat on the USSR's foreign policy.
- \* EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 8) reported on General Boris Gromov's reflections on being the last Soviet soldier to leave Afghanistan and pointed out that Gromov's banal phrases about his pride in the performance of the Soviet forces in Afghanistan completely ignores the enormous amount of human and material destruction committed by the forces under his command.
- \* Based on Western correspondents' reports, MAN AND SOCIETY (Gordin and Predtechevsky, M 6) discussed the feelings of the departing Soviet soldiers toward the ordinary inhabitants of Afghanistan. The program also referred to the psychological trauma facing the returning soldiers.
- \* THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Volchek, Moscow 4) examined the antiwar movement in the Soviet Union over the past nine years and featured the case of Leonid Gromov, who was sentenced to prison for destroying documents pertaining to military equipment designated for use in the war in Afghanistan.
- \* EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 4) reported on the latest US policy objectives concerning Afghanistan now that the Soviets have actually left the country. A CND report from Washington of February 15 was used.

- \* EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Nikolayev, M 11) presented excerpts from the Soviet press coverage of Afghanistan over the nine-year period of the war. The program noted how the coverage reveals the changes in official Soviet thinking brought about by the Soviet inability to subdue the country militarily.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Mityunov, Moscow 5) highlighted Soviet press comments on Afghanistan. The program noted that Pravda, Komsomolskaya Pravda, and Moskovskiye Novosti included both sentimental and analytical articles on the significance of the war for Soviet society in general and Soviet individuals in particular.

- \* EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Pomerantsev, L 2) broadcast excerpts from The Guardian and The Independent on the Soviet troop withdrawal.
- \* EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Matusevich, M 2:30) presented commentary on the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan from the Finnish newspaper Hufvudstadsbladet.
- \* EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Muslin, NY 5) excerpted commentaries on the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan from The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal, and The Baltimore Sun.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 5) reviewed an article in Le Figaro by former French Foreign Minister Jean-Francois Poncet, who described the Soviet withdrawal as a historic defeat for the Soviet Army -- the first since World War II.

2. The Nationalities. OUR PLANET (Salkazanov, P 4), a partial RERUN from February 11, excerpted an interview given to French TV by Armenian-born French singer Charles Aznavour during a visit to Armenia in which he talked about his work for the earthquake victims. Aznavour also expressed his concern over the Nagorno-Karabakh issue in talks with Armenian officials and Soviet Prime Minister Ryzhkov. A recording of Aznavour's song "For You, Armenia" was included.

MAN AND SOCIETY (Gordin, M 5) broadcast a report on the organizing activity of the Karabakh Committee immediately following the earthquake in December 1988. The report was published in Ekspress-Khronika (AS-6334).

AT THE NEWSSTAND (Perouansky and Levin, M 10) discussed an article in the Minsk youth newspaper Znamya Yunosti which called for the resurrection and reexamination of Belorussian culture as a prerequisite for future national development in Belorussia.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fishbein, M 4) reported on human rights violations and abuses of the Ukrainian language in the Ukraine. The program also broadcast a statement by a rights committee protesting over the arrest and confinement in a psychiatric clinic of Anatoly Ilchenko a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Committee.

3. The Baltic States. BALTIC BEACON (Rahr, M 10) commented on and presented excerpts from an article by Valery Kalabutin in the Tallinn journal Raduga on the threat to the indigenous Estonian population from Russian migrants. The program discussed the data cited by Kalabutin in his article, which described a sharp increase in Russian "immigration" to Estonia since 1917, when Russians comprised only 8 percent of the population. The problem was exacerbated, the program said, by the unwillingness of the new migrants to make any efforts to learn the Estonian language and culture.

BALTIC BEACON (Rahr, M 5) continued to examine the question of migration to the Baltic republics and highlighted an article by economist Malinovsky, who called for a dynamic program which takes into account a whole range of economic, industrial, environmental, and demographic factors to regulate migration to the republics.

Pegged to the support of the Latvian Popular Front demonstrated by three prominent Russians living in Latvia, BALTIC BEACON (Rahr, M 5) broadcast a translation of a poem by emigre Latvian poet Ivar Rungis celebrating the brave stand of the three Russians.

4. Dissidents and Human Rights. AT THE NEWSSTAND (Fedoseyeva, M 5) presented excerpts from and commented on an article in Ogonek by Procurator Vladimir Andreyev describing the visit last year by two US journalists to a correctional labor camp in the Perm Oblast.

5. Emigres. MAN AND SOCIETY (Shragin, M 6) said that the Soviet Union with its closed society is an anachronism in the modern world. Soviet emigres, most of whom left the USSR entirely legally, have traditionally been branded as traitors in their homeland, whereas in fact all they have done is change their place of residence. The program observed that Soviet emigres can be of great assistance to the Soviet Union, as they have acquired a great deal of cultural and economic experience during their time spent in the West.

6. Restructuring. Drawing on data from Soviet newspaper articles, MAN AND SOCIETY (Shapiro, M 8) examined the problem of hidden unemployment in the USSR, where there are two supervisors



for every engineer. The program commented that the administrative-command system in industry must be overcome and replaced by a more economically viable management system if restructuring is to succeed.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Henkina, M 4) reported on Gorbachev's February 14 televised meeting with workers to discuss problems connected with restructuring. The program commented that many of Gorbachev's remarks on restructuring have remained the same over a three-year period and likened the Soviet system to a thrombosis-ridden system of arteries.

AT THE NEWSSTAND (Gregory, M 5) presented excerpts from filmmaker Mark Zakharov's article in Izvestia of February 2, in which he gave advice to the supporters and opponents of the restructuring process.

7. Sakharov. Based on a report published in the Ottawa daily The Citizen of February 14, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Muslin, NY 3:30) covered Sakharov's visit to Canada and carried his comments on restructuring and the election process currently underway in the USSR.

8. The Party. DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Shragin, NY 12) reviewed the history of the Communist Party in Russia and the Soviet Union, tracing the unique character of the party to the split in 1903 between the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks over the issue of professionalism in the party ranks. The program compared the party's aims and means of achieving power with European social democratic parties and argued that the crux of the issue is that whereas social democratic parties represent workers, the CPSU claims to be the avant-garde of the proletariat. It follows that any means of attaining and maintaining power is then justified in the name of the proletariat, but in fact this power only serves the self-appointed avant-garde.

9. Society. AT THE NEWSSTAND (Gregory, M 8) presented excerpts from an article by Belorussian writer Ales Adamovich in Meditinskaya Gazeta, in which he addressed the issues of Chernobyl, the restoration of the quality of compassion in Soviet medicine, and the Belorussian legacy of Stalinism.

10. History. RUSSIA YESTERDAY, TODAY, TOMORROW (Tolz, M 20) commented on an article by Vasily Golovanov in Literaturnaya Gazeta on the Robin Hood of the Civil War, Nestor Makhno. The program welcomed this fresh assessment of this unique Russian anarchist and presented excerpts from Petr Arshinov's book, published in Berlin in 1923, entitled The History of the Makhno

Movement. The program then broadcast a report (AS-6316) published in the Moscow samizdat journal Khronograf on an anarchist demonstration that took place in Moscow in May 1988.

RUSSIA YESTERDAY, TODAY, TOMORROW (Gorbanevskaya, P 7:30) commented on and read excerpts from contemporary reports of the Kronstadt uprising from the point of view of the rebels themselves as recorded in new French translation of the documents pertaining to the uprising published in Paris in 1988.

11. The Jewish Question. ROUNDTABLE (Bensi, Fedoseyeva, and Malinkovich, M 20) discussed an article in the February 9 edition of Sovetskaya Kultura which attempted to describe anti-Semitism in the USSR and the reasons for Jewish emigration. The discussants examined the anti-Semitism inherent in the works of Marx and Engels and concluded that the existence of such societies as Pamyat testifies to the absence of a deep-rooted political culture in the Soviet Union.

12. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Volchek, Moscow 8:30) reviewed the life and work of the 42-year-old Moscow novelist and critic Viktor Erofeyev.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Mannanikov, Moscow 5) reported on a meeting in Moscow commemorating the 15th anniversary of the expulsion of Alexander Solzhenitsyn from the Soviet Union. During the meeting calls were made for the publication of Solzhenitsyn's books and the return of the author to his homeland.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Sezeman, P 7) reviewed a political thriller entitled The General Secretary, written by three French state radio political commentators and published by the Bedford Press in Paris.

13. Religion. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Potiyev, M 4:30) presented excerpts from and commented on a reader's letter published in Ogonek complaining that the local authorities in Ivanovo had refused to return to the town's religious community a church confiscated in 1935. The program criticized the arbitrary nature of the authorities' decision and urged the population to demand their rights as defined in the law on freedom of conscience.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Rahr, M 8) reviewed two exhibitions in the FRG celebrating the millennium of the Christianization of Kievan Rus.

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

None

## C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The US. DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Morozov, NY 8) broadcast an interview with a US government official who discussed the large financial penalties imposed by the federal government on meat-processing plants for failing to ensure adequate safety standards for their workers.
2. Britain. Citing an article from the January issue of The New Republic, DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Shragin, NY 5) discussed Britain's new Official Secrets Act and its effect on freedom of the press.
3. Central America. Based on articles from The Washington Post and news agency reports, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 4) covered the meeting at the El Salvadoran resort of Costa del Sol of five Central American heads of state seeking to resolve the area's problems.
4. Paraguay. DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Shragin, NY 5) discussed the prospects for democracy in Paraguay following the recent military coup which forced General Stroessner into exile.

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

None

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Thursday, 16 February 1989

D. Felton

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

\* 1. Afghanistan. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 12, Fedoseyeva, M 5, Shuster, M 4, Konovalov, M 5, and Levin, M 6:30) first featured a report by RFE/RL's correspondent in Pakistan, on the widespread relief in Pakistan over the final withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. Extensive Pakistani press coverage of the withdrawal, as well as the consultative council held by the Mujahidin in an attempt to form a transitional government, was noted. In an RL interview Hamed Karzai, a representative of the Afghan resistance's Alliance of Islamic Parties, insisted that if the Afghan people were allowed to decide their own fate, there would be no internecine war. A voice cut was given of US Congressman Don Ritter, who asked what military involvement the USSR would maintain in Afghanistan after the troop withdrawal. Commenting on the transfer of Lieutenant General Boris Gromov, commander-in-chief of the Soviet forces in Afghanistan, to the post of commander of the Kiev Military District, RL Research Department staffer Valery Konovalov examined the influence which Afghan War veterans are likely to have on the restructuring of the Soviet armed forces. In a telephone report from Moscow, independent journalist Yury Mityunov reviewed Soviet press comment on Afghanistan following the Soviet troop withdrawal. Mityunov said that this basically consisted of official statements and the usual stereotyped phraseology, but there were also articles indicating atrocities against the civilian population, which in one case resulted in the perpetrators being punished. The program then pointed to the history of samizdat condemnation of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, referring particularly to open letters by Baltic citizens, the Moscow Helsinki Group, Sakharov, and the

Initiative Group for the Protection of Invalids' Rights, as well as accounts by Soviet soldiers describing their distressing experiences. RL special correspondent Savik Shuster then interviewed by telephone Soviet historian, military expert, and coordinator of the "Citizens' Diplomacy" group Viktor Gershfeld, who expressed the conviction that it is ridiculous to say that the USSR suffered a military defeat in Afghanistan, but it did suffer a tremendous political defeat. The Soviet troop withdrawal, Gershfeld said, is a triumph for the "new thinking" in Soviet policy. In conclusion, the program remarked that the USSR suffered a political and a local military defeat in Afghanistan.

- \* EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 7) said that it is a good thing that the USSR has withdrawn its troops from Afghanistan without the usual threats against Pakistan and the Mujahidin. At the same time the program remarked that the Soviet government statement on the troop withdrawal is cleverly worded so as to gloss over the Soviet responsibility for the Afghan situation.
- \* Pegged to the completion of the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan, DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 14) recalled the samizdat protests against the Soviet invasion by, for example, residents of the Baltic republics, the Moscow Helsinki Group, Sakharov, the Initiative Group for the Defense of Invalids' Rights in the USSR, and letters from soldiers describing their harrowing experiences in Afghanistan. The program included a RERUN from February 15 of a telephone report from Moscow by Glasnost collaborator Dmitry Volchek on the case of Leonid Gromov, still serving a term of imprisonment for criticizing Soviet policy on Afghanistan.
- \* MAN AND SOCIETY (Salkazanova, P 12) featured an RL interview with Prof. Micheline Saintlivres of Neuchatel University in Switzerland on the situation in Afghanistan now that the Soviet troops have withdrawn. Saintlivres said that a major factor in the present food shortage in Afghan cities, especially Kabul, is the fact that so far food has been supplied by the Soviets. She remarked that the restoration of the Afghan economy now lies primarily on the shoulders of Western countries and the UN. It was hardly likely, she said, that agents-provocateurs from Soviet Central Asia would be able to operate in Afghanistan. Finally Saintlivres said that it was difficult to say what will now happen in Afghanistan in view of the unpredictability of the Afghans.
- \* PRESS REVIEW (EVENTS AND PEOPLE) (Vail, NY 4) cited articles in The New York Times which, among other things, pointed to similarities and differences between the Afghan and Vietnam wars.

- \* EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Matuzok, Osaka 2:30), a RERUN from February 15, reported on the low-key Japanese government and press reaction to the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan, which the program described as symptomatic of the general Japanese position on the Afghan War.

2. The USSR and Britain. OVER THE BARRIERS (Pomerantsev, L 6:30) featured a telephone report from Moscow by writer Anatoly Strelyany on an exhibition there on Russian-Scottish relations. The exhibition, shows the major contributions made by Scotsmen to the development of Russia. Unfortunately these contacts were suddenly disrupted. Citing Alec Nove of Glasgow University, who is of Russian extraction, Strelyany pointed to the need for a real market economy in the USSR within which such foreign specialists could provide assistance.

On OVER THE BARRIERS (Litvinova and Medvedeva, L 8) writer and artist Tatyana Litvinova and artist Ilona Medvedeva discussed three exhibitions of modern Soviet artists held in London.

3. Dissidents and Human Rights. DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 4) aired a telephone report from Moscow by Glasnost collaborator Dmitry Volchek on the case of political prisoner Sergey Kuznetsov, who among other things complained in a letter that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights had not yet been published in the USSR.

FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 28), a RERUN from 14 February 1984, featured the 42nd installment of Alexander Solzhenitsyn's literary autobiography The Calf and the Oak. The program was pegged to Solzhenitsyn's recent 70th birthday.

4. Restructuring. ROUNDTABLE TALK (Roitman, Tolz, and Pomerantsev, M 20) dealt with the recent meeting in the Kremlin between members of the top party leadership, including Gorbachev, and representatives of the workers. The program said that while the talks centered on economic problems, the meeting was propagandistic in nature and was connected with the elections to the Congress of People's Deputies. Its principal aim was to demonstrate to the workers, who have benefited less than other sections of society from restructuring, that the party cares for their interests. It was noted that Gorbachev remarked that too few workers are being elected as candidates in the elections. The program pointed to the difference between the "restructuring" being conducted in Britain by Prime Minister Thatcher and Gorbachev's restructuring. While Thatcher is burying socialism, Gorbachev is trying to revive it. The program said that neither Gorbachev nor the party as a whole has undergone genuine ideological restructuring. Gorbachev has made it clear that the party does not intend to surrender any of its

power. Like Lenin he calls for increased party control and for new, efficient party cadres. In conclusion the program tried to explain why Gorbachev and Thatcher get on so well together, finding the main reason to be that they are both flexible pragmatists.

PRESS REVIEW (EVENTS AND PEOPLE) (Pomerantsev, L 5) quoted The Independent (Rupert Cornwell) and The Daily Telegraph (Xan Smiley) on the dilemma now facing Gorbachev over economic restructuring and on a Solzhenitsyn evening in Moscow at which a tape recording was played of Solzhenitsyn reading excerpts from his One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich.

5. Glasnost. DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 2) gave a brief excerpt from a paper delivered by Yelena Zelinskaya, editor of the independent journal Merkury, at a discussion last May in Leningrad on the subject of "Glasnost and the Press." The proceedings of the discussion were published in Merkury. Zelinskaya said that although times have changed, samizdat, which reflects a freer, quite different kind of thinking, is actually growing.

6. The Economy. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 5) summarized a paper delivered by prominent Soviet economist Aganbegyan at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore in which he talked about the present critical stage in the USSR's economic development.

MAN AND SOCIETY (Belotserkovsky, M 7) said that judging from the Soviet press and reports by Soviet citizens traveling to the West, shares in cooperatives are not selling well. The program attributed this to the cooperatives' uncertain future and to the fact that shares may only be purchased by members and hired workers of the cooperatives. The program also pointed out that shares in general, whether in state or cooperative enterprises, can only play an effective role under the conditions of a free market economy. The program remarked on the silence of the Soviet press over the growing number of non-share-issuing cooperatives in the West. These cooperatives, which are usually formed when an enterprise is threatened with closure, are socialist in character, while in the socialist countries capitalist-type cooperatives are appearing. In this connection the program took issue with Gorbachev's claim that attempts are being made to impose alien capitalist ideas and values on the Soviet people.

7. The Nationalities. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rahr, M 6:30) commented on the renewal of the official celebration of Lithuanian Independence Day in that republic. The program recapitulated how of Lithuania's acquired independence and said

that while there is still not complete freedom for Lithuania, restructuring has at least brought increased spiritual freedom there as elsewhere in the USSR.

DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 6) featured a telephone report from Moscow by Asya Lashchiver on a samizdat newspaper entitled Gagauzsky Narod issued by the Gagauzy, a small people living in Moldavia.

8. The Unofficial Scene. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Matusevich, M 4) presented a chronicle of events on the Soviet unofficial scene telephoned from Moscow by Lev Volokhonsky, the head of the information agency of the Free Interprofessional Association of Workers (SMOT). These events included workers' protests and strikes, as well as protests against environmental projects and election procedures, and the coming constituent meeting of the Moscow Popular Front. Volokhonsky also gave SMOT statistics on samizdat publications.

DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 4:30) carried a telephone report from Moscow by Nina Lisovskaya, who reviewed the 24th issue of the journal Referendum.

9. Sakharov. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Polishchuk, W 5) reported on the press conference held by Sakharov in Winnipeg, Canada, where he arrived to receive a human rights award. Sakharov talked about the complicated new Soviet election system, and about a meeting held by scientists outside the USSR Academy of Sciences building in protest against the unfair election procedure. He explained his decision to run only as a candidate for the academy, but nevertheless defined his role in Soviet political life as that of an independent, private person.

10. The Media. On OVER THE BARRIERS (Matthews, L 5), Prof. Mervyn Matthews of the University of Surrey, England, gave his impressions of listening to Radio Moscow. He spoke of the unpleasant voices and poor diction of some of the speakers, clumsy scripts, and an oversimplified portrayal of political realities. On the other hand he praised the quality of cultural programs and found the results of a poll on restructuring and glasnost interesting.

11. Religion. JUDAISM (Lvov, NY 11) aired an interview with Alexander Tsarovtsev, a Soviet Jew from Leningrad who now lives in New York, on how he returned to the Jewish faith of his ancestors. The program featured recordings of Tsarovtsev singing his own and other Jewish songs.



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

1. Czechoslovakia. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 8) featured a telephone report from Prague by Jan Urban, a correspondent of the independent East European Information Agency, on an open letter by 670 Czechoslovak academics to Prime Minister Adamec in which they demand the release of all persons arrested in connection with the January demonstrations as well as correct media information on developments and point to the discrepancy between the leadership's positive words on restructuring and its actions. Urban said this and previous petitions show that Czechoslovak society is no longer willing to be silent and that it believes in reason and in restructuring. Urban wondered what Adamec will bring back from his visit to Moscow, restructuring or political repressions. The program then presented a telephone conversation with Prague Prof. Venek Silhan, acting First Secretary of the CPCS in 1968 after Dubcek was hauled off to Moscow, in which he talked about the new "Obroda" Club for socialist restructuring of which he is a founding member. The club, the formation of which was reported in Rude Pravo, comprises former top party officials expelled following the 1968 invasion. Silhan said that the club was founded so as not to leave the task of carrying out reforms in Czechoslovakia to those who crushed the Prague Spring reform attempts.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 7) reported on activities by the French government and the Paris-based Committee for the Defense of Civil Liberties in Czechoslovakia on behalf of Czechoslovak playwright Vaclav Havel, now awaiting trial, and other Czechoslovak human rights activists. The program also mentioned a similar campaign in Czechoslovakia, quoting writer Eva Kanturkova to the effect that the authorities are afraid. Background information supplied by the London-based Palach Press was also cited. A RAD Background Report of February 15 was used.

## C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The Middle East. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Miloslavsky, Jerusalem 6) commented on the recent meeting in Jerusalem between Israeli parliamentarians and Palestinian leaders from the West Bank of the Jordan. The program mentioned the issue of elections on the West Bank, considerable support among the Israeli population for talks with the PLO under certain conditions, the Egyptian peace plan, and US expectations regarding the submission of draft peace plans by Israel.

2. The Salman Rushdie Affair. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 6:30) backgrounded the affair, focusing on the reasons why Rushdie's novel The Satanic Verses caused offense to Muslims. Reference was made to the violence in Pakistan and India and to Ayatollah Khomeini's call for the killing of Rushdie. The program mentioned the sharp reaction in Christian circles to the film The Last Temptation of Christ, but noted that it did not lead to the excesses called for by Khomeini.

1. The British Health Service. MAN AND SOCIETY (Gregory, M 6:30) reviewed the British government's proposals to reform the National Health Service.

2. The American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. MAN AND SOCIETY (Morozov, NY 5) featured an RL interview with the society's president, John Kallberg, who described the society's operations and mentioned contacts with a recently established animal protection society in Estonia.

3. Culture. On OVER THE BARRIERS (Rayfield, L 4), Donald Rayfield of London University reviewed British director Derek Jarman's film based on Benjamin Britten's War Requiem.

4. Religion. JUDAISM (Lvov and Haskelevich, NY 6 and 11) carried items on Rabbi Simcha-Zisels Broide, a moralist and teacher who founded the Talmud-Torah school in Chelm, and on the Jewish calendar.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Friday, 17 February 1989

J. Benson

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

1. The Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION (Roitman, Bensi, and Tolz, M 20) observed that while Soviet restructuring provided the impetus for democratization in Eastern Europe, it has led to concrete political pluralism in Yugoslavia, Hungary, and Poland, a development that the Soviet Union categorically rejects for itself. Despite the talk of a government based on law, the CPSU continues to act to the contrary in an effort to preserve its monopoly of power: it has banned other parties in contradiction to the constitution and has reserved for itself 100 mandates for the Congress of People's Deputies, although it is not a social group. The discussants felt that there was nevertheless a glimmer of hope in the fact that Gorbachev is following the example of Yugoslavia, where current developments are now going beyond the limits imposed earlier. It was surmised that a similar development could eventually take place in the Soviet Union.

2. The Soviet Union and the Middle East. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 9:30) drew attention to Soviet press disinformation about Israel, especially an article in Izvestia of February 8, and to the absence of Israel on Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's list of countries to be visited during his diplomatic mission to the Middle East. The program considered the Soviet peace initiatives in the region to be totally unrealistic if a dialogue with Israel is avoided. TASS and Tanjug dispatches were also cited.

JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 10:30) reviewed the accumulating signs of Soviet initiatives to improve relations with the USSR's Jewish population and with Israel. While welcoming these initial steps, the program warned against exaggerating their significance and referred to the official Soviet policy of avoiding a dialogue with the Israeli government on the Middle East conflict.

3. Soviet-US Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, M 3) cited an article in The Washington Post of February 15 on the official US decision not to sell the bugged embassy building in Moscow to a private corporation in order to avoid new delays and complications connected with the building of a new embassy.

4. Afghanistan. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 4:30) presented a report by a Moscow independent journalist about the lessons of the Afghan War and its consequences for Soviet society, both of which are now being discussed in the Soviet press. While the media calls for more truth about the war and even stories of Soviet war crimes are appearing, government officials repeat the old patriotic cliches and show no repentance. The conservative forces in the government are using some of the Afghanistan veterans to counter restructuring.

On THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 4), Soviet historian and military expert Viktor Gershfeld commented by telephone from Moscow on the costs and the mistakes made by the Soviet Union in the Afghan War.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 2:30) broadcast a report from Islamabad on the discussions about the type of transitional government that is to be established in Afghanistan and about the continuing stream of fugitives into Pakistan. A resistance leader was quoted that the resistance forces did not celebrate the Soviet withdrawal because of the sorrow at their losses, which per capita greatly exceed the losses of the Soviet Union in World War II, and the country's destruction.

Using voice cuts THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 2:30) reported on US President Bush's intention to continue aiding the Afghan resistance forces and on his appeal to the Soviet Union to aid in the reconstruction efforts in Afghanistan and to refrain from further interference in Afghan affairs. State Department official Redman was quoted on the type of arms stockpiles left by the Soviets for the Kabul regime and on the Afghans' right to self-determination.

AT THE NEWSSTAND (Perouansky, M 4), a RERUN from February 16, presented an independent Moscow journalist's telephone survey of Soviet press reports on the return of Soviet soldiers from Afghanistan.

Drawing on a Reuter dispatch of February 16, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rubin, NY 2:30) highlighted statements by the UN's special emissary to Afghanistan, Diego Cordovez, who discussed the future of Afghanistan and the UN's program to help rebuild the country. The UN aid program to Afghanistan is reportedly the largest in the organization's history.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Vail, NY 4), a RERUN from February 16, highlighted articles from major American newspapers commenting on the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan and on the lessons to be learned from the war.

5. The Nationalities. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fishbein, M 5:30) summarized a samizdat document describing a meeting of party activists of the Donetsk CP committee on February 8, at which party members and the leaders of the Donetsk informal group "Pluralism" debated the reasons for the delay of restructuring in the Ukraine and official obstacles to Ukrainization. The program said that Ukrainian CP leader Shcherbitsky, himself an appointee of Brezhnev, is preventing restructuring in the Ukraine.

- \* THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 2:30) broadcast a report by a Glasnost staffer from Moscow on the celebrations in Lithuania of Independence Day on February 15-16.
- \* THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 3:30) presented a detailed report by a journalist of the Ekspress-Khronika about the evening rally in Vilnius at which some 200,000 people gathered to celebrate Lithuanian independence. In the numerous speeches there was much criticism of Gorbachev's statement on February 15 about careerists and extremists in Lithuania.
- \* THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 4) aired a report from Estonia on the controversy surrounding the declaration issued by the Popular Front of Estonia on February 24 calling for reinstatement of the Estonian flag. The program discussed the juridical, political, and ethical aspects of this proposal.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 4:30) broadcast highlights of the events of the week prepared by an Ekspress-Khronika staffer from Riga. Among other things the report mentioned points of Sakharov's political platform,

statistics published by Roy Medvedev on the number of people who died in Soviet concentration camps, the activities of the Russian cultural societies in the Baltic republics, an upcoming TV program on informal youth organizations in Tallinn, and the formation of the Latvian Independence Movement.

6. The Elections. AT THE NEWSSTAND (Perouansky, M 7) highlighted a TASS dispatch of February 15 announcing Sakharov's withdrawal from the elections to the Congress of People's Deputies and quoted a letter from Prof. Bolotovskiy of the Academy of Sciences published in Ogonek, No. 5, criticizing the presidium of the academy for not nominating Sakharov. An article in Moskovskiye Novosti of February 19 was also cited.

7. Dissidents and Human Rights. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 10:30) agreed with a statement made by Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs Sizov in Komsomolskaya Pravda of February 5 that as far as is known there are no more prisoners of conscience in the Soviet Union who are incarcerated solely because of their religion. However, the program did not rule out the possibility that some prisoners may be held under multiple charges or false charges, and drew attention to the fact that the minister had simply ignored the existence of those imprisoned under false criminal charges or forcibly held in psychiatric hospitals. While the number of known prisoners of conscience appears to be declining (now 199), the increase in political prisoners, in particular the 12 members of the Karabakh Committee, is considered very alarming. Their trial would be the first political trial since the era of Stalin.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, M 5) presented a chronicle of recent human rights violations in six cities in the Soviet Union which was prepared by a staffer of the independent journal Glasnost.

8. Restructuring. On AT THE NEWSSTAND (Dovlatov, NY 4:30), emigre writer Sergey Dovlatov reflected on how years of indoctrination create citizens who cannot believe what they see. According to Dovlatov the most interesting aspect of the confirmation in Pravda of February 12 of a statement made by the Voice of America that the Soviet Union continues to lag 12 years behind the West economically is the newspaper's reasoning that reforms are necessary to overcome this backwardness.

9. The Cooperatives. AT THE NEWSSTAND (Perouansky, M 5) broadcast a letter from two Leningrad professors published in Ogonek, No. 5, in which they criticized the reasons given for the restrictions on cooperatives decreed on 29 December 1988,

especially the ban on publishing cooperatives, and expressed doubts that such a ban is legal. The program then presented an interview with the deputy chairman of the Moscow cooperative "Dedalus," who explained the problems of cooperatives, especially those created by official arbitrariness.

10. Sakharov. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Polishchuk, W 5) reported that a symposium on the use of nuclear magnetic resonance in medicine held at St. Bonafacius' Hospital in Winnipeg, Canada, was organized in honor of the visiting Andrey Sakharov, who had expressed interest in Western research in this area some years ago. The program broadcast an excerpt from Sakharov's speech at the symposium, in which he mentioned his own thoughts on the use of magnetic resonance for diagnosis and therapy and expressed his pleasure at this scientific advance. The program commented that had Sakharov not been exiled to Gorky and isolated from his scientific work, he might well have realized his ideas in this field.

11. Anti-Semitism. JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Markish, M 13:30) summarized and extensively excerpted an article by Soviet historians Rogov and Nosenko which appeared in Sovetskaya Kultura of February 9 and discussed current Soviet expressions of anti-Semitism, the roots of which were traced back to Hitler and Stalin. While recognizing the goodwill demonstrated by this open discussion of a previously taboo subject, the program criticized certain obvious distortions of the history of Soviet anti-Semitism, the rosy image of Jewish life under Lenin, and the authors' own belief in stereotypes of Zionism.

12. Society. MAN AND SOCIETY (Shapiro, M 5) explained the reasons for the discrepancy between the Soviet Union's having the highest production levels in the world for steel, iron, oil, coal, cement, and tractors, on the one hand, and an extremely low subsistence level (80 rubles per month), on the other. The profits from these high-production industries are reportedly invested to improve the standard of living of government officials.

MAN AND SOCIETY (Fotiyev, M 8) considered unrealistic the proposal in Semya, No. 4, for a law to protect the rights of children in Soviet society. The program doubted that such a law could ever be enforced, and thought it more important to improve the conditions of the family in view of the fact that one in ten Soviet children suffers a serious trauma at home every year due to violence in the family.

MAN AND SOCIETY (Naumov, M 3:30) examined the relationship between poor maternal health in the Soviet Union and the country's high rate of child morbidity and infant mortality.

According to statistics only one-fifth of Soviet women have a normal pregnancy and only one-half bear a healthy child. An article in Semya, No. 4, was cited.

13. The KGB. MAN AND SOCIETY (Chianurov, M 5:30) excerpted an article from The Washington Post of February 14 which reviewed the career of Vladimir Kryuchkov, head of the KGB since October 1988, and outlined the image and tasks of the KGB in the era of Gorbachev.

14. Religion. RUSSIAN CHRISTIANITY -- THE SECOND MILLENNIUM (Rahr, M 29) highlighted the life of Archbishop Luk Voyno-Yasenetsky, a trained surgeon who published a number of medical works, entered a religious order at the height of religious persecution in 1921, and was exiled. The program broadcast an extensive excerpt from one of his sermons on the Christian upbringing of children.

15. Culture. On OVER THE BARRIERS (Pomerantsev, L 6), the writer Anatoly Strelyany commented by telephone on an article in the January issue of Voprosy Filosofii which dealt with the philosopher Lev Shestov. Nationalist groups were said to want to prevent Shestov's rehabilitation.

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

1. Czechoslovakia. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Chianurov, M 4) backgrounded the arrest and coming trial of the dramatist Vaclav Havel, mentioning the numerous protests against the Czechoslovak government's actions in the West, in Eastern Europe, and in Czechoslovakia itself.

2. Hungary. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rubin, NY 5) summarized an editorial in The Toronto Globe and Mail of February 14 which described the changes in Hungary's political and economic course.

3. Tibet. OVER THE BARRIERS (Pyatigorsky, L 6) summarized a program broadcast on BBC 4 which traced the development and modernization of Tibet.

#### C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. France. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanova, P 6) backgrounded the financial scandal involving a personal friend of President Mitterrand and described Mitterrand's TV explanation of the relationship. An article in Le Monde of February 12 was cited.



2. Namibia. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rubin, NY 1:30) reported on the decision of the UN Security Council to send UN soldiers to the country to ensure its independence. A Reuter dispatch from February 16 was used.

3. The Rushdie Affair. OVER THE BARRIERS (Pomerantsev, L 6) backgrounded the current scandal connected with the Indian-British author of the novel The Satanic Verses, quoted comments in support of Rushdie by the editor of Index on Censorship, and noted the cynicism in the British press regarding the financial success of the book.

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

1. Freud and the British. On OVER THE BARRIERS (Molnar, L 9), an employee of the Freud Museum in London reviewed two British plays dealing with psychoanalysis, both of which were quite unsuccessful, perhaps because of the British dislike of psychoanalysis.

2. Social Gerontology. MAN AND SOCIETY (Morozov, NY 5) presented an interview with a New York professor who described a new specialization in social work which deals with the living conditions of the elderly.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Saturday, 18 February 1989

J. Benson

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

1. Soviet-US Relations. SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, M 3) contrasted the success of the INF Treaty with the problem-ridden attempts to control chemical arms. The pall of Soviet secrecy around chemical weapons and the great discrepancy between Soviet counts and American estimates are the major obstacles to an agreement.
2. The Soviet Union and the Middle East. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Miloslavsky, J 6) pondered the reasons for Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's Middle East trip at this time and reviewed his itinerary. Various political observers were cited on the Soviet Union's plan to consolidate its position in the region and its intent to play a major role in any peace negotiations. The program expressed doubt about the possibility of a joint Soviet-American peace initiative and mentioned Shevardnadze's refusal to discuss his new proposals.
3. Afghanistan. HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE SOVIET UNION (Malinkovich, M 19) said that February 15 is a day for celebration in the Soviet Union despite the military and political defeat in Afghanistan, since it marks the Soviet leaders' acknowledgment that the invasion was a grave mistake. The program, however, called for the unambiguous condemnation of the invasion and those who ordered it as well as a reexamination of Soviet foreign policy. The program also recommended that Soviet citizens ensure that their elected deputies will oppose any such future adventure and while expressing compassion with the veterans of the war, stressed the necessity to rethink and reevaluate their experience, reminding them that for every

Soviet soldier killed 60 Afghans died. The full text of Document 119 (AS-3897) issued by the Moscow Helsinki Group on 29 January 1980 was read, in which the group protested against the invasion and supported the UN demand for a withdrawal of the Soviet forces. Emigre author Georgy Vladimov described the circumstances under which the document was prepared and mentioned some of the consequences for the signatories. This part of the program was a RERUN from 25 January 1987.

ASPECTS (Zamashchikov, M 4:30) welcomed the critical analysis of the war and the demands for the complete truth about it beginning to appear in the central Soviet press, particularly by journalist Leshchinsky of central television and Aleksandr Bovin in the latest issue of Literaturnaya Gazeta, but expressed incomprehension at the recent cliché-ridden statement of the CPSU Central Committee on the Soviet withdrawal. The program said that the Soviet Union should follow the example of Argentina in analyzing its defeat in the Falklands War in order to learn from it. A program broadcast on the evening newscast "Vremya" on February 15 and an article in Izvestia were cited.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 8) expressed astonishment at the disinformation about Afghanistan spread at a press briefing in Moscow on February 17 by First Deputy Foreign Minister Bessmertnykh and by General Varennikov. In view of the widespread opinion that it is only a matter of time before the fall of the Kabul government, the program said Ambassador Vorontsov's hectic diplomatic activities are simply bluffs which have so far failed. Reports by TASS and Izvestia were cited.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Polishchuk, Winnipeg 5) read the text of an interview with the Sakharovs published in The Ottawa Citizen of February 17 in which they reiterated their opposition to the Afghan War from the beginning and called on both the Soviets and the Mujahidin to ensure the safety and the repatriation of all prisoners of war. The program remarked that this statement reflects the concern of the majority of Soviet citizens and recalled the Afghan children in the USSR and the arrest of members of the political opposition in Afghanistan.

SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, M 3) gave statistics on the number of casualties, fugitives, and remaining mines in Afghanistan as a result of the nine years of war and detailed some of the aid measures initiated by the UN and the US.

4. The Elections. THE LATEST ON UNOFFICIAL ORGANIZATIONS (Alekseyeva, W 19) examined how the new law on elections prevents the successful participation of the numerous unofficial organizations in the election of the Congress of People's Deputies. The Moscow human rights advocate Larisa Bogoraz

described by telephone how some of the organizations have held electoral meetings for their candidates and highlighted the platforms of different groups. There is widespread doubt that any of the candidates of the unofficial groups will get past the filter of the district electoral committees, but many are nevertheless participating as an exercise in voting and campaigning. In contrast the Ukrainian Helsinki Union and the Initiative Group of the Crimean Tatar Peoples have reportedly called for a boycott of the elections and will not nominate a candidate.

5. Restructuring. ASPECTS (Savitsky, P 4:30) reflected on the new time frame of Soviet citizens, restructuring having not only taken them out of a false ideological future but having returned to them both a difficult present and a past long kept secret.

6. The Legal System. HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE SOVIET UNION (Kaminskaya, W 8:30) criticized the recently created Commission for Constitutional Surveillance as lacking effective means to ensure the legality of laws and their observance, as well as the special legal knowledge necessary. The program recommended that either the courts or the Supreme Soviet be given responsibility for this task, or, preferably, that a special constitutional court be created whose members are appointed for life.

7. The Military. SIGNAL (Levin, W 7) summarized an article in Foreign Affairs by retired Lieutenant Colonel William Odom, in which he assessed past Soviet military doctrine and pondered changes it has undergone in recent years.

SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, M 2) highlighted the proposals for reorganizing the country's military academies made by Sukhorukov and Yazov at a recent conference in Moscow. These proposals stressed the need to broaden and modernize officers' education, to improve the pedagogic skills of their teachers, to combine theory and practice in their training, and to provide greater knowledge of psychology so that the officers can deal better with their subordinates.

SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, M 2) highlighted an interview in a recent issue of Krasnaya Zvezda with Lieutenant General Popov, the USSR's main military attorney, who explained why it is better for soldiers to use their legal rights to combat superiors' misuse of their power rather than going AWOL.

SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, M 4) disagreed with Generals Lizichev and Moiseyev that only minor changes are necessary in the armed forces. The program called for profound structural and fundamental changes, saying that if the Soviet armed forces equaled American numbers, were volunteer-based, and were armed

with a reasonable amount of advanced technology, military expenses could be greatly reduced. An article in a recent issue of Krasnaya Zvezda was cited.

8. Samizdat. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 5) drew attention to signs in the official Soviet press of a new acceptance of unofficial publications, so-called samizdat. The program cited in particular an article in Komsomolskaya Pravda of February 9 by A. Malysheva, who traced the origins of samizdat from the 18th century to the present, discussed the laws seeking to control it, and predicted it will become superfluous when the publishing sector responds to readers' interest and the official press gives thorough, reliable information. The program observed that samizdat continued to grow due to increasing democratization on the one hand and the persistence of officially taboo subjects on the other.

9. The Intelligentsia. ASPECTS (Sezeman, P 4) shared neither the opinion of the ideology commission of the CC that the intelligentsia must play a role in teaching the people nor that of the writer Fazil Iskender, who accused the intelligentsia of no longer playing a moral role in society, having been brutalized and now incapable of distinguishing good from evil. The program opined that the task of the intelligentsia in Soviet society is simply to show the difference between the truth and lies. An article in Sovetskaya Estoniya was cited.

10. Science. SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, M 4) cited David Tanks, an American official involved with arms control and disarmament, that the productivity and efficiency of Soviet scientists is only one-fifth that of American scientists according to Soviet data. The reasons for this situation include the early decision to catch up with the US by imitating its technology, the widespread secrecy and isolation of scientific institutes, the general neglect of the scientific sector in favor of the military, and the psychology and structure of a social system that abhors innovation.

11. The Party. ASPECTS (Roitman, M 3) chose as the event of the week the meeting of the party leaders with workers on February 14 at which Gorbachev reportedly called a multiparty system nonsense. The program said that Gorbachev is resorting to demagoguery to hide that fact that the party has no concrete social basis for its power.

12. Society. ASPECTS (Henkina, M 6:30) excerpted two letters from listeners to the BD's broadcasts. Besides expressing their appreciation for the program, one listener said that the major problems of the Soviet people are survival and ecological dangers; he considered human rights less important because the average citizen neither understands such rights nor does he make

demands. The program disagreed with the listener's view that religion should unite and preserve the state as well as his opinion that a strong military establishment is necessary to preserve internal order.

13. Solzhenitsyn. ASPECTS (Schlippe, M 3) mentioned listeners' letters to the BD expressing interest in readings of Solzhenitsyn's works and requesting copies. The program gave the schedule of future readings.

14. The Cooperatives. On WRITERS AT THE MICROPHONE (Dovlatov, NY 7), emigre author Sergey Dovlatov recounted incidents in everyday Soviet life which reflect the authoritarian mentality expressed in the decree of 29 December 1988 restricting the types of cooperatives allowed a few months earlier. Dovlatov in particular defended the banned publishing cooperatives, arguing that under conditions of glasnost the majority of publications are normal, more or less good-quality publications and not the sensational, pornographic, and anti-Soviet literature feared by the ministers.

15. Medicine. OUR PLANET (Gordin, M 2:30) excerpted an article from Argumenty i Fakty, No. 5, which explained that continuing shortages of such everyday medical supplies as mustard plasters and nosedrops are due to an insufficient supply of chemicals, a lack of hard currency to buy them, and the dilapidation of the one plant in the country which makes mustard plasters.

16. History. SIGNAL (Predtechevsky, M 1:30) cited an expose of the incompetency and crimes of Marshal Voroshilov which appeared in Komsomolskaya Pravda of February 11 as justification for renaming the academy of the armed forces general staff named in his honor.

17. The Emigration. ASPECTS (Henkina, M 5:30) presented comments by the Leningrad literary critic Ivan Tolstoy on the accomplishments of Russian emigres. Among other things Tolstoy mentioned the literary treasures preserved by the emigration and opined that the Russian literary tradition was better preserved in the West than in the Soviet Union.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanova, P 19:30) surveyed the contents of the February 17th issue of the Paris-based Russian-language newspaper Russkaya Mysl, highlighting an editorial on the goals of the Soviet reforms, a brief report on current events in the Soviet Union, a statement by the Baltic popular fronts in defense of the leaders of the Karabakh Committee, an article

from Moscow about the continuing suppression of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, an assessment of the results of the nine-year war in Afghanistan, an analysis of the treatment of Soviet political emigres in the Soviet official media, and a poem by Akhmatova.

18. Culture. On WRITERS AT THE MICROPHONE (Voynovich M 18:30), emigre writer Vladimir Voynovich defended his novel The Life and Unusual Adventures of the Soldier Ivan Chonkin, now being published in Yunost, against a reader's charge of defamation of the Soviet Army and the Soviet soldier. Voynovich reflected on how he unwittingly became a satirist, the nature of satire, the difference between satire in general and Soviet satire in particular, and the usual fate of a satirist in the Soviet Union.

On OVER THE BARRIERS (Yurenen, M 7), the Moscow composer Jan Yakulov described the music festival dedicated to the works of Dmitry Shostakovich which is scheduled to take place in 29 cities in France in 1989. Interspersing selections of Shostakovich's music, Yakulov detailed the history of two works which will be presented in the West for the first time: the opera Lady Macbeth of the Mtsensk District and the cycle of songs entitled Satires.

ASPECTS (Henkina, M 8) gave an enthusiastic review of the Soviet film The Fountain by Yury Mamin and Vladimir Vardinas. The comic-tragic film treats the Russian character in the era of restructuring.

19. Religion. ASPECTS (Fotiyev, M 3) discussed the legal and spiritual aspects of divorce in the Orthodox Church, which allows a maximum of three divorces per person and condemns divorce for egotistical reasons.

NOT BY BREAD ALONE (Rahr, M 10) criticized an article in the Lithuanian periodical Events and Time by Jonas Sakalauskas for distorting the facts in its dialectical treatment of an ongoing discussion of religious education. The program stressed that the Church opposes the use of schools as an instrument of propaganda for an antireligious viewpoint and called for a deideologization of the whole society as well as the schools in the interest of both mutual understanding between the religious and nonreligious and cooperation on restructuring.

NOT BY BREAD ALONE (Aksenov-Meyerson, NY 8) honored the memory of Father Serafim Batyukov, the priest of the Catacomb Church, by highlighting his life and deeds.

SUNDAY SERVICE (Rahr and Kholodnaya, M and NY 49:30) featured a Russian Orthodox Church service.

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

1. China. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 14) profiled the astrophysicist and human rights activist Fang Lizhi, known abroad as the "Chinese Sakharov," and summarized his article in the West German weekly Die Zeit in which he assessed the results of 40 years of communist rule in China and argued for democracy as China's major need.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. Inter-German Relations. OUR PLANET (Gordin, M 3:3) told the inter-German tragedy of an East German woman who lost her son as a result of an unsuccessful attempt to flee the GDR and found him again after 15 years through a West German TV program which is also viewed in the GDR.

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

1. France. OUR PLANET (Salkazanov, P 4) drew on an article in Le Figaro of February 15 in reporting on the history and activities of the Paris-based Association for the Protection of Children.

2. Miscellaneous Developments. OUR PLANET (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 3:30) explained that Princess of Stephanie of Monaco and the Israeli village of Neve-Shalom have in common a readiness to compromise and make concessions, an approach which is essential for two cultures living together in peace.

OUR PLANET (Gordin, M 1:30) reported that according to West German statisticians, the US has the highest standard of living of the developed countries and Spain the lowest.

OUR PLANET (Gordin, M 2:30) played the song "First Time, First Love," which first appeared as an advertisement melody for Coca-Cola.

3. Religion. NOT BY BREAD ALONE (Benigsen, NY 7:30) broadcast a sermon on the parable of the Pharisee and the customs collector as symbols of pride and humility respectively.



4. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Sezeman, P 7:30) reviewed a retrospective exhibition of Paul Gauguin's works currently being held at the Grand Palais in Paris.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Levin, W 9) reviewed Gore Vidal's historical novel Empire, the fifth in his series entitled Washington, District of Columbia, which treats the era of America's overseas territories from 1888 to 1905.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Sunday, 19 February 1989

N. Petroff

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

1. Intellectual History. THE RUSSIAN IDEA (Paramonov, NY 12) polemicized with an article in Izvestia where the author, Boris Vasilyev, posited a view on the origins and ideational characteristics of the Russian intelligentsia which are based on the assumption that it is superior to its European counterpart due to the latter being devoid of moral content as a result of its self-serving, bourgeois, social cosmology. While respecting Vasilyev's right to express his theory and acknowledging his serious intent the program, nevertheless, queried whether or not it is indeed valid from a historicosocial vantage point to view all pragmatic aspirations for personal gain as the materialist expressions of an amoral bourgeoisie. They are in fact, said the program, a consequence of elemental processes whose roots can be found in the very nature of man's being. The free exchange of goods for profit and other elements of commerce and trade were not the invention of the bourgeoisie but rather were the basic ingredients of culture since the very dawn of civilization. Even the theocratic societies of the middle ages, given their emphasis on the predominance of the spiritual, never rejected the commercial side of human activity but only condemned its aberrant abuse. In itself the striving for personal commercial gain must be viewed as being morally neutral.

2. Ideology. COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Krasin, W B and Levin, M 6) examined the recent tendency on the part of certain Soviet scholars toward a revisionist reassessment of classical Marxian dogma on capitalism. In this regard, the program focused on an article the October 1988 issue of Kommunist by professor Borko who suggested that it is time for Soviet Marxian dogmatists to reconsider their views on the development of 20th century capitalism. The program also reviewed a book by Boris Kagarlitsky, The Thinking Reed.

SOVIETOLOGISTS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Shragin, NY 20) commented on excerpts from a recently published anthology of articles by noted authorities on the USSR titled, Understanding the Soviet Union.

3. The Law. LAW AND SOCIETY (Kaminskaya and Simis, W 20) continued its discussion of legal reform in the Soviet Union, focusing this segment on the effects perestroika has had on the legal profession itself. In the course of their analysis the program's discussants compared certain aspects of the profession of the pre-revolutionary Tsarist period with the Soviet legal practice of today.

4. History. SIBERIAN FATES (Kushev M 9) continued its discussion of the so-called "blank spots" in the history of the people, culture and political development of Siberia. The program focused on the evolution of the process for regional political autonomy which had its roots in the early 1860's and eventually paved the way to the first All-Siberian Congress that met in October 1917.

5. Afghanistan. COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Levin, M 4) aired a RERUN from 15 February which reported on General Boris Gromov's reflections on being the last Soviet soldier to leave Afghanistan and pointed out that Gromov's banal phrases about his pride in the performance of the Soviet forces in Afghanistan completely ignores the enormous amount of human and material destruction committed by the forces under his command.

THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Gregory and Bensi, M 20) provided a review of the West German and Italian press on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

6. Technological Transfer. SIBERIAN FATES (Shapiro, M 7:30) drawing on the problems faced by Japanese firms that have agreed to participate in joint ventures involving the economic development of the Soviet Far East, the program explored the insurmountable difficulties faced by western firms trying to plug into the Soviet system.

7. New Cooperatives. SIBERIAN FATES (Krasin, W 5:30) discussed the latest success story of the newly created self administering transport cooperatives in Magadan and the problems they face from competing state-run socialist enterprises.

8. Estonia. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 4) offered a RERUN from February 17 on the commemoration of Estonian Independence Day.

9. Literature. THE RUSSIAN IDEA (Paramonov, NY 9) presented a reading of a story by Vasily Rosanov called The Andreyev Russian Orchestra; concluded with a psychological analysis of the

hateful paranoia behind the literary assaults on different Soviet authors by Stanislav Kunaev.

FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 27:30) aired chapter 17 from Alexander Solzhenitsyn's The Gulag Archipelago.

EX LIBRIS (Yurenen, M 49:30) broadcast a RERUN of Moskva Petushki from 19 November 1985 on the FROM THE OTHER SHORE program.

10. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Vail NY 13:30) discussed the recently completed successful US tour of the acclaimed Soviet bard Aleksandr Rosenbaum.

11. Sports. IN THE WORLD OF SPORTS (Rubin, NY 14:30) reported the Soviet participation in the US NBA "All Stars" game that took place in the Houston Sports Arena on February 10; commented on two interviews from the Soviet press in which athletes openly discussed the circumstances that forced them to take steroids. They also offered their views on the growing problem of steroid use by Soviet athletes.

The era of glasnost has allowed reporters to look into the perviously taboo subject of steroid abuse in Soviet sports which was reported on EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rubin, NY 4:30).

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

None

#### C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The US. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Silnitskaya, W 6) reported the major events of the week that took place in the nation's capital.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 4) provided a US press review. The New York Times, The Baltimore Sun, and The Chicago Tribune were cited.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Dovlatov, NY 13:30) talked about the important contributions made by black Americans to cinema.

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

1. Sports. IN THE WORLD OF SPORTS (Rubin, NY 5:30) reported the results of the US figure skating championships in Baltimore, Maryland.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis  
for Monday, 20 February 1969  
V.F.

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

1. The Nationalities. THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Malinkovich, M 18:30) carried a telephone interview with Oles Shevchenko, the chairman of the Kiev branch of the Helsinki Society. He recounted that most of the original members of the Society were repressed at one time or another, and many lie in the cemeteries of the camps. Thanks to the present favorable conditions, young people have joined its ranks. Branches have been founded in many Ukrainian towns, as well as in Moscow and the Baltic Republics. The main aims of the Society are the protection of political and economic rights, as well as the right to self-determination. Shevchenko stressed that during the entire period that the Ukraine has been part of the Soviet Union, every government in Kiev was the faithful servant of the masters in Moscow. He stressed that the Ukrainian Helsinki Society pursues approximately the same aims as the Popular Fronts in the three Baltic Republics. It was his opinion that the Society will support the ideal of independent republics within a free confederation, should it ever happen. He stressed that the founding of the Society of the Ukrainian language was a victory for the Ukrainian people, since its major aim is the fight against Russification and the demand to make the Ukrainian language the official language of the Republic. Finally Shevchenko stated that the minorities living in the Ukraine should retain all the rights, they enjoy at present.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fishben, M 4:30) gave the impressions of the Ukrainian poet Mykola Gorbali of the first meeting of the Society for the Ukrainian language, which was held in Kiev on the 11-12 February. There appears to be no doubt that the present leaders of the Ukraine are interested only in keeping their positions. One of the examples of their disinterest in the fate of the Ukraine was the speech by Leonid Kravchuk, the head of the ideological section of the Central Committee, on local TV. Kravchuk criticized the interest shown in the Popular Movement of the Ukraine. This led to accusations by members of this Movement that Kravchuk is nothing but another Zhdanov or Suslov. The meeting was attended by representatives of similar movements in Moscow and Leningrad and from Poland and Canada.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fishten, M 2) carried a report by a correspondent from Minsk, who asked to remain anonymous. His report concerned an authorized mass-meeting in support of perestroika, which took place in one of the football stadiums of the Byelorussian capital. The meeting was organized by the Byelorussian Popular Front and the Association of Byelorussian Organizations. Its aim was the consolidation of democratic forces in the Republic. The correspondent voiced the opinion that both the authorities and the Popular Front are seeking to start a constructive dialogue.

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Malinkovich, M 8) quoted an article about the bureaucratic system, as related to nationality policies. The article was published in the Russian newspaper Vozrozhdenie, the organ of the Lithuanian Movement for perestroika. The article stressed that even the beginning of liberalization brought about the downfall of the nationality policies and carried on criticizing the methods of bureaucracy which governed the official attitude toward the nationalities. It was pointed out that the destruction of ethnic peculiarities is a tragedy for everyone concerned, including the Russian people.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fishtein, M 6:30) carried a report about the preelection campaign in Estonia by the independent correspondent in Tallinn, Sander Sys. He reported that, in contrast to other regions of the Soviet Union, there were no preelection meetings. The candidates were just registered without taking the will of the electorate into consideration. A number of examples was given. This led to an appeal by the Estonian National Independent Movement to boycott the elections, which was supported by a number of popular organizations in Estonia.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gendler, NY 5) presented a review of an article, published in The Christian Science Monitor, concerning the present situation in Estonia.

BALTIC BEACON (Rahr, M 12) reported on the ban against exporting Estonian production to the rest of the Soviet Union, quoting the Moskovskiye Novosti and Molodezh Estonii. Both newspapers, quoting letters, demand the introduction of customs inspections at the frontiers between Estonia and the rest of the USSR. There were also letters protesting this ban.

BALTIC BEACON (Rahr, M 6) commented on the recent congress of the Latvian Journalists' Union and the decision to publish Moskovskiye Novosti in the Latvian language and to organize a digest in Russian of the Latvian press. The program thereupon carried an interview by a correspondent of Moscow radio with the prosecutor of the Latvian Republic Janis Dzenit. He attacked those Latvians who, under the guise of being supporters of perestroika, actually desire the secession of the republic from the Soviet Union. Dzenit maintained that he was instrumental in denying the registration of the Popular Front. Actually, as was pointed out, according to a decree by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, the registration of an organization is not necessary.

2. Afghanistan. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Shuster, M 4:30) reviewed the situation in Kabul after the withdrawal of the Soviet forces. An information bulletin, issued by the Mujahidins around Kabul, was extensively quoted, giving details about activities of the government. The bulletin also recalled an incident in Tajikistan at the end of December, when a large group of Afghani government policemen, who were temporarily transferred to the Soviet Union, clashed with local students. The bulletin maintains that during the course of the occupation, a number of KGB agents were sent to Afghanistan under the guise of mullahs. The fate of some 25,000 to 30,000 Afghan children forcibly taken to the Soviet Union was mentioned.

3. Soviet-Israeli Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Miloslavsky, Israel 7) reported on the forthcoming meeting between the Soviet and Israeli Foreign Ministers Shevardnadze and Ahrens in Cairo. It was stressed that the Soviet Union apparently desires the reestablishment of diplomatic relations with Israel, yet wants a change of the whole atmosphere in the Middle East. The friendly way the Soviet Union has been treating Israel during recent months has been noted by diplomatic observers. It was well known that the heads of the Egyptian and Jordanian states have been pressing Moscow to recognize Israel. Whether this will be done remains to be seen.

4. USSR-Japanese Relations. MAN AND SOCIETY (Zamashchikov, W 5) recounted a Soviet TV debate about relations between the USSR and Japan, which was televised on 7 February in the program "Resonans." One of the participants, General Batenin, maintained that Japan presents a danger to the security of the Soviet Union in view of its alliance with the USA. Another participant pointed out that, according to a recent survey, some 78 percent of the Japanese will immediately surrender should there be a war with the Soviet Union. The fact that these kinds of problems are being publicly discussed was considered a positive sign.

5. Soviet-Romanian Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanova, P 5) discussed the treatment of Romanian affairs in the official Soviet media and came to the conclusion that glasnost is sadly absent when TASS or Pravda write about Romania. Several examples of reporting about that country were given, claiming that everything is being done for the good of the Romanian population. The visit of Politbureau member Vadim Medvedev to Romania once again demonstrated that the USSR is continuing to support the odious regime there.

6. Society. ROUNDTABLE (Roitman, Tolz, and Matusевич, M 20) discussed the problem of the struggle in the Soviet Union between those who support perestroika and those who are against it. This was illustrated by the attack which the chief editor of Pravda, Victor Afanasiev, made against the chief editor of the journal Ogonyok, Vitaly Korotich, in an article published by Komsomolskaya Pravda. Afanasiev asked the provocative question: "Whom are we to believe, the Korotich who 10 years ago praised Brezhnev or the Korotich who is now one of the main supporters of perestroika?" During the discussion it was stressed that the party can not give up control over literature, since in Russia it always was and is much more than just literature. It did and does replace politics and philosophy. For that reason the party has to strengthen its control over ideology. At the same time the participants of the program pointed out that, although Korotich never repented, he still fulfills a useful role. It was stressed that the journal he edits publishes materials which damage the interests of the KGB.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fishtein, M 4) carried a report by the independent Moscow correspondent Resunkov about preparations for the elections to the Congress of Peoples' Deputies. He described various instances of violations of the will of the electorate during the course of the registration of candidates. According to his opinion there will be even more violations during the second stage of the elections. There were also cases of active protests, such as mass hunger strikes or the decision to boycott the elections.



THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fishtein, M 3:30) included a report by the Moscow independent correspondent Yury Mityunov. The report was entirely devoted to coverage by the Soviet mass media and some independent journals of the so-called preelection campaign. It was stressed that the authorities have the means to stop anyone who is considered "anti-democratic" from becoming a candidate and described the machinery to implement this.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Limberger, M 4) carried a report by the independent Moscow correspondent Yury Mityunov about the methods of choosing candidates for the forthcoming elections to the Congress of Peoples' Deputies. According to Mityunov, the system has evolved into appointing candidates, rather than electing them. A number of examples of this antidemocratic method were given.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fishtein, M 2:30) carried a report by the independent Moscow correspondent Yury Mikhailov. His report concerned a meeting in Moscow of the extreme right and anti-Semitic movement, Pamyat. The orator, Igor Sychev, told the meeting that an organization "Khram" (Temple) is being founded, which will by far surpass the anti-Stalinist popular movement "Memorial." Its aim is the rebuilding of the Temple of Christ the Saviour in Moscow. An appeal by the writer Valentin Rasputin, which was published in the newspaper Vecherny Irkutsk, was read. It contained the following demands: a ban on the propaganda for sex and rock, as well as on Russophobia; the popular control over all mass media; and the introduction of a numerus clausus to stop the influence of non-Russians.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Matusevich, M 5) commented on the meeting of Pamyat and about the reasons for the hatred Pamyat felt for Central Television of the Soviet Union. According to his opinion this was caused by a recent documentary on TV about the activities of Pamyat. A commentary by Yevgeny Yevtushenko in the newspaper Moskovskie Novosti was quoted where he pointed out that the vocabulary used by Pamyat ("cosmopolitanism") has not been used since 1953 when Stalin started his campaign against the Jewish doctors.

7. Dissidents and Human Rights. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fishtein, M 4) carried a report by the independent correspondent Alexander Podrabinek under the title "Khronika." He recounted various events in Yerevan, where several people were arrested after demonstrations protesting repressive measures against members of the Karabakh Committee. Demonstrations took place on the anniversary of the establishment of Communist Armenia. In Kiev, a meeting took place of a new society for the preservation of the Ukrainian language. Other incidents were reported from the Komi ASSR and Gorky.

8. Sakharov in Canada. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Polishchuk, W 6:30) reported on the last day of Sakharov's visit to Winnipeg. After the playing of the Canadian and Soviet National anthems at a reception in Winnipeg, Sakharov said that he felt shame listening to the Soviet anthem, which is the symbol of the darkest hours of the Soviet Union's history. He added that he believes perestroika to be absolutely necessary for the future of the country, since it needs to undergo a radical change.

9. The Economy. MAN AND SOCIETY (Shapiro, Israel 5) reviewed the results of the new economic policy which has been introduced since Gorbachev came to power. An article by a certain Rytov, published in the newspaper Izvestia, was quoted. It maintained that those factories which are supposed to be self-supporting are much healthier than the rest of the industry. The optimism of the author was questioned, since the administrative measures dictated by the central authority in Moscow have remained the same. For that reason it was pointed out that new economic measures will be in vain as long as the power remains in the hands of the lifeless apparatus.

10. Religion. RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Nazarov, M 10) commented on the attempts of Soviet ideology to find new ways of interpreting socialism, including an effort to rehabilitate the teachings of Christian socialism. The thinking on that subject by those Russian philosophers, whose works are now being published in the Soviet Union, were extensively quoted. Berdyayev, Fedotov, and Frank pointed out the incompatibility of socialism and Christianity, whereas Bulgakov maintained the possibility of uniting these two teachings. It was stressed that perhaps the term "post-socialism" was the one the Soviet society is looking for.

RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Aksenov-Meyerson, NY 8) commented on the religious unofficial journal Vybor, which is published in the Soviet Union. In particular, an article by Vladimir Zelinsky concerning the role of the Russian Orthodox Church in the contemporary world was quoted.

RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Seitmuratova, NY 9) recounted the often tragic history of the Islamic religion of the Crimean Tartars. Some 30,000 Crimean Tartars have managed to resettle in the Crimea after their forcible removal during Stalin's time. Their religious leaders attempted to register them with the relevant authorities and met with various deliberately caused difficulties, which have not been resolved to this very day.

11. Literature. AT THE NEWSSTAND (Gregory, M 20) presented long extracts from an article by Igor Zolotussky "Krushenie Abstraktyi" ("The downfall of abstractions"), published in Novy Mir. This article dealt with the literary and political aspects of Soviet literature in the past, such as the ugly face of socialist realism. Dealing with the present literature in the Soviet Union, Zolotussky comes to the conclusion that it is slowly returning to the ideals of classical Russian literature.

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

1. Hungary. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fishtein, M 6) broadcast an interview given by Mihaly Bihari, the secretary-general of the newly reestablished Hungarian Social-Democratic Party. He was of the opinion that his party is going to be the main challenger to the ruling Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and that many members of that party share social-democratic ideals. He stressed that the Communists are no longer a monolithic party and that a reform fraction is a natural ally of the Social-Democrats. Having been a member of the communist party, he knew the enormous abyss that exists between the rank and file and the authorities.

MAN AND SOCIETY (Chianurov, M 3:30) evaluated a conference held in Trieste, organized by the Italian and Slovene Communist Parties, concerning reforms in socialist countries. The majority of the participants called for the establishment of democracy in the socialist countries, but could not come to an agreement as to the ways of achieving this aim. Special attention was devoted to the problem of whether the ruling communist parties would be willing to share power, or even give it up, if another political force receives sufficient votes during the elections.

2. Czechoslovakia. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fishtein, M 4) broadcast a report by a member of Charter 77 Jan Urban from Prague about the trial of Vaclav Havel and several other dissidents. According to his report, several international, as well as Czech and Slovak organizations, have protested against the arrest and the trial. The known Soviet dissident Malva Landa has also sent her protest to the Czechoslovak authorities, which was much appreciated.

#### C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 5:30) described the situation in Afghanistan after the total withdrawal of the Soviet forces and gave the details of both sides. The rebels have as yet been unable to form an alternative government, although a list of ministers has already been published.

2. South Africa. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Pomerantsev, London 5) commented on the affair concerning Winnie Mandela, who was severely reprimanded by the African National Congress for her alleged part in the murder of several black youths.

3. US Affairs. THE USA TODAY (Krasin, NY 4) talked about the social situation of the poorer sections of society and, in particular, the assistance toward housing given to them by the federal government. It was stressed that, despite this help, the problem is far from having been solved.

THE USA TODAY (Genis, NY 8) considered the John Tower affair and surveyed the general problem of alcohol in the United States today. It was stressed that since the end of prohibition, alcohol has ceased to be the root of all evil. Since 1962, the amount of alcohol consumed has steadily declined.

MAN AND SOCIETY (Simis, W 4) dealt with a report of the AFL/CIO concerning the threat to the American market and export by cheaper production in other countries, especially in Japan. This has, in particular, led to an increase in unemployment in the United States. Various ways of combatting this were given.

THE USA TODAY (Vail, NY 6) gave an account of news-items, which, during the course of last week, interested the population of the United States. The program was called "What the Americans Talked About."

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

1. The National Geographic Society. MAN AND SOCIETY (Levin, W 5) reported about the exhibition "Geographica," organized by the National Geographic Society in Washington.

2. US "Man of the Week." THE USA TODAY (Vail, NY 2) presented the "Man of the Week," the film director Alan Parker.

3. St. Valentine's Day. THE USA TODAY (Vail, NY 8) commented on the traditions of St. Valentine's day in the United States.

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RADIO FREE EUROPE  
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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis  
for Tuesday, 21 February 1989  
M. Rudin

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

1. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 7:30) reported on the situation in Afghanistan, noting that Najibullah has introduced an "extraordinary situation" and formed a so-called Defense Council and that Prime Minister Sharq has resigned. The program also highlighted an interview with Mujahidin commander Abdul Haq in Newsweek in which he described his three-point plan to capture Kabul.

On THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Siss, Tallinn 5), Tallinn journalist Sander Siss gave the gist of an interview he conducted with Yury Durnev and Alexander Ivanov, who served in Afghanistan and are living in Estonia at the present time. Durnev and Ivanov described their service in Afghanistan and discussed how difficult it has been for them to fit into Soviet society upon their return.

2. The US, the USSR, and the Middle East. Drawing on articles in The Chicago Tribune, The Washington Post, and The Baltimore Sun, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Polishchuk, W 4:30) reported on US reaction to the stepped-up Soviet diplomacy in the Middle East following Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's visit to five countries in the Middle East. The program presented excerpts from President Bush's press conference on February 21.

3. Belorussia. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Malinkovich and Freydkin, M 6:30) featured a talk with a member of RL's Belorussian Service about the rally that took place at a Minsk stadium on February 19. It was organized by several unofficial Belorussian groups and was attended by some 50,000 people. The program discussed the reasons why Belorussian party leaders allowed the rally to take place and said that the main goals of the demonstration were to press for the consolidation of democratic forces in Belorussia and to promote a discussion of a new system for the election of people's deputies.

4. Armenia. On THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Semenov, Moscow 4), journalist Arkady Semenov reported that a demonstration took place on February 21 near Moscow's Butyrka political prison, where members of the Karabakh Committee and Khachik Stamboltsyan, chairman of the Armenian "Miloserdie" society, are imprisoned. Semenov noted that no official charges have yet been raised against the imprisoned Armenians. He also reported that 17 people in Armenia (the same number that are imprisoned) have started a seven-day hunger strike. He read the text of their statement in which they call for the release of the jailed Armenian activists.

5. The Baltic Republics. BALTIC BEACON (Rahr, M 4:30) read an open letter to Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Ryzhkov from the Baltic-Slavic Society of Cultural Development and Cooperation defending the decision of Latvian leaders to decrease production at a pulp and paper plant at Yurmala. The letter noted the plant has had a negative effect on the world-famous health resort at Yurmala.

BALTIC BEACON (Rahr, M 3:30) read an article by Aleksandrs Salinieks from the Latvian Ministry of Internal Affairs in Sovetskaya Estonia which noted that the main goal of the police at meetings and demonstrations taking place in Latvia today is to protect the participants from incidents that may be caused by spectators who do not hold the same views.

BALTIC BEACON (Verbitsky, M 4) gave excerpts from and commented on an article in Krasnaya Zvezda by a Soviet officer stationed in Latvia who complained about the dislike of the indigenous population for the Russians living in the republic.

On THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Analauskas, Kaunas 4:30), V. Analauskas, a correspondent for the Moscow Express-Khronika described the nomination of candidates to the Congress of People's Deputies in Lithuania. Analauskas noted that the Lithuanian Restructuring Movement has made the decision to participate in the campaign although it has been urged not to do so by other unofficial organizations. The program gave the movement's reasons for doing so.

6. Human Rights in the Ukraine. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Malinkovich, M 6:30) took issue with an article in Pravda Ukrainy whose authors Derimov and Rudenko accused members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union of working for Western radio stations and criticized the ideas and goals of Ukrainian human rights activists Vyacheslav Chornovil and Mykhaylo Horyn and the Ukrainian Helsinki Union. The program observed that the demands of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union correspond to the spirit of restructuring all political, economic, and social structures, including the system of internationality relations.

7. The Unilateral Reduction of Soviet Military Forces and Arms. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rodionov, M 6) reviewed a program called "In the Countries of Socialism" shown on Soviet television on February 18. During the program General Tatarsnikov from the General Staff gave, for the first time since Gorbachev made his force reduction proposals in December 1988, concrete information concerning the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Eastern Europe. The BD noted that this is the first time that the Soviet Union gave figures concerning its military units.

8. Unofficial Publications. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 5), a RERUN from February 20, noted signs in the official Soviet press of a new acceptance of unofficial publications, so-called "samizdat," which continues to grow due to increasing democratization on the one hand and the persistence of officially taboo subjects on the other.

9. A Review of the Soviet Press was presented on THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Mityunov, Moscow 4:30). The program cited articles in Izvestia and Moskovskaya Pravda dealing with the bureaucratic machinations at meetings nominating candidates to the Congress of People's Deputies, Stroitel'naya Gazeta on how the police in the Soviet Union break the law, Komsomolskaya Pravda on the illegal practices of relatives of police officers, and Pravda on the future spread of AIDS in the USSR.

10. Democratization. BALTIC BEACON (Rahr, M 8:30) read an article by Soltan Dzarasov in Sovetskaya Molodezh which discussed the question of introducing a multiparty system in the Soviet Union.

11. The Economy. MAN AND SOCIETY (Shapiro, M 5:30) discussed the reasons why Soviet leaders have not been successful in attracting foreign companies to create joint enterprises with Soviet companies in the Soviet Union. It was noted that even the revision of the 1987 decree, which was very one-sided in the USSR's favor, did not bring great change.

12. Human Rights. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fistejn, M 4) presented a chronicle of current events in the USSR dealing with items related to the human rights sphere and the democratization process. The chronicle was prepared by the editorial staff of the independent Moscow journal Glasnost.

In a discussion devoted to Rushdie's controversial book, The Satanic Verses, ROUNDTABLE (Roitman, Elliot, Bensi, and Henkina, M 5) recalled the persecution of Soviet writers by the state.

13. Islam. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Shuster, M 8:30) presented a telephone interview with Almaz Esekov, the Chairman of the Islam and Democracy Movement in Central Asia and

Kazakhstan, who discussed the creation, goals, and activities of the movement, which was founded in October of last year. Esekov explained how the Islam and Democracy Movement organized a demonstration in Tashkent in which several hundred Muslims demanded the ouster of Mufti Shamsuddin Babakhanov, the Chairman of the Muslim Religious Board for Kazakhstan and Central Asia, who was later removed from his post. He also discussed the roots of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, relations between the Sunnies and Shiites in the USSR, and the reasons for the rebirth of Islam in the Soviet Union.

14. Literature. THE RUSSIAN IDEA (Paramonov, NY 9) read a story by Vasily Rosanov called "The Andreyev Russian Orchestra" and presented a psychological analysis of the hateful paranoia behind Stanislav Kunaev's literary assaults on different Soviet authors. The program was a RERUN from February 19.

FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 29:30) featured the 47th installment of Alexander Solzhenitsyn's book The Gulag Archipelago.

15. Religion. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fotiyev, M 5) highlighted and commented on an article by legal expert Yury Rosenbaum in Sovetskoe Gosudarstvo i Pravo, No. 2, entitled "On the Formulation of the Draft Law on the Freedom of Worship." The program expressed skepticism that the new law will provide equal rights for both religious believers and atheists and raised the question about the possible punishment for those found breaking the law.

16. Intellectual History. THE RUSSIAN IDEA (Paramonov, NY 12) debunked an article in Izvestia which posited a view on the origins and ideational characteristics of the Russian intelligentsia based on the assumption that it is superior to its European counterpart. The program was a RERUN from February 19.

17. History. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Pimonov, Copenhagen 12:30) reviewed a recently published autobiography by Mikhail Broide, son of the legendary Stalin spy Leopold Treper, who headed a wide intelligence network in Europe beginning in 1936. The program then featured an interview with Broide, who reminisced about his relationship with his father and recalled how he and his father lost their belief in communism.

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

\* 1. Czechoslovakia. On THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Urban, Prague 3:30) Jan Urban of the East European Information Agency covered the trial in Prague of Vaclav Havel and seven other



Czechoslovak human rights activists. He noted that police security was very tight at the trial site, gave quotes from Havel's concluding speech, and noted that Havel received a nine-month sentence. The program also noted that Hungarian writers demonstrated in front of the Czechoslovak Embassy in Budapest, and students demonstrated in Krakow and Warsaw against the repressive policies of the Czechoslovak leaders.

2. China. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 6) assessed the process of democratization in China, noting that the Chinese leaders have become more tolerant to criticism and to permitting limited political liberalization. The program contrasted and compared the situation in China with restructuring in the USSR. The program relied on an article in the The New York Times of February 21.

#### C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. French-Israeli Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanova, P 5) noted the official visit of Israeli Prime Minister Shamir to France and highlighted interviews he gave to Le Figaro and La Tribune Juive.

2. President Bush's Approaching Trip to Asia. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 4) previewed President Bush's visit to Japan where he will attend the funeral of Emperor Hirohito and his visits to China and South Korea where he will meet with those countries leaders. The program used an article in The Washington Post.

3. Salman Rushdie's Controversial Book "The Satanic Verses" and Related Developments. Using Audio Section materials THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fistejn, M 5) gave voice cuts of West German Foreign Minister Genscher, British Foreign Secretary Howe, and exiled Iranian Ayatollah Ganji commenting on Khomeini's death threat against British author Salman Rushdie.

ROUNDTABLE (Roitman, Elliot, Bensi, and Henkin, M 15) featured a discussion concerning various aspects of the Rushdie case. One of the discussants proposed a unique idea about why Khomeini called for the assassination of Rushdie.

4. France. MAN AND SOCIETY (Salkazanova, P 5:30) reported on the meeting between French Education Minister Jospin and French youth, members of the Independent Democratic Federation of Schoolchildren, who criticized Jospin's education policies. The program contrasted this event with the campaign by Kuibyshev party leaders against informal groups in the city.

5. Denmark. MAN AND SOCIETY (Pimonov, Copenhagen 4) reported on the reasons leading to a fight between Danish police and the inhabitants of an area in Copenhagen who are against the establishment.

6. The US. MAN AND SOCIETY (Simis, W 5) reported on the measures being employed in the US to fight against poverty.

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

1. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY TODAY (Muslin and Morozov, NY 28) reported on the annual conference of the American Association for the Advancement of Scientific Progress, discussed the development in the US of electronic geographic maps and gave news from the scientific and technological world.

2. French Philosopher Jean Baudrillard's Book "America" was reviewed by OVER THE BARRIERS (Paramonov, Gendler, and Genis, NY 28).

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis  
for Wednesday, 22 February 1989  
D. Felton

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

1. Soviet-US Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 3:30) quoted US Secretary of State Baker's statements on US-Soviet relations in testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rubin, NY 4:30) reported on the installation of a two-way satellite computer link between the US and the USSR which is being used by scientific institutions, businesses, etc. The program noted that the lack of computers in the USSR is a hindrance to broader use of the link and mentioned the approval of the link by many US government bodies, including the Pentagon.

2. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 8:30) spoke of a new wave of glasnost in the Soviet press regarding Afghanistan, reflected in an APN comment that the main responsibility for the war lies in a system where all major political decisions are taken behind closed doors. However, the program said, this system remains essentially unchanged, and even now Soviet press coverage of events in Afghanistan is sparse. On the other hand on February 15 Literaturnaya Gazeta pointed to the growing problem of mass desertions from the Afghan Army. The program said this is clearly worrying the Kabul regime. Literaturnaya Gazeta reported on the killing of an old Afghan woman and two of her small grandchildren by Soviet troops, describing this atrocity as symptomatic of the moral deformation produced by an immoral war. However, the newspaper refrained from saying that the responsibility for the atrocities lies at a much higher level. The program pointed to the unsuccessful diplomatic missions by Soviet UN representative Belonogov and First Deputy

Foreign Minister Vorontsov. In conclusion the program cited a US State Department official as saying that at least the Soviet carpet bombing has ceased.

PRESS REVIEW (EVENTS AND PEOPLE) (Gregory, M 4:30) cited an article in The Washington Post by former US UN chief delegate Jeane Kirkpatrick in which she expressed the view that Gorbachev's decision to withdraw the Soviet troops from Afghanistan is part of a broad foreign policy program aimed at blocking charges of Soviet aggressiveness.

3. The USSR and the Middle East. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 4) reported on the meeting between Soviet and Israeli Foreign Ministers Shevardnadze and Arens in Cairo. Arens was quoted that the biggest achievement of the meeting was the agreement on regular consultations on the Middle East problem, and Shevardnadze that the meeting was productive. Israeli observers were quoted that the USSR is showing a new flexibility in its Middle East policy and intends to play a greater role in achieving a peaceful solution to the Middle East problem. According to observers the choice of Cairo as a meeting place implies Soviet recognition of the Israeli-Egyptian peace agreement.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Kuznetsov, M 2:30) commented that while there are certain signs that the USSR intends to temporarily revise its Middle East policy, this does not mean that it has lost interest in maintaining tension in the area. The USSR's motives lie rather in its serious internal problems. The program spoke of a peaceful mask being assumed by the USSR and said any chance of a peace treaty can only become reality if the USSR is not admitted to the talks.

4. Soviet-Polish Relations. RUSSIA YESTERDAY, TODAY, TOMORROW (Tolz, M 10) drew attention to the admission by the moderator of the Soviet radio station Mayak's program "Panorama" that if the Katyn Massacre was really carried out in March-April of 1940, then it could only have been the work of the NKVD. The BD gave background information on the program as well as the previous Soviet unwillingness to admit involvement in the massacre.

5. Dissidents and Human Rights. DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Shragin, NY 11) aired an RL interview with former Soviet political prisoner Alexander Bolonkin in which he described the tough conditions of his imprisonment and said that if Gorbachev is serious about democracy, he should rehabilitate and compensate those who suffered under Stalin and Brezhnev for being courageous enough to demand it then. In the introduction to the interview, the program spoke positively of an article on Bolonkin in Ogonek, No. 4. At the same time the program

mentioned an interview with USSR state prosecution official Andreyev published in the same issue of Ogonek in which he seemed to be distracting attention from the question of rehabilitation of dissidents who criticized broad aspects of Soviet reality and in which he was vague on the abolition of Articles 70 and 190 of the criminal code.

MAN AND SOCIETY (Shragin, NY 5) reviewed an article by Abraham Rosenthal in The New York Times on the case of a refusenik by the name of Kazachkov imprisoned in a Perm camp who tried in vain to meet with Rosenthal when he visited the camp together with a few colleagues.

6. Emigres. MAN AND SOCIETY (Morozov, NY 6:30) featured an RL interview with a recent Soviet immigrant to the US, Anatoly Odulo, on his present living and working conditions.

7. Gorbachev's Visit to the Ukraine. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fistejn, M 2) featured a telephone report from the USSR by an editor of the independent journal Glasnost, Viktor Rezunkov, on the detention of Ukrainian human rights activists in Lvov during Gorbachev's visit. Rezunkov said that a select group of people was brought in by bus to meet with Gorbachev, while the public was cordoned off. Nevertheless a few persons managed to break through the cordon. Gorbachev told them that he could see that restructuring was taking place in the Ukraine, but there were people trying to exploit this, so that restructuring must be carried out with a firm hand.

PRESS REVIEW (EVENTS AND PEOPLE) (Polishchuk, W 4:30) cited comments on Gorbachev's visit to the Ukraine and Soviet TV coverage of it from The Baltimore Sun and The Washington Post.

8. The Elections. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Malinkovich, M 10:30) said that the conclusion of the second stage of the elections is being accompanied by mass demonstrations in a number of cities and republics, especially the Ukraine and Belorussia, over the party apparatus's tactics of sifting out "undesirable" candidates. The program gave examples of such manipulations and cited an article in Kazakhstanskaya Pravda on a special conference of the Kazakh CP CC on how to prevent such candidates from being elected. The program noted in conclusion that in Estonia the leadership refrained from preliminary local elections to sift out candidates.

\* Drawing on an article in The Christian Science Monitor, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Vail, NY 6) reported on former Moscow party leader Boris Yeltsin's return to the political scene as a candidate for the USSR Supreme Soviet. The program gave the highlights of Yeltsin's speech at the Trade Union House in Moscow in which he outlined his political program. Reference was made to a public

opinion poll, the results of which have not been published in the USSR, showing Yeltsin's great popularity. In conclusion the program cited Yeltsin's February 20 statements in an interview on Austrian TV in which he spoke of a dangerous slowdown in the pace of restructuring and described the elections in the USSR as not fully democratic.

9. Restructuring. RUSSIA YESTERDAY, TODAY, TOMORROW (Geller, P 9:30) remarked that after the CPSU has admitted that the USSR is experiencing an economic crisis and that its history has been characterized by periods of personality cult, voluntarism, and stagnation, the question of a multiparty system is being raised. Gorbachev, however, is against such a system. The program noted the existence of several parties in prerevolutionary Russia and traced the changes in the definition of the word "party" in Russia/USSR.

10. The Economy. MAN AND SOCIETY (R. Shapiro, Isr. 4) looked at the problem of inflation in the USSR, which is glossed over in the Soviet press. The program cited an interview given to Izvestia last December by the Chairman of the Board of the USSR State Bank, Garetsky, in which reference was made to the apparently paradoxical situation in which the individual citizen is short of cash, while there is a surplus of money in circulation. The program pointed out that the per capita excess of money over goods is in fact small. Due to the character of the Soviet economic system, enterprises do not react to increased demand by increasing production.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 3:30) exposed the fallacy of the Soviet dogma that private ownership results in exploitation. The program showed that in fact exploitation is not so much dependent on the form of ownership as it is on the unjust distribution of the results of labor. In countries where workers can take action, for example by striking, to obtain fair remuneration, private ownership is not a particular source of exploitation. The "public ownership" spoken of in the USSR is in fact state ownership, and when the state is the sole owner and employer, conditions for unlimited exploitation arise.

11. The Media. AT THE NEWSSTAND (Gregory, M 27:30), in a review of the Soviet press, cited material in Moskovskiy Novosti (Borodnikov) on the indignation at the USSR Academy of Sciences over the academy's failure to put forward such representatives as Sakharov as candidates in the coming election of people's deputies; Izvestia on conflicts between the electorate and election officials over the interpretation of election laws; TASS quoting Gorbachev on the experimental nature of the present elections; Znamya Yunosti on a meeting with Vasil Bykov at which he spoke among other things about the possibility of Yeltsin making a political comeback, the situation regarding the

Belorussian language, the ecological situation in Belorussia, the question of what to believe in, and the shortcomings of new Soviet legislation; Moskovskiye Novosti on the founding of a club for Moscow intellectuals called "Moscow Tribune"; Sobesednik (an article by Yevgeny Yevtushenko, who stressed the need to avoid repeating the tragic mistakes of past Soviet history and described restructuring as the Soviet people's last hope); and Moskovskiye Novosti on the case of a writer who successfully sued Soviet central TV for slander.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fistejn, M 5) featured a review of the Soviet press telephoned from Moscow by Gleb Anishchenko, publisher of the independent religious journal Vybor, in which he gave examples of how spiritual and cultural questions are being increasingly linked with religious ones in the Soviet press. Anishchenko quoted materials in Literaturnaya Gazeta and Sovetskaya Kultura and mentioned a proposal by Vybor that one of its correspondents interview atheist intellectuals and that replies by Vybor authors be published in Sovetskaya Kultura.

12. Espionage. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 5:30) cited Corriere della Sera on two serious cases of attempted espionage in Italy by Soviet and Bulgarian agents.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Matusevich, M 3) cited comments in the Swedish and Norwegian press in connection with the escape to the USSR via Finland of Swedish spy Stag Bergmond, who was serving a life sentence. The comments implied that Soviet espionage has not been affected by the "new thinking," restructuring, or glasnost.

13. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Glezer, NY 19:30) featured a report by Soviet emigre writer Alexander Glezer, chief editor of the Paris-New York literary almanac Strelets, on literary gatherings which he conducted in Moscow at which Soviet-based contributors to Strelets, readers of the almanac, Soviet literary critics and journalists, et. al. took part. The unprecedented nature of these gatherings was emphasized. The program included recordings of speeches and readings delivered by Glezer, patriarch of unofficial Russian poetry Genrikh Sapgir, young Moscow poet Viktor Korkiya, and Leningrad writer Arkady Bartov.

14. Religion. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fistejn, M 4) aired a telephone report from Sweden by Valentin Yurov, chairman of the International Committee for the Defense of Hare Krishna Believers, on a group of Soviet Hare Krishnaites being allowed to leave on a pilgrimage to India. The program noted that only recently some of the members of the group were prisoners of conscience and that Hare Krishnaites were being attacked even in such relatively liberal Soviet publications as Ogonek. However,

Yurov said, the Hare Krishnaites are still experiencing difficulties with registration and accommodation and with violations of their rights by local authorities.

15. History. Commenting that Soviet historiography on the Lenin period of Soviet history has hardly changed, RUSSIA YESTERDAY, TODAY, TOMORROW (Gorbanevskaya, P 10) gave the facts on the Kronstadt uprising of March 1921 as described in Izvestia Kronshtadtskogo Vremennogo Revolyutsionnogo Komiteta (News of the Kronstadt Provisional Revolutionary Committee) published at the time.

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

- \* 1. Czechoslovakia. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fistejn, M 2:30) featured a telephone report from Prague by Jan Urban, a correspondent of the independent East European Information Agency, on Austrian protests against the sentencing of Vaclav Havel; the arrest of Charter 77 representative Tomas Hradilek in connection with the broadcasting by VOA and RFE of two letters of his to Czechoslovak party leader Jakes; the defacing of a Stalin statue in Olomouc; and an interview given by Dubcek to the samizdat journal Lidove Novine in which he came out in defense of dissidents.
- \* THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fistejn, M 1:30) included a voice cut of a statement by Austrian Foreign Minister Mock criticizing the sentencing of Czechoslovak playwright Vaclav Havel. Audio Section material was used.
- \* EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanova, P 5:30) reviewed indignant reaction in France to the sentencing of Czechoslovak playwright Vaclav Havel, mentioning the telegram sent by President Mitterrand to Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak, protests by French intellectuals, as well as comments in Le Monde, Liberation, Le Figaro, and l'Humanite which also came out in Havel's defense. The program also remarked that in the USSR support for Havel has not been forthcoming from either the USSR Writers' Union or even such mouthpieces of restructuring as Moskovskiye Novosti and Ogonek.
- 2. Hungary. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fistejn, M 4) featured a telephone report from Budapest by Agnes Gereben listing the decisions and recommendations made by at the HSWP CC plenum according to which the party is to renounce the constitutional declaration of its leading role and instead strive for this role via its political program; power is to be distributed, with independent institutions controlling political, economic, etc. measures; a list of civil rights and liberties is to be included



in the constitution; and private and public property are to have equal constitutional rights. Parliamentary approval for these proposals, however, is uncertain.

#### C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The Middle East. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fistejn, M 1) gave voice cuts of Israeli Prime Minister Shamir's statements to the effect that Israel does not consider an international Middle East conference such as proposed by Shevardnadze will serve the cause of peace. Audio Section material was used.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Miloslavsky, Jerusalem 5:30) commented on the meeting between Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and his Israeli counterpart Arens in Cairo, describing it as symptomatic of the process of normalization of Soviet-Israeli relations and of the increased diplomatic activity over the Middle East problem.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Kuznetsov and Shuster, M 4) featured a telephone interview given to RL's special correspondent Savik Shuster by former Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky on the Middle East question. Kreisky said among other things that while both the Israelis and the Palestinians are engaged in terrorism, the latter are doing so out of self-defense; that an international conference is the only chance for achieving a peaceful settlement; and that the USSR has been supporting the Palestinians for the sake of propaganda and maybe now also because it is under pressure from its own national minorities. In the future the USSR will take a highly realistic position in the Middle East and only defend its own interests there.

2. The Rushdie Affair. Commenting on the death sentence proclaimed by Ayatollah Khomeini against British author Rushdie, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Pomerantsev, L 5), focused on the fact that in view of a real threat to freedom and expression and the life of a writer, the conservative government of British Prime Minister Thatcher is on the same side as the leftist intellectuals.

3. The US. DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Shragin, NY 7) reported on the controversy over the proposed increase in the remuneration of congressmen and top government officials.

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

1. US Justice. MAN AND SOCIETY (Simis, W 5) gave details of two US laws protecting the rights of accused persons. The program noted that Soviet legal experts recommend that in

drafting a new Soviet code of criminal procedure the US experience in this field be taken into consideration.

2. The Egg Scandal in Britain was the subject of an item carried on MAN AND SOCIETY (Pomerantsev, L 4).

3. Regional Planning in the US. DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Morozov, NY 10) featured an RL interview with the director of the planning department of Suffolk County, New York, on the work of his department. The program remarked that there are planners in the US too who are working completely successfully under free enterprise conditions.

4. Culture. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Matusevich, M 2) commented on the just-ended International Film Festival in West Berlin. The successful showing of the American and Chinese films was noted, and it was commented that the festival confirmed the fears of Soviet cinema critics that under restructuring the Soviet cinema has failed to produce any new adequate works following initial euphoria.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Shuster, M 2) aired a telephone report from San Remo by Italian journalist Enzo Broggi on the Italian Song Festival. A recording of one of the songs was included.

OVER THE BARRIERS (K. Sapguir, P 7) reported on the upsurge of interest in France in the works of the late French writer Marcel Ayme.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Thursday, 23 February 1989

V. Frank

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

1. The Nationalities. DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 3) quoted an open letter that the leaderships of the Popular Fronts of Estonia and Latvia as well as the Lithuanian Sajudis sent to Gorbachev and the General Prosecutor of the USSR calling for the release of the imprisoned members of the Karabakh Committee. Copies of the open letter were sent to Izvestia and to the main newspapers of the three Baltic republics. The letter, dated January 31, has as yet to elicit a response.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fishtein, M 6) presented a report from Vilnius by the independent Lithuanian correspondent Valdas Analauskas on the just-concluded ominous meeting of the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party at which the authorities adopted a hard line toward political opposition. Particularly vicious were the attacks on the independent movement Sajudis, which was accused of pursuing bourgeois aims and of trying to get Lithuania to secede from the Soviet Union. The CC session also decided to reestablish strict control over all media.

DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 6:30) presented a telephone report from Vilnius by Valdas Analauskas, a correspondent of the independent journal Ekspress-Khronika, reviewing the independent Lithuanian journal Santara. This journal, founded in November 1988, is the organ of the newly reborn Union of Lithuanian Youth, which was prominent prior to the Soviet occupation of the republic. The program quoted articles from the journal, most of which were strongly anti-Soviet.

DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 4:30) carried a report from Moscow by Andrey Shilkov, who described a new samizdat journal of Georgian Orthodox believers which in Russian is called Krest Zhivotvoryashchy. The journal is not devoted entirely to religious matters but also carries articles about political matters, such as the history of Georgia, particularly the forcible incorporation of Georgia into Soviet Russia in 1921.

- \* EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Vail, NY 6:30) reviewed articles in US newspapers dealing with Soviet affairs, particularly Gorbachev's visit to the Ukraine. The program stressed the role of the suppressed Uniate Church in the national movement in the Western Ukraine.

2. The Armed Forces. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 8:30) reviewed the state of the Soviet armed forces in connection with the "Day of the Soviet Army and Navy," which is celebrated on February 23. The program quoted Deputy Minister of Defense General Sorokin, who in Krasnaya Zvezda maintained that the Soviet Army never started any offensive wars. The Rust affair was cited as a factor which led to rapid perestroika among the military leadership. The same issue of Krasnaya Zvezda contained bitter comments on the demands of the Latvians for a withdrawal of the Soviet "occupation troops" and for returning independence to the Baltic States. In conclusion the program dealt with opposition to the idea of creating professional armed forces. Such forces were deemed to be unfeasible, since they would break with all traditions of the Soviet armed forces and would be economically unbearable. The conclusion was reached that during the 71st year of the Soviet armed forces, the high command seems to be in a sorry state.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fishtein, M 3) quoted a document published in the journal Glasnost about the demands concerning military service of students from some 90 Soviet universities. The demands call for postponement of military service until after students complete their studies and the demobilization of students who are presently being drafted, particularly in view of the forthcoming reduction of armed forces. The students also announced a one-week boycott of the military faculty at their universities.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fishtein, M 4) carried a report by the independent Moscow correspondent Yury Mityunov on the occasion of the "Day of the Soviet Army and Navy." The program cited the opinions of the minister of defense and some Afghan War veterans concerning the end of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and also quoted some Soviet newspapers and an RL listener from Krivoy Rog on the same subject.

3. Society. MAN AND SOCIETY (Kaminskaya, M 6) assessed the reasons for the high crime rate among young people in the Soviet Union, reaching the conclusion that the social system inherent in communism is largely responsible for it. It was stressed that young people lack the possibility of recognizing the relativity of their situation, which adults have had to learn by experience. The program mentioned the often incidental difference between the criminal and the victim and said that adherence to high moral principles seems to be the only way to prevent the further spread of crime among young people. Yet these very moral principles were systematically destroyed by the authorities.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Genis and Vail, NY 12) discussed problems concerning the present practice in the Soviet Union of returning the original names to towns, streets, and factories named after communist leaders. Among other things the program said that in the process of changing the present, one tends to distort the past, irrespective of whether it was good or bad.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fishtein, M 5:30) reviewed reaction to the Rushdie affair among Soviet writers, drawing on a report by Dmitry Volchek, an editor of the unofficial Moscow journal Glasnost. Volchek quoted the opinions of a number of Soviet writers, who generally were very critical of the threat to Rushdie's life and defended the writer's right to express himself. One of those interviewed called the whole affair a "barbaric act and an attempt to destroy the author's rights." It was stressed that the peoples of the USSR know sufficiently well what it means to be subjected to threats and orders from above.

4. US-USSR Relations. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fishtein, M 1) reported the collective prayer in the US House of Representatives for "the freedom of Lithuania and other enslaved nations." The prayer was said on the 71st anniversary of the declaration of Lithuania's independence.

5. Soviet-Israeli Relations. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Nudelman, Israel 4:30) reported on the Cairo meeting between the Foreign Ministers of Israel and the Soviet Union, Arens and Shevardnadze. The fact that the meeting was held is a sign of rapprochement between the two countries and an indication that Israel is very interested in normalizing relations. According to Israeli sources Shevardnadze admitted during the talks that the USSR's decision in 1967 to break relations with Israel was a mistake.

6. The Economy. MAN AND SOCIETY (Shapiro, Israel 5:30) examined the question of the recent disappearance from the market of food and other items which were plentiful a few years ago. The program said that one of the reasons appears to be the poor quality of the goods produced, which in turn is explained by the unsatisfactory machines which manufacture them. For many years badly constructed machines used for the production of consumer goods were not modernized. Despite the fact that both the "liberals" and the "conservatives" among the Soviet leadership were united in their desire to follow a stronger social policy, the old system, whereby tanks were more important than washing machines, will not die easily. At the present time, when the absence of goods seems to endanger perestroika itself, efforts are being made to change the situation.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 4) examined the situation of Soviet foreign trade, citing TASS correspondent Leonidov and Pravitelstvenny Vestnik. Leonidov gave rather positive figures with regard to the production of the engineering industry, whereas Pravitelstvenny Vestnik lamented the fact that this positive development did not have any effect upon the export of these goods. Indeed the export of engineering industry goods was considerably lower in 1988 over the 1987 figures, a development which prompted the conclusion that democratization was necessary in foreign trade. The program said that in order to achieve any success in foreign trade, democratization will be necessary in all spheres of the Soviet economy.

7. Political Prisoners. DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 5) carried a report from Moscow by Asya Lashchiver describing the fate of political prisoner Petr Saranchuk, who has been incarcerated many times since his first arrest in the Ukraine in 1945. His address was given on the program.

8. History. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Tolz, M 7) evaluated the seventh edition of the Paris-based historical journal Minuvsheye. The journal presents reminiscences of people concerning the history of Russia and the Soviet Union. It deplored that despite glasnost nothing which gives a detailed account of the past can be published in the USSR. None of the historical publications in the Soviet Union can compete with Minuvsheye.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kushev, M 4) featured excerpts from Pravda of 23 February 1919 which reported about the decision of the Social Revolutionary Party to give up its independent position and support the Bolshevik Party. The program commented on the absurdity of the report, since only a small faction decided to collaborate with the Bolsheviks. In 1921 all Social Revolutionaries, as well as Mensheviks, were cruelly repressed.

9. Religion. DOCUMENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 7:30) presented a report by Dmitry Volchek, the Moscow correspondent of the independent journal Glasnost who said that the journal received a number of samizdat documents about the situation at a monastery in Pechora whose head turned out to be a KGB informer. A number of examples of the violation of human rights of the monks and of lay members of the order were given, including the fact that more than 100 monks were expelled from the monastery. All appeals to Patriarch Pimen were in vain.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Potiyev, M 6) commented on an article in Sovetskaya Kultura on the religious beliefs of the intelligentsia. The article, in the form of a discussion, came to the conclusion that on the one hand the primitive official atheistic propaganda was to blame for this situation while on the other Soviet society seems to be in need of the Church's moral basis. The tone of the article and the way religious beliefs were described were very different from the approach taken even in the recent past.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Shuster, M 5:30) presented a telephone interview with Almaz Yestekov, the chairman of the committee "Islam and Democracy" in Central Asia and Alma-Ata. Yestekov was asked about a TASS report that a recent demonstration in Tashkent was not organized by "Islam and Democracy" as was maintained by Radio Liberty. Yestekov said that regardless of what the authorities now maintain, they know very well about the existence of the unofficial group. He stressed that the demonstration was indeed organized by the group's leaders.

10. The Russian Emigration. MAN AND SOCIETY (Faibusovich, M 4) discussed the now changed Soviet attitude toward Russians who voluntarily left or were forced to leave the USSR. Referring to a recent interview which a Soviet correspondent conducted with emigre writer Lev Kopelev, the program asked why the departure from one's own country has to be considered a sort of "treason" and why love for another country must mean the loss of love for one's own country. Were Tyutchev or Turgenev, both of whom spent long periods abroad, traitors, and unfit to write? The truth lies in the very opposite direction. The nonacceptance of foreign culture or, indeed, of foreign ways of life must be considered a treason to the great tradition of Russian culture.

11. Literature. ON OVER THE BARRIERS (Dovlatov, NY 8), BD editor Dovlatov recalled his relationship with Yevgeny Yevtushenko in connection with an interview Yevtushenko gave to the newspaper Knizhnoye obozreniye. Dovlatov reflected on Yevtushenko's peculiar role in present-day Soviet literature and recalled that at the time of Khrushchev's "thaw" he did not

collaborate and could not expect to receive any support from the authorities. Yevtushenko is far behind the leading supporters of perestroika. It was stressed that Yevtushenko appears to be very consistent in his inconsistency.

FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 29:30) reviewed the journal Strelets, which is being published in Paris and New York. The journal's chief editor, Aleksandr Glezer, recently visited the Soviet Union. Interviews with him have been published in a number of central newspapers in Moscow. The program carried a short synopsis of the journal under review, as well as a talk by Glezer and Sergey Yurenen.

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

- \* 1. Czechoslovakia. ROUNDTABLE (Roitman, Fishtein, and Bensi, M 20) discussed the case of Vaclav Havel, who recently was sentenced to nine months in prison on the official charge of obstructing the militia. The program noted the protests against the conviction in Czechoslovakia and abroad, including by the Estonian Writers' Union. The program also dealt with the question of the future of the East European countries, reaching the conclusion that Czechoslovakia, East Germany, and Romania are for various reasons unable or unwilling to follow the example of the Soviet Union, since the path of perestroika and glasnost will endanger the future of their communist regimes.
- \* THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fishtein, M 3:30) carried a report from Prague by the independent Czechoslovak journalist Jan Urban, who gave details about the second trial of seven young Czechoslovak dissidents. It was presumed that the harsh sentences meted out were intended to serve as a warning to other young dissidents.

#### C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

- 1. US-Japanese Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Polishchuk, W 3:30) commented on President Bush's visit to Japan, where he attended the funeral of Emperor Hirohito. Bush's forthcoming meetings with a number of world leaders were noted, as were his forthcoming visits to China and South Korea.
- 2. Israel. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanov, Paris 7:30) reported on the press conference held by Israeli Prime Minister Shamir during his recent visit to Paris. Shamir's remarks mainly concerned the Middle East conflict and relations with France. Concerning the role the Soviet Union can play in settling the conflict, Shamir stressed first of all that the Soviet Union should establish normal diplomatic relations with Israel.



3. The Rushdie Affair. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fishtein, M 2) reported on the Salman Rushdie affair and highlighted the reactions of international writers to the death sentence ordered by Ayatollah Khomeini.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gordin, M 4:30) reported on a letter that the author of The Satanic Verses, Salman Rushdie, wrote to the West German magazine Stern explaining his novel and the main differences between himself and Khomeini.

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

1. JUDAISM (Lvov, NY 10) discussed the uniqueness of each human being, as taught by Judaism.

JUDAISM (R. Vail, NY 8) broadcast a sermon by the Rabbi Leonhard Poller, a well-known supporter of the Jewish-Christian dialogue. Poller talked about the problem of growing old, focusing on Jewish teachings on the subject.

JUDAISM (Rabbi Haskelevich, NY 8) carried a talk on the weekly reading of the Torah. The talks centered on the peculiarities of the Jewish calendar.

2. Welfare in the US. MAN AND SOCIETY (Morozov, NY 7), a RERUN from February 3, featured an interview with the head of the welfare office in New York's Westchester County who explained how the American system of welfare operates.

3. The World of Music. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Shuster, M 4) featured an article by Italian journalist Enzo Broggi about the song festival which recently took place in San Remo.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Volkov, NY 8) recalled the 25th anniversary of the first visit of the Beatles to the United States.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Friday, 24 February 1989

J. Benson

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

1. USSR-Britain. OVER THE BARRIERS (Pomerantsev, L 6:30), a RERUN from February 16, featured a telephone report from Moscow by writer Anatoly Strelyany on an exhibition there on Russian-Scottish relations.

2. Soviet Union-Israel. JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 3) described the new tone of talks with the Soviet Union and detailed Shevardnadze's itinerary in the Middle East.

3. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 7) took to task articles in Sotsialisticheskaya Industriya of February 18 and in Pravda of February 24 for spreading simplistic disinformation on Afghanistan. In particular, the program accused Pravda of deceiving its readers that the US is to blame for the continued fighting in Afghanistan, misrepresenting the timing of the Soviet Union's alleged proposal that all sides discontinue supplies and omitting any mention of the huge stockpiles of arms left behind for the Kabul regime.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Kuznetsov and Shuster, M 4:30) presented an interview with the director of the Information Center for Afghanistan Resistance based in Peshawar who explained that Alikeshmand was appointed head of the Supreme Soviet of Afghanistan in order to prevent possible friction between the two major sects of the Muslim population. He further predicted that the Kabul regime's chances for survival will increase as long as the resistance forces are unable to create a transitional government that represents all groups of the Afghan population.

4. Gorbachev's Visit to Kiev. ROUND-TABLE DISCUSSION (Tolz, Malinkowich, and Fistejn, M 20) focused, in particular, on Gorbachev's speech in Kiev on February 23. While the discussants agreed that this was an example of blatant demagogery, which at times, culminated in formulations of pure idiocy (the phrase "a strong center and strong republics" was cited as example), a consensus was lacking on whether Gorbachev was pretending to be naive or is naive about the pressing problems facing the country. Although he did name all the problems, except the relationship between state and private property, he failed to suggest any measures by which to solve them and appeared to simply ignore the pressing concerns of the Ukraine. One discussant observed that Gorbachev has consistently promised more than he has been willing to grant; his program for regulating interethnic problems was not expected to be radical. The gap between the plans of restructuring and their realization was predicted to grow, especially as social consciousness continues to increase. The development of active social groups was said to be the one accomplishment of restructuring so far. The imminent crisis might be overcome, the discussants said, if the party compromises and satisfies some of the people's demands.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Henkina, M 3) broadcast a telephone report by a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group who criticized Gorbachev's speech during his stay in the Ukraine for concentrating primarily on economic problems and ignoring the local concerns. In general, he said, the people were disappointed, especially because Gorbachev did not seem aware of the highly conservative character of the Ukrainian party officials.

5. The Nationalities. BALTIC BEACON (Rahr, M 12) reflected on the accumulating signs of a schism between the successful restructuring forces and the communist party in Lithuania, expressing doubt that Gorbachev should be as confident about the Baltic movements as he appeared to be in a central TV program broadcast on February 14. Another central TV program on the celebrations of Lithuanian independence two days later clearly belied his reassurances, demonstrating that not only the extremists want separation from the Soviet Union and that all factions reject socialism. The program observed that restructuring for small nationalities tends to be concerned with self-preservation. Interviews with leading Lithuanian activists about their ideas of a new relationship to the Soviet Union were excerpted and an APN dispatch was cited on proposals for reorganizing the "deformed Soviet federalism."

Pegged to an announcement of the celebrations marking the 71st anniversary of the proclamation of Estonia's independence, BALTIC BEACON (Rahr, M 9:30) excerpted an article in Sovetskaya Estoniya which expressed anxiety that the reformists are going too far. The author of the article expressed the opinion that the large Party of National Independence of Estonia is dominating the social scene and propounding ideas, such as that of separation from the Soviet Union, which many elements of society reject. While stressing the importance of pluralism of opinions, the program opined that a more tolerant tone of discussion was imperative.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Rubin, NY 1:30) highlighted the main points of US Secretary of State Baker's letter of congratulations to the Estonian consulate in NY on the 71st anniversary of Estonia's independence. In addition to expressing support and sympathy for Estonia's current battle for more sovereignty, Baker also stressed that the US has never acknowledged the incorporation of Estonia into the Soviet Union.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Henkina, M 5) presented two telephone reports from staffers of the independent Ekspress-Khronika. One gave details on detainments and violence associated with an antimilitary protest rally organized by informal groups in Riga to mark the Day of the Soviet Army on February 23. A similar protest rally was also held in Vilnius at which speakers condemned military propaganda and called for a boycott of military service. The report also mentioned the marking of the birthday of a Lithuanian patriot who protested against Lithuania's lack of sovereignty by self-immolation, a protest of the Yedinsovo members against Lithuanian becoming the official language, and Sajudis' demand for official status.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Sys, Tallinn 6) broadcast a live report from Tallinn by a member of the unofficial Independent Party of Estonia, who described the hoisting of the Estonian flag and the ceremony marking the 71st anniversary of the declaration of independence of Estonia, interviewed persons on the street about their views, and noted, in general, that the times are changing.

MAN AND SOCIETY (Seytmuratova, NY 8:30) highlighted the main points of a draft program passed in November 1988 at an all-Union meeting of representatives of the National Movement of Crimean Tatars to form an organization to be called "National Rebirth." The document included an historical sketch of the Crimea and the Tatar nationality, followed by a list of goals and talks calling for the return of the Tatars to their traditional homeland, reparations, and more economic sovereignty.

6. Restructuring. MAN AND SOCIETY (Morozov, NY 6) criticized the talk on restructuring recently given at Columbia University by one of Gorbachev's chief economists, Abel Aganbegyan. The program observed that because Aganbegyan only rehashed old facts, skirted direct questions, and, in general, avoided giving any new answers, the initially packed hall thinned out considerably before the talk was over.

AT THE NEWSSTAND (Perouansky, M 27) excerpted three articles and one letter from the January issue of a Moscow journal Vek Dvadtsaty i Mir, all of which discussed aspects of the ongoing convergence of sociopolitical systems throughout the world. While both Sakharov and the publicist Len Karpinsky described the initial steps taken toward convergence of Eastern and Western social systems and stressed the necessity of more pluralism for future progress, the philologist Gasan Guseynov focused on convergence with the Third World countries, as well as inner convergence. The latter, considered a means of solving interethnic problems, was defined as a broader consciousness of the connections between regional ethnocultural communities and the ecosystem. In his letter the writer Yuly Kim pointed to the need to remove enmity and opposition in favor of cooperation in view of the nuclear stalemate between the two superpowers.

7. Antirestructuring Forces. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rubin, NY 6:30) summarized an article in The New York Times of February 22 which described a government-sanctioned meeting in Moscow of religious-oriented conservative forces whose speeches expressed nostalgia for pre-Revolutionary Russia. It was noted that contrary to a previous meeting organized by three conservative newspapers, no anti-Semitic statements were made.

8. Solzhenitsyn. In a review of the contents of the January issue of the Moscow journal Vek Dvadtsaty i Mir, AT THE NEWSSTAND (Perouansky, M 3) excerpted an article by the writer Boris Mozhaev in which he argued the case for returning Solzhenitsyn's citizenship and lifting the ban on the publication of his works. Among other things, Mozhaev mentioned that Solzhenitsyn was forced to publish Archipelag Gulag before 1984, other "accepted" writers have been even more critical of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Union needs such a leader in literature.

9. The Media. On OVER THE BARRIERS (Matthews, L 5), a RERUN from February 16, Prof. Mervyn Matthews of the University of Surrey, England, gave his impressions of listening to Moscow Radio.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Henkina, M 4) broadcast a survey of today's press by the independent Moscow journalist Yuri Mityunov. Highlighting articles from Pravda, Izvestia, Moskovskiye Novosti, and Komsomolskaya Pravda, Mityunov drew attention to the predominating conformity of ideas in the papers, which, in contrast to all the talk of pluralism and glasnost, reprint the text of Gorbachev's long speeches. Most readers reportedly are finding Gorbachev's speeches more and more boring and have noted that in his chats with the people, he only hears what he wants to hear.

10. The Intelligentsia. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 4) criticized the prorestructuring Soviet intelligentsia for not taking a firm and unambiguous stand of solidarity with the British-Indian writer Salman Rushdie and the Czechoslovak playwright Vaclav Havel.

11. Jewry. JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Markish, Geneva 11:40) profiled the defense attorney Oskar Gruzenberg and excerpted his review of a collection of short stories about the problems of Jewish assimilation which appeared in the Saint-Petersburg 19th century Russian-language journal dedicated to Jewish culture, Voskhod.

JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Roitman, M 5) excerpted passages from an article by former prisoner of Zion Yosif Zisels which was published in the Tel-Aviv based Russian-language journal Krug of February 12. The article discussed the perspectives of a national-cultural rebirth of Ukrainian Jewry and backgrounded the historical relations between Jews and Ukrainians.

12. Culture. In connection with the beginning rehabilitation of the Russian Philosopher Nikolay Berdyaev, THE RUSSIAN IDEAL (Paramonov, NY 28) elucidated his views on creativity, the Russian character, and the Russian Revolution.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fistejn, M 6) gave a preview of the Munich performance of Borodin's opera Prince Igor and interviewed the set director.

On OVER THE BARRIERS (Litvinova and Medvedeva, L 8), a RERUN from February 16, writer and artist Tatyana Litvinova and artist Ilona Medvedeva discussed three exhibitions of modern Soviet artists held in London.

13. Religion. RUSSIAN CHRISTIANITY - THE SECOND MILLENNIUM (Rahr, M 29), a RERUN from February 17, told of the life of Archbishop Luk Vojno-Yasenetsky, a trained surgeon who wrote a

number of medical works as well as sermons. The program broadcast an extensive excerpt from his sermon on the Christian upbringing of children.

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

1. Czechoslovakia. On THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Urban, Prague 4) a journalist for the independent East European information agency cited incidents demonstrating that the Czechoslovak authorities are continuing repression against independent activists and noted the growing international protests. The journalist expressed incomprehension at a Soviet diplomat's statement on February 21 during a discussion with Czechoslovak youth that an article in Sovetskaya Rossiya might be considered an intervention in the country's internal affairs since it presented an image of the 1968 invasion that disagreed with that of the central organs. The journalist wondered how an article can be considered an intervention when the military occupation itself appeared to be considered normal.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Henkina, M 1:30) presented the text of a communication published in the independent journal Glasnost by the North-West regional section of the Leningrad Democratic Union protesting the continuing repressions in Czechoslovakia.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Matusevich, M 3) drew attention to the Western press's unanimous condemnation of the Czechoslovak government for sentencing the playwright Vaclav Havel for participating in a peaceful demonstration, and excerpted editorials from such politically diverse newspapers as l'Humanite, Corriere della Sera, the Swedish Expression, and the British The Independent.

#### C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. US - China. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fedoseyeva, M 4) detailed the two open letters to President Bush sent by Chinese dissidents who criticized the situation of dissidents and political prisoners in China today.

2. The US. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 3:30) mentioned some of the topics discussed by President Bush with other heads of state during their stay in Japan to pay their respects to the recently deceased Emperor Hirohito. These included the regulation of the Middle East conflict, improved East - West relations, world-wide environmental problems, trade problems with the Far East, and the future of Cambodia.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Matuzok, Osaka 3:30) highlighted the main topics of President Bush's talks with Presidents Takeshita and Mitterrand on the periphery of the burial ceremony for the recently deceased Japanese Emperor Hirohito.

3. Sweden. MAN AND SOCIETY (Nagrodsky, 10:30) responded to an article in the August issue of Literaturnaya Gazeta which openly found Sweden's economic situation superior to the Soviet system by examining the negative aspects of Sweden's agricultural subsidies. Sweden was said not to be a good example for emulation.

4. Israel. JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 4) detailed the main topics of the week: the surge of diplomatic activity connected with the Middle East conflict, Israel's changing relations with the USSR and the US, and the continuing disturbances in the occupied territories.

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

1. Culture. In OVER THE BARRIERS (Rayfield, L 4), a RERUN from February 16, Donald Rayfield of London University reviewed British movie director Derek Jarman's film based on Benjamin Britten's War Requiem.

2. Miscellaneous. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Shuster, M 2:30) described the annual Festival of Songs in San Remo, Italy, and played songs of a few of this year's competitors.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Saturday, 25 February 1989

J. Benson

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

1. Soviet-US Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 4) reviewed testimony on Soviet-American relations given by high Bush administration officials before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives. Among others Secretary of State Baker emphasized the lessening of tensions, but said that realism and caution are still essential. The hopeful tone in Moscow is not expected to make the talks on conventional arms reduction less difficult. The head of the American delegation to the CSCE review conference in Vienna, Zimmermann, warned that the US will not participate in a human rights conference scheduled to be held in Moscow if the Soviet record on human rights does not continue to improve.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Rubin, NY 1:30), a RERUN from February 24, highlighted the main points of Secretary of State Baker's letter of congratulations to the Estonian Consulate in New York on the 71st anniversary of Estonia's independence. In addition to expressing support and sympathy for Estonia's current struggle for more sovereignty, Baker stressed that the US has never acknowledged the incorporation of Estonia into the Soviet Union.

2. Soviet-Israeli Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Miloslavsky, J 4) mentioned the concrete signs of improved relations between the two countries. These include the higher official status given to the Israeli Consulate in Moscow, the announcement of more meetings between the two countries' foreign ministers, the

initial activity of a working group of specialists on Soviet-Israeli problems, and plans to broaden contacts, especially economic ones.

- \* 3. Afghanistan. ASPECTS (Henkina, M 3) broadcast an excerpt of a taped report from Tallinn about the haunting war experiences of young Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan. The program was a RERUN from February 21.
- \* ASPECTS (Fotiyev, M 3:30) presented a priest's words of solace and advice to soldiers whose wartime experiences in Afghanistan have caused them despair.
- \* 4. Gorbachev's Visit to Kiev and Related Developments. ASPECTS (Malinkovich, M 2:30) selected as the domestic event of the week the recent four-day demonstration in Kiev in support of popular candidates for election to the Congress of People's Deputies and against party official Shcherbitsky and his ilk. Moreover the program noted that Gorbachev appeared insensitive and indifferent to the unique problems of the Ukraine during his visit there. However, if the reports are true that he sharply criticized Ukrainian government officials and met with the leaders of the Ukrainian Popular Movement for Restructuring shortly before his departure, then this was an act of political bravery.

5. The Elections to the Congress of People's Deputies. HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE SOVIET UNION (Malinkovich, M 2:30) presented a telephone report from one of the leaders of the Ukrainian Helsinki Committee who described how independent candidates were eliminated at a preelectoral meeting of Kiev electoral district No. 33. At the end of the process only the nomenklatura's candidate, Masik, remained.

HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE SOVIET UNION (Malinkovich, M 3) remarked that the second stage of the electoral campaign -- the preelectoral district meetings -- seems to have been preplanned by the party bureaucracy to ensure the election of party officials to the Congress of People's Deputies. The election law itself reportedly does not stipulate such a process. The program said that an important lesson will be learned for the future, especially for elections at the republican and local council level.

HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE SOVIET UNION (Malinkovich, M 2) excerpted an article from Komsomolskaya Pravda about a special meeting of the Kazakh CP Central Committee which openly discussed measures to ensure that no independent thinkers are elected to the Congress of People's Deputies.

6. Informal Groups. THE LATEST ON UNOFFICIAL ORGANIZATIONS (Alekseyeva, W 20) profiled one of the most active informal sociopolitical groups in Moscow, "Civic Dignity," whose name reflects the group's main goal: to correct the historically conditioned dearth of civic dignity in Soviet society. A member of the group explained by telephone that, lacking a socially anchored political status, the group was forced to abandon its original intention to act as a solicitor in cases of official violation of an individual's civic and social rights. Now the group reportedly supports the Committee of Social Defense, a kind of local Amnesty International; works with other groups on common protest actions; and is providing a nucleus for a future political party in the event the time becomes ripe. The program remarked that the group has originally tried to act concretely to promote restructuring as suggested in Pravda of 2 November 1988, but was prevented by the current social organization.

7. Human Rights. HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE SOVIET UNION (Kaminskaya, W 8) welcomed the openness of MVD official Ogorodinov in a recent interview in Izvestia about the situation of people under suspicion who are detained by investigative agencies and about the plans for improving the conditions of their custody. The program author, a former Moscow criminal lawyer, said that the high number of such arrests indicates a crass violation of the law and noted the use of detainment to force confessions. The program called for legal reforms that would prevent such arbitrary and unfounded detainment.

8. Listeners' Letters. ASPECTS (Henkina, M 5) read selections from two letters from listeners to the BD in the Soviet Union who expressed their gratitude for much-needed information on their country, information they said is only available from the station.

9. The Economy. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 4) explained two ways to eliminate the Soviet Union's huge budget deficit: placing the burden on the population through higher prices and taxes or restricting government spending. Although the former would give only temporary respite, the program expected that this will be chosen and predicted that it will be impossible to improve the country's economic performance and maintain central planning.

10. The Emigration. On ASPECTS (Henkina, M 5) the Leningrad literary critic Ivan Tolstoy highlighted the Soviet literary emigration during the 1920s, mentioning major figures and stressing that the emigration was trying to preserve the culture that was being destroyed in the Soviet Union at that time. Tolstoy further predicted that the lies about the

emigration will stop, because the awareness is growing that the emigres were telling the truth about conditions in the Soviet Union.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanov, P 19:30) surveyed the contents of the Paris-based Russian-language weekly newspaper Russkaya Mysl of February 24. Excerpts were given from articles on the following: human rights violations in the USSR; problems of the USSR's national minorities; the statement of hunger strikers in Yerevan in support of the arrested members of the Karabakh Committee; Russian nationalism and Russian literature; Pavlovsky's 1907 guide to monasteries no longer in existence in the Soviet Union; the situation in Poland, focusing on criticism of Solidarity's compromises; and the situation in Romania. In addition a celebration in Moscow was described which marked the 15th anniversary of Solzhenitsyn's exile and which called for both his return and the publication of his works in the Soviet Union. Moreover information was given on recent emigre publications and events in the emigre community.

11. Housing. HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE SOVIET UNION (Yudovich, M 6) cited Soviet and Western statistics in explaining how the much-praised low cost of Soviet housing (6 percent of wages) in fact ignores the minimal living space allotted per person (9-14 square meters). When compared to the more than 48 square meters per person in the United States, the Soviet living space is actually more expensive. Moreover this minimum of living space is one of the potentially most dangerous in the world, the Soviet Union being the world leader in deaths from collapsing buildings due to seismologically inadequate construction.

12. The Aftermath of the Armenian Earthquake. OUR PLANET (Gordon, M 1) gave possible reasons for the postponement of a benefit pop-rock concert in Moscow for the victims of the Armenian earthquake and played a song by Whitney Houston, one of the stars scheduled to appear at the concert.

13. Homosexuality. ASPECTS (Henkina, M 4) remarked that glasnost and AIDS have removed the pale of silence surrounding human sexuality in the Soviet Union, particularly homosexuality. The program attributed the widespread licentiousness in Soviet society to the erosion of moral values, on the one hand, and to the fact that the sexual realm is the sole unrestricted outlet for self-expression not allowed in social and professional life, on the other. Citing figures from an article in Meditsinskaya Gazeta of 2 September 1988, the program said that the threat of AIDS is considerable.

14. Sports. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rubin, NY 5:30) commented on the controversy over more democracy in Soviet sports between chess champion Kasparov and the State Sports Commission, drawing

on articles in Ogonek and Sovetsky Sport. The program observed that restructuring, even in the field of sports, is like litmus paper, identifying who one is and where one stands.

15. History. ASPECTS (Sezeman, P 4) exposed the mendacity of an article in Pravda of February 17 which tried to elicit compassion for the some 20,000 Chekists, in particular Kedrov Senior and Junior, who perished in the years of repression by emphasizing that they were cultivated individuals. The program called into question any cultivation that coexists with brutal disregard for human life.

16. Culture. ASPECTS (Henkina, M 3) broadcast passages from Vladimir Nabokov's literary memoirs From the Other Shore, in which he evoked scenes from his childhood in prerevolutionary Russia.

In connection with the beginning rehabilitation of the Russian philosopher Nikolay Berdyaev, THE RUSSIAN IDEA (Paramonov, NY 28) elucidated his views on creativity, the Russian character, and the Russian Revolution. The program was a RERUN from February 24.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Yurenen, M 11:30) featured an interview with art historian Evgeny Barabanov, who told of two Soviet-organized exhibitions of avant-garde artist Ivan Chukov and nine other young artists from Moscow now on view in Münster, FRG. The interviewee discussed the problems of modern art in the Soviet Union and mentioned the plans for a permanent museum of modern art in Moscow.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Volchek, Moscow 11) profiled the writer Vladimir Erl and characterized his works, which have so far appeared only in samizdat. Erl was considered an heir of Bely and a continuer of the absurd tradition in the 1930s with Kharms.

On WRITERS AT THE MICROPHONE (Voynovich, M 17:30), emigre writer Vladimir Voynovich reflected on the concept of home and his difficulties in deciding which of four places he has lived in is his true home.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Sezeman, P 75:30) gave a positive review of the new novel The Statue of Komandor by the young French author Patric Besson, who successfully depicts Alexander Pushkin with all his contradictions.

17. Religion. ASPECTS (Paramonov, NY 4) observed that only the editorial comment seemed incongruous in an amazingly tolerant discussion of religion published in Sovetskaya Kultura of February 18. The program disagreed with the editorial's defense

of Marxist thought, saying that atheism is a natural principle of Marxism and that it reduces life to a one-dimensional sociohistorical experience by removing the religious element. Moreover this reduction process devalues human life and ultimately leads to terror. With the disappearance of terror in Soviet life, the program observed, there has been a shift back to religion and reevaluation of human life.

NOT BY BREAD ALONE (Rahr, M 10) discussed the slight differences between a second draft of the law on freedom of conscience published in the February supplement of the journal Sovetskoye Gosudarstvo i Pravo and the draft worked out by Minister for Religious Affairs Kharchev. The program noted that the trial school courses on the history of religion now being offered in Georgia and Poland will be taught by atheists and do not address the question of the right of parents to provide their children with religious instruction. An interview with Archbishop Viktorin in Sovetskaya Litva was cited as supporting the view that this right must be covered by the new law.

SUNDAY SERVICE (Rahr and Kholodnaya, M and NY 49:30) featured a Russian Orthodox Church service.

NOT BY BREAD ALONE (Aksenov-Meyerson, NY 7) excerpted passages from the memoirs of the religious affairs writer Krasnov-Levitin, who described the wave of arrests in Leningrad on 18 February 1932 which decimated Russian monasticism, an average day in the life of a Russian Orthodox monk, and the fate of Bishop Makary of Makarevaya Pustynya.

Following a reading of the parable of the prodigal son, NOT BY BREAD ALONE (Benigsen, NY 8:30) broadcast a sermon on the parable's symbolism of repentance and salvation.

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

1. Eastern Europe. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Polishchuk, W 1) quoted an editorial in The Washington Post of February 24 describing the dilemma of the East European regimes which must allow more freedom in their societies to increase economic productivity but cannot avoid the political consequences of this freedom.

#### C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The CSCE Follow-up Conference in Vienna and Other East-West Topics. Drawing on a CND report from Washington of February 24, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Polishchuk, W 4) summed up the findings of the US Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe which examined the concluding document of the third review conference

of the Helsinki process. The recent arrests of dissidents in Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria as well as the repression in Romania and arrests of the Armenian Karabakh Committee were said to overshadow the progress made on paper. The head of the American delegation in Vienna, Warren Zimmermann, commented that the conference had laid the foundation for improvement of human rights but that pressure on Eastern Europe must be continued.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 1) reported that the head of the American delegation in Vienna, Zimmermann, considers the arrest in Prague of the playwright Vaclav Havel clear proof that the human rights question has not been solved in Vienna.

OUR PLANET (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 3:30) reported on Romanian leader Ceausescu's reversal of a decision to allow childless Israeli families to adopt Romanian orphans and on the resulting hardship for all but the Romanian state.

2. The Middle East. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Miloslavsky, J 4:30) reviewed the proposals supported by the Soviet Union and the PLO for direct negotiations between the parties involved in the Middle East conflict before the convening of an international conference and noted Israel's proposal for the convening of an international conference first. The program underscored the Soviet Union's increasingly prominent role in seeking a political solution of the conflict.

3. Finland. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Pimonov, Copenhagen 6) examined the reasons for Finland's restrictive policy on fugitives. An article from Berlingske Tidende was cited.

4. US Democracy. On WRITERS AT THE MICROPHONE (Dovlatov, NY 8), emigre Soviet writer Sergey Dovlatov gave examples from his own experiences in the US which demonstrate the features of everyday democracy there.

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

1. The World's Growing Muslim Population. OUR PLANET (Gordon, M 2:30) cited statistics indicating that one-fourth of the world's population will be Muslim within 30 years.

2. Sleeping Habits. OUR PLANET (Gordon, M 1) noted the importance of timing sleep according to one's inner biological clock.

3. Technology. OUR PLANET (Dovlatov, NY 4:30) explained how a facsimile machine works and noted its new use in arranging marriages.

4. The Preparations in France for the Celebration of the Bicentennial of the French Revolution. OUR PLANET (Salkazanov, P 4:30) described the state-promoted search of family trees for ancestors who participated in the French Revolution. The search is a part of the preparations for the coming 200th anniversary of the event.

5. Human Interest Story. OUR PLANET (Gordon, M 2) told the story of an enterprising elderly woman who rents baby clothes for christening ceremonies.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Sunday, 26 February 1989

J. Benson

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

1. Soviet-Romanian Relations. COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Levin, W 6) highlighted the main points of a talk given at the Kennan Institute by Ronald Linden, director of Pittsburgh University's Research Center on the USSR and Eastern Europe, who backgrounded the current relations between Romania and the USSR, mentioning in particular Romania's attempts at restructuring before Gorbachev assumed power.

EAST EUROPEAN VARIANTS (Krimerman, M 5:30) gave an example of the improved relations between Romania and the Moldavian Republic, noting that this trend is largely due to Moldavia's own restructuring.

2. The Elections to the Congress of the People's Deputies. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 1:30) summarized an article in The Chicago Tribune of February 24 which described confusing, chaotic, and senseless aspects of the Soviet electoral campaign. A Western diplomat was quoted as saying that the main thing is that the campaign is quite different from previous Soviet electoral practices.

3. Unofficial Groups. THE LATEST ON UNOFFICIAL ORGANIZATIONS (Alekseyeva, W 20) featured an interview with Viktor Zolotarev, one of the founders of the unofficial sociopolitical organization Civic Dignity, who described its ups and downs. With the adoption in November 1988 of a decree on demonstrations and meetings, the authorities guaranteed themselves a means by

which to neutralize unofficial organizations in case of any sudden change in the prevailing passive, wait-and-see attitude of the majority of the population.

4. Glasnost. FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, NY 5) broadcast the slightly abridged letter of Soviet historian Sergey Burin published in the Paris-based Russian-language newspaper Russkaya Mysl of February 17. Burin explained his erroneous statement about Lenin in a letter supporting Yelena Chukovsky's call for the publication of Solzhenitsyn's works, attributing his slip to the prevalence of stereotypes in Soviet society.

5. The Nationalities. On SIBERIAN DESTINIES (Raygorodetsky, NY 6) emigre author Roman Raygorodetsky told the story of a decision to build an experimental village for reindeer breeding on the permafrost of the tundra as an example of how official arbitrariness poses an existential threat to the indigent population of Kamchatka.

6. Legal Reforms. THE LAW AND SOCIETY (Kaminskaya and Simis, W 20) discussed the role of laws in a society based on law and assessed the legality of current Soviet laws measured against formal and substantive criteria widely accepted in the West. The law on state enterprises was cited as a blatant example of a law that contradicts both sets of criteria, and Soviet human rights violations were said to conflict with both the Constitution and international agreements. The program criticized the plan for a committee for constitutional surveillance as an ineffective means of ensuring legal laws. In conclusion the program predicted that laws will continue to be determined by the party apparatus and not by the Congress of People's Deputies or the Supreme Soviet as stated in the Constitution.

7. The Legal Profession. In a review of the Western press, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 1) drew attention to an article in The Washington Post of February 26 about the first independent union of lawyers in the Soviet Union and the low prestige of Soviet defense lawyers.

8. The Military. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Zamashchikov, M 6:30) reviewed the latest series of appointments to high-level military positions. While the promotions of General Kochetov and Colonel-General Kalinin were expected, that of General Varennikov was thought to be both a gesture of compensation to the military establishment and a guarantee that officers involved in the Afghan War will not be held responsible for it.

9. The Party. SOVIETOLOGISTS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Shragin, NY 20) quoted extensive extracts from the article "Soviet Society and the Communist Party" by Prof. Field which appeared in a

recently published anthology titled Understanding Soviet Society. In his article Field analyzed the problems arising from the party's role as the primary moving and organizing force in society.

10. Solzhenitsyn. FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, NY 11:30) continued to review the first issue of the emigre almanac Strelets, the first third of which contains papers on Solzhenitsyn presented at an international conference held in New York on 4 December 1988. Emigre writer Vasily Aksenov read a slightly abridged version of his paper, in which he paid homage to Solzhenitsyn.

11. Chernobyl. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 1:30) highlighted an article distributed by the Knight-Ridder Syndicate on February 26 giving detailed information about the situation of the rural population located 80 km west of Chernobyl. It was observed that although the people receive a monthly supplement to purchase nonradioactive food products, they are not told the amount of their actual exposure to radioactivity and they continue to grow crops that are almost certainly contaminated.

12. Siberia. SIBERIAN DESTINIES (Shapiro, M 8:30) agreed with letters published by the Soviet press that more independence, autonomy, regional cost-accounting, and even involvement of foreign firms and international organizations in Siberia would help reduce the worse excesses of the exploitation of the region. However, the program warned of signs that local party officials are trying to concentrate power in their own hands and opined that several local dictators are no improvement over central control. Items in Pravda and Izvestia were cited.

SIBERIAN DESTINIES (Manannikov, Novosibirsk 4) presented an editorial in the independent journal Sibirskaya Tribuna which argued against the command economy administered from Moscow and explained how Siberia would benefit from greater autonomy.

13. Sports. COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Rubin, NY 4:30), a RERUN from February 19, observed that glasnost has now allowed reporters to look into the previously taboo subject of steroid abuse in Soviet sports.

THE WORLD OF SPORTS (Rubin, NY 14) commented on the much discussed topic in the Soviet press of cost-accounting and financial self-sufficiency in Soviet sports, observing that it would be better not to imitate the West in this regard. The program also considered the prevailing attitude that a Soviet sportsman's behavior both professionally and privately reflects on the group and the country to be a remnant of prerestructuring times.

14. History. COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Geller, P 7) gave a positive review of a new book by emigre historian Mikhail Voslensky entitled Khozayeva Nomenklatura (The Masters of the Nomenklatura), in which he examines the different generations of the nomenklatura. The program found especially fascinating Voslensky's unusual interpretation of the eras of Andropov and Gorbachev as well as his theory of a Soviet reform mechanism that begins operating every 32 years, always promising more than the last time but yielding less.

SIBERIAN DESTINIES (Krasin, W 6) broadcast the second part of a former political prisoner's reminiscences about life in Stalin's camps in Siberia, this time about the 10-year struggle that raged between two major groups of criminals.

15. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Nechayev, P 8) described the popularity of Russian independent art in the galleries and auctions of Paris, noting that now even the Soviet state museums are bidding for these paintings.

EX LIBRIS (Panich, M 29), a RERUN from 21 November 1985, featured the ninth installment of a samizdat prose poem by Venedikt Yerofeyev entitled Moskva-Petrushki.

EX LIBRIS (Genis, NY 4) explained the literary and metaphysical significance of drunkenness as used in Venedikt Yerofeyev's prose poem.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Vishnevskaya, M 5) said that a possible explanation for Dmitry Urnov's negative criticism in Literaturnaya Gazeta of February 8 of Venedikt Yerofeyev's prose poem might be that as a specialist in English literature, Urnov considers it his duty to select the best in his own literature and belittle it.

16. Religion. COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Fotiyev, M 4:30), a RERUN from February 21, highlighted an article by legal expert Yury Rosenbaum in Sovetskoye Gosudarstvo i Pravo, No. 2, entitled "On the Working Out of a Draft Law on the Freedom of Worship." The program expressed skepticism that the new law would provide equal rights for both religious believers and atheists and raised the question of possible punishment for those found breaking the law.

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

1. Hungary. EAST EUROPEAN VARIANTS (Fistejn, M 3) presented an assessment telephoned from Budapest of the comments made at the

HSWP CC session of February 20-21 regarding the reform of Hungary's agricultural policy.

EAST EUROPEAN VARIANTS (Fistejn, M 6), a RERUN from February 20, broadcast an interview given by Mihaly Bihari, the secretary-general of the newly reestablished Hungarian Social Democratic Party, in which he expressed the opinion that his party is going to be the main challenger to the ruling Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

2. Czechoslovakia. EAST EUROPEAN VARIANTS (Levin, M 9) examined the economic situation of the country in light of this year's production plan and budget.

#### C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The Helsinki Follow-up Conference in Vienna. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Polishchuk, W 2:30), a RERUN from February 25, summed up the findings of the US Commission on Security and Cooperation Europe which examined the concluding document of the Vienna review conference of the Helsinki process.

2. Japan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Matuzok, Osaka 6) backgrounded the controversy surrounding Japan's role in World War II, particularly Emperor Hirohito's responsibility for the country's aggressive policy.

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

1. US Sports. THE WORLD OF SPORTS (Rubin, NY 6) highlighted a report given at a recent meeting of the US Olympic Committee about measures to expand support for American sportsmen competing in the Olympics.

2. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Vail, NY 13) reported on "The American Museum of the Moving Image" which recently opened in New York.

3. Miscellaneous Developments. OVER THE BARRIERS (Yurenen, M 10) interviewed a 15-year-old European schoolgirl who expressed her views about modern music, and played selections of "rap" music.

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### RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

#### Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Monday, 27 February 1989

V. Frank

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

1. The Nationalities. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Levin, M 4) carried a short report by the independent Tallinn correspondent Sander Sys. According to his information, the assistant editor of the newspaper Sovetskaya Estonia in charge of propaganda, Vyacheslav Ivanov, answering a question about the secret letter by the Presidium of the Central Committee of the CPSU said that this is a "Moscow" letter. "In Estonia we have different laws and this is not an order for us." The letter supposedly dealt with measures to be taken against unofficial organizations. The telephone conversation was recorded and was carried in the program with Ivanov's agreement. Sys repeats Ivanov's words: if that letter really exists, it is a return to old times and "I do not approve of those methods."

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Levin, M 3) presented a report by the correspondent of the independent journal Express-Khronika in Riga, Mikhail Bombin. He gave an account of a conference of the independent movement "Zashchita sredy" ("Defense of the Environment") which was recently held in Riga. About 2000 people attended, including 60 delegates. The catastrophic situation with regards to the environment in Latvia was pointed out.

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Malinkovich, M 15) examined the program of the Ukrainian Popular Movement led by the well-known Ukrainian poet Ivan Drach. The program itself consists of measures to invigorate the economy, thus improving the living standard; to halt all steps which slow down the process of democratization; to make the Ukraine a republic based upon law; and, finally, to make the Popular Front the genuine mouthpiece of all the nationalities living in the Ukraine. A

number of political and economic demands concerning interrelations with other republics were also cited. It was stressed that despite its obvious faults, the program appears to be extremely attractive to the peoples living within the Ukraine. Once certain alterations will have been made, the program may become acceptable to all democratic forces in the Ukraine.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Levin, M 5) quoted a statement, received by telephone from the leader of the Georgian Helsinki group, Zviad Gamsakhurdia, on the anniversary of the Soviet occupation of Georgia in 1921. All unofficial Georgian organizations declared the 25th of February a day of mourning. Gamsakhurdia said that despite tremendous security measures and arrests, a crowd managed to hold a meeting in front of the university building. The main theme of the meeting was the demand for the liberation of Georgia from the "Red" occupation.

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Shuster, M 10) presented a telephone interview with Almaz Yestekov, one of the leaders of the movement "Islam and Democracy" in Central Asia and Kazakhstan. Answering a question, Yestekov stressed the rebirth of Islam in the Soviet Union. He recounted that the religious head of the Muslims in Central Asia and Kazakhstan, Mufti Babakhanov, was removed from his post due to the efforts of his organization and various mullahs. This was preceded by a large demonstration in Tashkent. He maintained that Babakhanov is an agent of the authorities. The war against the Afghan people unmasked the real face of the Soviet authorities whom he described as a two-horned devil.

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Malinkovich, M 3) quoted from an article which appeared in Vechernyaya Kazan concerning the "Tartar Public Center." According to its leaders, one of the main aims appears to be the question of the Tartar language, for which they attempt to obtain the status of an official language in those areas where the population is mainly Tartar. The center welcomes the program of the Popular Front and wishes to cooperate with this organization in the interest of the Tartars.

MAN AND SOCIETY (Gordin, M 6) examined the situation of the ethnic Germans in the USSR. After giving a survey of their fate -- their forcible evacuation from their places of residence, mainly the Volga, on the suspicion of potential collaboration with the Germans -- the difference in the official view of them was touched upon. They have now become German Russians or Soviet Germans, some of whom have chosen to leave their "Fatherland." The case of about 200 Pentacostalists was cited who, after having moved to West Germany, are now all living in the same village.

MAN AND SOCIETY (Gordin, M 12) carried an interview with the preacher of a Pentecostalist group of ethnic Germans from the Soviet Far East who recently settled in a village in West Germany. His interview touched upon the hard life of the Pentecostalists led in the Soviet Union, the persecution they suffered as believers and as Germans, their departure, and the life they encountered in West Germany.

2. Afghanistan. RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Fotiev, M 4:30) commented on the fate of the Afghan war veterans, who have now returned to the Soviet Union. Mentioning a church service recently held in Moscow for the dead soldiers and the wounded ones, which was attended by some veterans and their relatives, the moral and emotional impact of an unjust war was stressed.

3. Soviet-Iranian relations. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Matusevich, M 4) commented on the Soviet TV-coverage of the meeting in Tehran between the Ayatollah Khomeini and the Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs Shevardnadze. It was stressed that only a couple of months ago, Gorbachev strongly criticized Iran and the Soviet TV commentator attacked Iran a day before the Khomeini-Shevardnadze meeting. Since then the tone of the Soviet mass-media has changed.

4. Human Rights. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Levin, M 3) presented a report by independent Moscow correspondent Dmitry Volchek about the demonstration held in front of the Iranian Embassy in Moscow. According to his words, the demonstration was organized by the "Democratic Union," the independent journal Express-Khronika, and various other unofficial organizations. The demonstration, lasting about 40 minutes, was in protest at Ayatollah Khomeini's decision to sentence Salman Rushdie to death. The militia did not interfere, yet one of the demonstrators was arrested and fined.

5. Dissidents and Human Rights. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Levin, M 5) presented an interview by the independent Moscow correspondent Aleksandr Podrabinek, who is the editor of Express Khronika. He gave various examples of recent violations of human rights, in particular in the Russian Federation, Azerbaijan, Moldavia, and Georgia and against the Crimean Tatars.

6. Society. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Levin, M 6) carried a report by the independent correspondent Aleksey Manannikov from Novosibirsk. He talked about the appearance of critical articles concerning the Afghan War in the Novosibirsk press. In particular the correspondent cited an article by a war veteran which appeared in the newspaper Molodost Sibiri under the title "Nam vrali" ("They lied to us"). The author was certain that



the war was a disgrace to the Soviet Union and made a number of progressive people in the whole world doubt the sincerity of the USSR. If ever they erect a monument to the soldiers fallen in Afghanistan, it should be named "To the betrayed soldier."

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Kuznetsov, M 4) presented a telephone interview with professor of mathematics and ex-political prisoner Revolt Pimenov who, despite widespread support, was not chosen to become a candidate to the elections. Pimenov gave the reasons he was not chosen to be a candidate. Answering another question, Pimenov pointed to the lack of, what he called, judicial culture in the Soviet Union and stressed that 70 years of lawlessness cannot be ignored. We have fallen out of the habit of parliamentarism, but there is hope that this will grow in time, said Revolt Pimenov.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, M 5) presented a press review on the struggle between conservatism and liberalism in the Soviet Union. The experts were taken from the Moscow correspondents of The New York Times and the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung in connection with the forthcoming elections to the Congress of Peoples' Deputies.

7. Internal Affairs. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Levin, M 5) presented a report by the independent Moscow correspondent Dmitry Volchek about a secret letter by the Presidium of the Central Committee of CPSU concerning ways of dealing with unofficial organizations. Volchek quoted Leningradskaya Pravda in which details of that letter were quoted. The correspondent assumed that the publication of the letter was definitely connected with the case being prepared against the "Democratic Union" in Leningrad. The letter was considered to be a directive for a new drive against unofficial organizations.

8. Press Review. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Nadirashvili, M 4) presented a report from the independent Moscow correspondent Yuri Mityunov. He commented on the press coverage of the preelection campaign and, in particular, quoted Lev Zaitsov, the head of the Moscow City Council, who pointed out that the preelection campaign proved the inability of party workers to lead political discussions. As long as the power remains in the hands of the party, these people do not need to discuss any political problems. The subject of young men organized in National-Socialist groups was also mentioned.

9. The Economy. MAN AND SOCIETY (Kroncher, M 5) discussed the plans, proposed by some economists in the Soviet Union, to raise the rents of apartments. This would create additional funds which could be used to construct new living quarters. This proposal met with violent opposition, since it would increase the expenditure of those persons who live on inadequate incomes.

It was stressed that this proposal was a typical Soviet method which, instead of solving a given problem, spreads it out so that everyone has to bear it. This would lead to a levelling out of pauperism.

10. The Orthodox Church. RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Fotiev, M 16) interviewed art historian Yevgeny Barabanov from Moscow during his visit to Munich. Answering questions on the position of the Russian Orthodox Church during the period of perestroika, Barabanov stressed that the history of the last 70 years has led to a rift between the Church and the people. This rift appears to be wider than that between the Church and the government. It was stressed that it is the task of the Church to begin a process which could bring the two sides together. The situation has now changed, walls have begun to tumble. Yet the Church is still denied the possibility of being what it originally was or should be. It has to explain the rudimentary teachings of belief, such as "who am I?" "where did I come from and where am I going?" In answer to another question, it was pointed out that the law of 1929 is still in force, although another law is being prepared which, inter alia, will probably permit the religious education of children. There is no longer active persecution of believers, but those in charge of the Church are still governed by apathy and inertia, which is difficult to deal with.

CHRISTIANITY IN THE MODERN WORLD (Aksenov-Meyerson, NY 7) reviewed the fourth issue of the journal Vybor, which is published in Moscow. In particular, an article by Valery Senderov, who was a political prisoner for 5 years, was extensively quoted. Senderov, an Orthodox believer, attempted to prove that his belief was the only way to bear the privations of prison life. According to his experience, physical suffering enforces spiritual values to such an extent that he recommends that everyone spend at least a year in a Soviet prison.

11. Literature. AT THE NEWSSTAND (Perouansky, M 29:30) continued the review of the Soviet bulletin Vek XX i mir, which began last week. The first article under review concerned the role of the armed forces in a possible or future struggle for power in the USSR. The principle of conscientious objection against military service was discussed and the possibility of its practical implementation in the Soviet Union was mentioned. Another article covered the question of the Tolstoy movement in the Soviet Union which is known under the name of "Yasnaya Polyana." Dve perestroiki ("Two perestroikas") was the title of the next article, commenting, inter alia, on the phenomenon of Stalinism coupled with venomous antisemitism which, according to the author, was the greatest danger to the revolution. The review ended with a letter by the well-known poet Yuly Kim. Finally a letter to the journal Ogonek was quoted.

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

1. Yugoslavia. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 6:30) commented on the protests of the ethnic Albanian miners in the Yugoslav autonomous province of Kosovo. They were holding a hunger strike in support of their demand to release several local party leaders, also Albanians. The nationality conflict in Kosovo has become more acute because of the economic crisis which is mainly felt in the south of the country.

2. Czechoslovakia. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Levin, M 4) gave a telephone interview with the correspondent of the independent East European information agency in Prague, Jan Urban. He reported about a recent meeting of several hundred young people who discussed the problems connected with military service. This meeting was officially authorized. The newspaper Rude Pravo commenting on this meeting said that discussions have to take place, but with a certain selection. The next item concerned the incarceration of the playwright Vaclav Havel and the negative reaction to it in Poland and Hungary. The only allies of the Czech authorities in this affair seem to be East Germany and Soviet Union.

3. Literature. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fishtein, M 7:30) discussed the Warsaw production of two works by the Czech writer Vaclav Havel, who was recently sentenced to nine months in prison on trumped-up charges. It was stressed that Polish Prime Minister Rakowski was present at the first night. After the performance Adam Michnik, one of the leading Polish dissidents, gave a speech attacking the situation in Czechoslovakia and demanding the release of Havel.

## C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. France. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanov, P 7) commented on the French reaction to the Rushdie affair and, in particular, his sentence of death, which was decreed by the Ayatollah Khomeini for offences against the Muslim religion. The French government as well as public opinion were united on condemning state terror, be it in the case of Rushdie or in the case of Vaclav Havel, sentenced in Prague on fabricated charges.

2. Japan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Matuzok, Osaka 6) reviewed the reaction of Japanese society to the negative attitude of various Western countries concerning the role Emperor Hirohito played during World War II. The opinion of the Japan Times was quoted which criticizes Japanese correspondents for creating the

impression that the history of the country ended in 1945. The present time and the period since the end of the war should be stressed more actively. It was pointed out that perhaps this very fact may be decisive in a new wave of nationalism among the Japanese.

3. The United States. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 4:30) commented on President Bush's journey to South Korea and China, which he visited after his visit to Japan. During his stay in Peking, Bush met several Chinese dissidents. While in Tokyo, Bush met a number of heads of states with whom he held talks on a number of subjects, including the Middle East conflict.

THE USA TODAY (Vail, NY 4) gave a survey of events in the United States. The program was presented under the title "What Americans Talk About."

THE USA TODAY (Krassin, M 5) commented on the Month of Black Culture and History which was observed in the United States. The economic position of blacks, which is lower than that of the white population, was discussed, as well as the system of welfare.

THE USA TODAY (Genis, NY 8) discussed the problem of racism in the United States and came to the conclusion that it still does exist. Nevertheless, the problem of racism is less obvious in the United States than, for example, in such Communist countries as the Soviet Union or China.

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

1. Culture. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Shuster, M 5) presented a program about the song festival in San Remo. The proceeds of the festival were to be used to assist the victims of the earthquake in Armenia.

2. US Topics. THE USA TODAY (Vail, NY 6) commented on the role black Americans played and continue to play in Jazz in the United States. The small number of nonblacks who made an impact on jazz was pointed out.

THE USA TODAY (Vail, NY 5) commented on the presentation of the Grammy awards for the best vocalists in the United States. This program was presented in the series "The American of the Week."

MAN AND SOCIETY (Levin, W 6:30) gave a detailed review of the book by Stephen Hocking Short History of the Times which has become a best-seller in the United States.

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### RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

#### Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Tuesday, 28 February 1989

M. Frost

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

1. Sino-Soviet Relations. ROUND TABLE (Fistejn, Voslesensky, Bensi, M 20) discussed the current visit by President Bush to the PRC and the upcoming Sino-Soviet summit in Peking in the context of the new configuration of superpower relations. The program pointed out the deideologization of foreign relations on the part of the USSR and the PRC and noted that neither country wants to reestablish the type of relations which led to the mutual estrangement of the two countries in the 1960s. The program compared and contrasted the economic and political developments within the USSR and the PRC and stressed the importance of increased economic activity in the USSR and greater political liberalization in the PRC.
2. USSR-Poland. RUSSIA YESTERDAY, TODAY, TOMORROW (Tolz, M 10) drew attention to the admission by the moderator of the Soviet radio station Mayak's program "Panorama" that if the Katyn massacre was really carried out in March-April of 1940, then it could only have been the work of the Soviet secret police. The program gave background information on the program as well as the previous Soviet unwillingness to admit involvement in the massacre. The program was a RERUN from February 22.
3. Soviet-Middle-East Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Matusevich, M 4) presented a review of commentaries on Shevardnadze's Middle East tour appearing in The New York Times, The Washington Post, and The Times (London).
4. Afghanistan. Pegged to an article published in the February 28 edition of Krasnaya Zvezda in which General Gromov denied Sakharov's claim that Soviet soldiers in danger of being captured by Afghan resistance forces were sometimes shot from their own helicopter gun-ships, THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD

(Levin, Kuznetsov, Shuster, M; and Volchek, Moscow 6) filed reports from various RL staffers generally corroborating Sakharov's allegations.

Based on a report from the Afghan Media Resource Center of February 26, THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Kuznetsov, M 2) reported on the foiling of an attempted coup in Kabul involving the arrest of about six hundred persons.

5. The Baltic States. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gordin and Rosenbaum, M 6) discussed the controversy surrounding the marking of the 71st anniversary of the independence of Estonia. The program observed that not all sections of the independence movement were happy with the raising of the Estonian flag in Tallinn on February 24 as they considered it far too early to celebrate Estonian "independence."

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Levin, M 5) presented a telephone report from Ekspress-Khronika staffer in Vilnius, Valdas Analaukas, who covered Lithuanian unofficial reaction to the publication of the proposed new Lithuanian constitution.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Siss, Moscow) broadcast an address published in Glasnost by the National Independence Party of Estonia marking the 71st anniversary of the Estonian republic.

6. The Nationalities. Pegged to the February 25 demonstration in Tbilisi to mark the 68th anniversary of the invasion of Georgia by troops from the Soviet Russian republic, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Nadirashvili and Eristavi, M 20) discussed the significance of this fateful day for the history of Georgia. The discussants supplied details of the demonstration and the various acts of protest in the Georgian capital and criticized the security forces for reacting vehemently to manifestations of national sentiment the like of which have been permitted, more or less unhindered, in the Baltic republics.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Levin, M 2) broadcast an article from the Moscow unofficial journal Glasnost on the estimated crowd of half a million Armenians demonstrating in Yerevan to mark last year's massacre in Sumgait.

7. Restructuring. RUSSIA YESTERDAY, TODAY, TOMORROW (Geller, P 9:30) remarked that after the CPSU has admitted that the USSR is suffering an economic crisis, and that its history has been characterized by periods of personality cult, voluntarism, and stagnation, and that the question of a multiparty system is being raised. Gorbachev, however, is against such a system. The program noted the existence of several parties in pre-Revolutionary Russia, and traced the changes in the definition of the word "party" in Russia/USSR. The program was a REUN from February 22.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Malinkovich, M 6:30) characterized the restructuring process as having reached the critical phase where it could make further advances in remolding Soviet society or, conversely, could come up against the wall of conservative opposition. The program conceded that, in such a critical situation, Gorbachev needs to manoeuvre extremely carefully, but only until such time as he is able to strike a telling blow against the conservatives in favor of the forces of democracy which are already on the march in many of the union republics.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Vail, NY 8) reviewed an article appearing in The New York Times of February 26 by former National Security advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski on possible outcomes of Gorbachev's restructuring program.

8. Democracy. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Henkina, M 5) compared two Western reports of a pre-election meeting in Moscow which exposed the arbitrary nature of the selection process for candidates to the newly created Congress of People's Deputies.

9. Glasnost. Pegged to Politburo member Alexander Yakovlev's campaign speech in Tibilisi, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Tolz, M 7) criticized the TASS coverage of the event and pointed out the irony of the less than truthful reporting on the circumstances of a speech delivered by Yakovlev, who is widely considered to be one of the most enthusiastic Kremlin supporters of glasnost and restructuring.

10. Chernobyl. Drawing on a Knight-Ridder Syndicate item from Kiev, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Muslin, NY 8), reported on the screening of two films on the aftermath of the Chernobyl nuclear disaster, both of which severely criticized Soviet officials for failing to provide the population of the Ukraine with even the most rudimentary information concerning the health risks associated with radiation contamination.

11. Society. MAN AND SOCIETY (Shapiro, M 7:30) examined an article from Izvestia from December 1988 which described the miserable conditions and deficits prevailing in the town of Trubchevsk in the RFSSR. The program welcomed the Soviet media's concern over the issue and commented that Trubchevsk is typical of thousands of provincial towns in the USSR.

MAN AND SOCIETY (Gordin, M 12) took issue with an article in Pravda from February 22 which argued that the woman's place in Soviet society is in the home. The program compared the situation of working women in the USSR with those in the West and severely criticized the article for promoting anachronistic views on the role of women in Soviet society. New data on the alarmingly high number of abortions in the Soviet Union appearing in Moskovskiye Novosti were also discussed.



12. The Media. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Mityunov, M 4:30) presented a review of the Soviet official and unofficial press on the subjects of military service and independence movements in the Baltic Republics.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanova, P 4:30) criticized the uneven coverage of British Prime Minister Thatcher's February 27 visit to France in the Soviet press.

13. The Armed Forces. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 4) reviewed US specialist Ian Brimmer's recently published book on the strength and quality of the Soviet submarine fleet. The program analyzed the figures presented in the book and lamented that such data is still unavailable in the USSR despite all the advances made by glasnost.

14. History. RUSSIA YESTERDAY, TODAY, TOMORROW (Gorbanevskaya, P 10), commenting that Soviet historiography on the Lenin period of Soviet history has hardly changed, gave the facts on the Kronstadt Uprising of March 1921 as described in the Izvestia Kronshtadtskogo Vremennogo Revolyutsionnogo Komiteta (News of the Kronstadt Provisional Revolutionary Committee) published at the time. The program was a RERUN from February 22.

15. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Yurenen, M 29:30) introduced and broadcast a lecture delivered by the Moscow cultural commentator Mikhail Epshtein to a new cultural club in Moscow. Epshtein's lecture, entitled "The Birth of Culture Out of Civilization" dealt with tactics and strategies for the artist in the restructuring era.

16. Literature. FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 29:30) broadcast the 48th installment of Alexander Solzhenitsyn's The Gulag Archipelago.

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

None

#### C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The US. Based on a CND report from Washington, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Vainshtein, M 4:30), profiled the new Chairman of the US Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Senator DeConcini. The program backgrounded the function of the commission, established in 1976 to monitor the provisions of the Helsinki accords in the 35 signatory countries.

MAN AND SOCIETY (Genis, NY 6) discussed the controversy over the abortion issue in the US.



2. East-West Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 5) reviewed a Soviet television program "Studio Nine," broadcast on February 25, which dealt with the concept of "reasonable sufficiency" in the conventional and nuclear forces of NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

3. France. Based on numerous AFP reports, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 7) backgrounded the announcement that Vaclav Havel has been awarded the French Pen Club's Freedom Award for 1989.

4. The Rushdie Affair. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Pomerantsev, L 5:30) continued coverage of the conflict between Britain and Iran surrounding Salman Rushdie's novel The Satanic Verses.

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

1. Miscellaneous. MODERN MEDICINE (Chalidze, Morozov, and Muslin) included items on the harmful effects of various materials commonly used in the construction of apartments in the US, on the benefits of exercise in slowing the effects of old age, and on other recent developments in the world of medicine.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis  
for Wednesday, 1 March 1989  
N. Petroff

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

1. Internal Affairs. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Malinkovich, M 4) summarized a recent interview with Fyodor Burlatsky that was broadcast over Austrian television. In response to a question suggesting the possibility of Gorbachev's political demise, assuming a pattern similar to the events that led to the downfall of Nikita Khrushchev, Burlatsky responded that he could not envision the same scenario repeating itself. Unlike Khrushchev, who admittedly was a shrewd politician and yet was foolish enough to cut his political ties with the party apparat, and the military, Gorbachev is more educated and savvy about party politics and will not make the same mistakes. Gorbachev's only real serious error in the past four years, said Burlatsky, was his overzealous antialcohol campaign that embittered a large segment of the population on whom he depends for support.

MAN AND SOCIETY (Gordin, Shragin, and Mirsky M 20:00) discussed the evolution of pluralism as a component of Soviet polemics and aired an interview with Valery Senderov who talked about political campaigning, Soviet style.

2. Afghanistan. DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Shragin, NY 8) broadcast excerpts an essay by The New York Times correspondent David Shipler which discussed the similarities and differences of the wars waged in Viet Nam and Afghanistan, and what the two great superpowers learned from their tragic mistakes.

3. Agriculture. RUSSIA YESTERDAY, TODAY, TOMORROW (Tolz, M 29:30) was devoted in its entirety to Soviet agriculture. The program began with excerpts from a historic speech by Vladimir Tikhonov, recently delivered at a Harvard University seminar on problems in Soviet agricultural economy. Gorbachev's top agricultural advisor and architect of the proposed land reform law said that a radical change in agriculture production at the village level "is the alpha and omega of rural economy throughout the entire nation." The program concluded with a commentary on the appearance of a spate of articles in the Soviet press, which, for the first time, admitted the policy of forced hunger that destroyed millions of peasants in the 1930's.

4. The Military. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Nadirashvili, M 6) discussed the important role played by military advisers in furthering the long-range political objectives of the Soviet government.

5. Ideology. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fredtechevsky, M 5:30) summarized the speculative views of Vitaly Korotich and Michael Novak on what would happen if, for some unforeseen reason, Gorbachev left office. The opinions of both commentators converged on the point that it would indeed be a bad turn of events for the country should Gorbachev leave or be replaced.

In a telephone report received from Moscow by RL contributor Alexey Manannikov, THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Levin, M 4) discussed the appearance among regional informal groups of samizdat documents supposedly authored by members of the party's nomenklatura who do not want to see them in official print.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Chenkina, M 5:30) explored the growing tendency among certain Soviet writers and journalists to openly discuss Vladimir Lenin's role as the de facto evil genius behind the Bolshevik reign of terror which was the inspirational source for the Stalinist holocaust.

6. Dissidents. In a telephone conversation with RL's Moscow contributor Evgeny Polyakov, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Nadirashvili, M 5) reported that on 28 February a gathering of writers and other members of the intelligentsia took place in the House of Artists to commemorate the memory of Yuly Daniel.

7. Health. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Levin, M 5), in a telephone report received from Moscow, discussed the serious concern generated by medical experts over the possibility of an AIDS epidemic in the Soviet Union far greater than had been originally anticipated.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Muslin, NY 4:30) summarized an article in the Chicago Tribune that discussed the unprecedented inspection of Soviet psychiatric wards by American psychiatrists. The inspection comes at a time when the Soviet Union is attempting to reenter the World Psychiatric Association after having left it six years ago.

8. The Nationalities. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Levin, M 1:30) briefly described the structure and ideological base of the Armenian "green movement," which recently sent delegates to the first all-Union conference of greens.

BALTIC DIARY (Rahr, M 20) presented excerpts from various newspapers and journals published in the Baltic republics which focused on demonstrations held by independent national groups in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Levin, M 5:30), in a telephone report from Tallinn, reported that on February 24 the blue, black, and white national flag of Estonia was raised over the capital for the first time in 71 years. At the official flag raising ceremony the large red Soviet flag was lowered, carefully folded, and then carried away "like a treasured corpse" to the nearest museum.

10. History. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Chenkina, M 3) commented on an article in Literaturnaya Gruzia which placed the blame squarely on the shoulders of Vladimir Lenin for initiating the state policy of mass terror, concentration camps, and executions.

11. History. DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Shragin, NY 11) analyzed the many manifestations of the "personality cult" as a phenomenon unique to the 20th century. The program focused on the special role it played in modern Soviet history.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Vail, NY 4) summarized a biographical sketch of Politburo member and CPSU Secretary, Alexander Yakovlev, recently published in the New York Times Magazine.

12. Literature. OVER THE BARRIERS (Genis, NY 7) presented excerpts from a lengthy article by Ivan Kavelina that appeared in the journal Vestnik Novoi Literatury. The author tries to explain Marxism and the meaning of the Bolshevik Revolution in terms of ancient mythology but in the context of the 20th century. The article asserts that Soviet literature is caught in an infantile stage of development awaiting to be transformed into world-class literature.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Levin, M 4:30), in a telephone conversation with Moscow contributor Gleb Anishchenko, rebuked Andrey Voznesenky's purported hypocritical adulation of Boris Pasternak. The program reminded the listener of the time when the communist party launched its vicious attack on Pasternak and which compelled his then live-in disciple, Voznesenky, to abandon him without explanation.

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

1. Yugoslavia. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fistein, M 7) analyzed the background events which led to the present state of anarchy in Kosovo and to the irreconcilable polarization of Serbs and Albanians into two hostile camps.

2. Czechoslovakia. In a telephone report from Prague by RL contributor Jan Urban, THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Levin, M 4) reviewed the week's events in the Czechoslovak human rights movement and in several active independent political groups.

C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. The US. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, M 5) reported President Bush's recently completed trip to Japan, China, and Korea. In remarks made to journalists upon his return to the US the president said that although no agreements were signed the trip itself was politically "beneficial."

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Vainstein, M 7:30) briefly discussed the ongoing controversy brewing around the candidacy of former Senator John Tower for the post of Secretary of Defense. At the end of the week the Senate plans to vote on the presidential nomination.

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Morozov, NY 7) described the method devised by the state of Michigan to assist families in obtaining low cost mortgages.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Dovlatov and Volkov, NY 18:30) presented an obituary and a summary of artistic achievement of the late John Kassavetis. In its recognition of February as black history month, the program surveyed the origins of gospel music and noted the many contributions it made to American culture.

2. France-Romania. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 9:40) reported the latest activities by the newly formed French organization called the "Association for Saving Romanian Villages" and its effort to prevent the wholesale destruction of thousands of centuries-old towns and villages by Romanian dictator Ceausescu.

3. El Salvador. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, M 3:30) commented on the US State Department's endorsement of a proposal by the government of El Salvador to meet with rebel forces and discuss terms for a cease fire.

4. Denmark. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Pimonov, Copenhagen 3:30) commented on Denmark's decision to join the list of nations protesting the Ayatollah Khomeini's call for the murder of Salman Rushdie because of his "blasphemous" novel, Satanic Verses.

5. The Middle East. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Miloslavsky, Jerusalem 8) reported that as a result of recent municipal elections the nationalist Likud Party, which only 12 years ago was able for the first time to form a national government, has now become the ruling party of Israel.

6. Great Britain. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Levin, M 5:30) reported Great Britain's declaration that the Iranian threat to break diplomatic relations because of the dispute over the book Satanic Verses will not in any way change the British government's stand on freedom of expression and the defense of its citizens basic human rights.

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

None

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis  
for Thursday, 2 March 1989  
M. Rudin

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

1. Soviet-Iranian Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 3:30) highlighted articles assessing the prospects for improvement in Soviet-Iranian relations from Le Figaro, The Independent, The Daily Telegraph, The Times (London), and Die Presse.
2. Italian Communist Party Chief Occhetto's Talks with Gorbachev. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, Rome 3:30) reported on the results of the talks, highlighting Occhetto's remarks in Corriere della Sera about the "new thinking" in relations between Moscow and the Italian CP and his impressions of Gorbachev and his restructuring program.
3. Afghanistan. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Levin, M 8) noted attacks on Academician Sakharov in the Soviet press, namely by General Gromov in Krasnaya Zvezda and by the former Armed Forces Chief of Staff Akhromeyev in Komsomolskaya Pravda, for claiming that Soviet helicopters fired on Soviet soldiers who had been surrounded by the resistance. Komsomolskaya Pravda also carried a telephone interview with Sakharov in which he confirmed his assertion and in which his wife, Elena Bonner, called for direct talks between the Soviet Union and the Afghan resistance on POWs, with UN and Red Cross participation. The program also noted that RL spoke with Sakharov, who once again mentioned his position on this question. An article in Sotsialisticheskaya Industriya was cited on the plight of the Soviet "Afgantsi."

In connection with Sakharov's statement, THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Levin and Shuster, M 3) talked to former Soviet soldier Nikolay Movchan, who fought in Afghanistan until 1983. Movchan said that although there was the feeling among officers and soldiers that Soviet POWs are traitors and although he had heard that Soviet forces bombed territory on which Soviet prisoners were held, he never heard that Soviet soldiers had been fired upon to prevent them from being taken prisoner. RL staffer Savik Shuster, who has covered Afghan affairs in the past, agreed with Movchan's view and said that he also never heard that Soviet helicopters bombed Soviet ground units.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Shuster, M 5) featured an interview with RFE/RL correspondent Smith, who worked out of Islamabad. Smith said that it would be incorrect to blame the Islamic Alliance of Parties of the Afghan Resistance for creating chaos in Afghanistan, observing that before the USSR invaded Afghanistan, the Afghans managed to solve their conflicts peacefully for 40 years. She also noted that the Shiites are an important factor in the settlement of Afghanistan's future.

4. Human Rights. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Volchek, Moscow 5:30) reported on the work of an American commission investigating psychiatric abuse in the Soviet Union. Soviet officials have imposed no restrictions on whom the commission can see while it is in the Soviet Union. The program noted that many people are coming from all over the country in hope of meeting with members of the delegation. Although many people incarcerated in psychiatric hospitals have been released under restructuring there are still many hundreds who have not been set free. These are the people that the American delegation will deal with first.

On THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Slobodsky, Moscow 2), Naum Slobodsky, a former worker at Gosagroprom who was incarcerated in a psychiatric hospital, told about his meeting at the American Embassy in Moscow with members of the American delegation investigating psychiatric abuse in the USSR. Slobodsky agreed with a statement made there by a Soviet psychiatrist who said that psychiatric repressions of a political nature are only the tip of the iceberg and that social cases make up the bulk of the problem.

On MAN AND SOCIETY (Volchek, Moscow 5), Dmitry Volchek, an editor of the unofficial journal Glasnost spoke by telephone with well-known mathematician Georgy Samoilovich, who has been trying since 1979 to receive permission from the Soviet



authorities to emigrate from the Soviet Union. Last year Samoilovich was diagnosed as having cancer and still has not been allowed to travel to the West to receive medical treatment.

5. An Interview with Moscow Human Rights Activist Valery Senderov. MAN AND SOCIETY (Mirsky, P 5:30) continued to feature a telephone interview with Valery Senderov, who said that Soviet workers are too crushed by economic difficulties and working conditions to press for the creation of free trade unions. He also touched on the question of the unimproving economic situation, saying that he agrees with the ideas proposed by the leaders but that it is up to them to put the ideas into action.

6. The Baltic Republics. THE LATEST ON UNOFFICIAL ORGANIZATIONS (Alexeyeva, NY 20) presented an interview with Kazys Seja, a leading writer and playwright who is a member of the Lithuanian Restructuring Movement and of the Lithuanian Writers' Union. The interview was conducted while Seja was on a private trip to the US. Seja discussed the goals of Sajudis; explained the goals of another unofficial organization, the Lithuanian League of Freedom, noting that it is more extremist in its demands; noted Sajudis' relations with other unofficial organizations in the USSR and with republican leaders; and highlighted the visit of Politburo member Slyunkov to Lithuania.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Vail, NY 4:30) highlighted the US Senate resolution designating June 14 as Baltic Freedom Day.

7. Soviet Central Asia. SPECIAL PROGRAM (Kushev, M 28) read an abridged version of a study by RL Director Wimbush dealing with the growing ferment among the Muslim population in Soviet Central Asia and how the Soviet leadership in Central Asia will be challenged by Muslim nationalism. The study was published in the journal Global Affairs.

\* 8. The Elections. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Manannikov, Novosibirsk 5) reported on the selection of candidates in Siberia for election to the new national legislature. The program observed that for the most part the candidates were not elected but chosen and that most of the candidates were CPSU members.

\* THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Mityunov, Moscow 2) reviewed articles in Pravda and Moskovskiye Novosti dealing with the election of delegates to the Congress of People's Deputies.

9. The Economy. MAN AND SOCIETY (Gordin and Kroncher, M 6) commented on a TASS article which noted that the establishment of a new state body that was to increase the quality of Soviet goods by strict controls was unsuccessful as it led to a substantial decline in the growth rates. The program observed

that there is only one way to improve the quality of goods and that is to make the Soviet consumer the judge by offering him a variety of goods from which he would obviously choose the best.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Mityunov, Moscow 2) cited comments from Sovetskaya Kultura and Sotsialisticheskaya Industriya on the economic situation in the country.

10. Society. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rubin, NY 5:30) summarized a Reuter dispatch of February 28 on Moscow party chief Zaikov's call for an end to the disorders on the Arbat, called the "free speech street" in Moscow. In a speech to the Moscow party organization, Zaikov said that the atmosphere on the Arbat was impermissible, with open anti-Sovietism existing under the flag of democracy.

11. Alexander Yakovlev. MAN AND SOCIETY (Vail, NY 8) highlighted an article in The New York Times Magazine (Keller) which profiled Alexander Yakovlev, a Politburo member and CC Secretary.

12. Customs Officials on Western Publications. Drawing on a Reuter dispatch of March 1, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rubin, NY 3:30) discussed an interview in Moskovskiye Novosti with Soviet customs officials who noted that foreign publications containing cartoons of Soviet leaders or articles aimed at undermining the Soviet state are not sold in the USSR. Publications of well-known anti-Soviet and anti-communist organizations cannot be imported into the USSR as well.

13. Literature. FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 28) read an interview with writer Tatyana Tolstaya published in the Russian emigre journal Strelets, No. 1. The interview was conducted in October 1988 when Tolstaya visited the US. Tolstaya discussed the present literary scene in the USSR, the work of the USSR Writers' Union and of the USSR Ministry of Culture, and the new poets and writers in the USSR.

14. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Epshtein, M 8:30) featured a discourse on the metaphysical aspects of posters and stands in the USSR. The item was written by Moscow culture specialist Mikhail Epshtein and will be published in an English-language book of works dealing with Soviet semiotics.

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

1. Poland. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 9:30) highlighted an article in Liberation of March 2 focusing on the different

positions held by Solidarity leader Walesa and young Polish radicals on how to fight for workers' rights and democratization in Poland.

2. Hungary. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fistejn, M 6) reported on a meeting in Budapest on March 1 of the reborn Hungarian Social Democratic Party which was attended by some 600-800 people. The party's program calls for parliamentary democracy based on a multiparty system, the strict implementation of human rights, and the elimination of military blocs. The program also noted a Hungarian radio interview conducted with Tibor Baranyai, an organizer of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party.

3. Czechslovakia. On THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Urban, Prague 3:30), Jan Urban from the East European Information Agency gave excerpts from a secret letter that the CPCS CC sent to party district committees giving instructions on how to combat the activity of illegal groups. The East European Information Agency received the text of the letter, which was dated February 3.

4. Political Reform in Eastern Europe was a topic of EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Abramkin, M 6:30), which highlighted articles from The Financial Times, The Times (London), and The Wall Street Journal.

#### C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. US-PLO Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Vainshtein, W 4:30) reported that the US complained to the PLO that a recent military operation undertaken by a PLO group against Israel is a violation of a promise given by the PLO to refrain from terrorist activities. The program used articles in The Washington Post of March 1 and 2.

2. Danish-Czechoslovak Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Pimonov, Copenhagen 3) cited articles in Politiken, Land og Folk, and Berlingske Tidens on the visit to Czechoslovakia of Danish Foreign Minister Ellemann-Jensen and on his criticism of the Czechoslovak leaders' human rights policies.

3. The Rushdie Affair. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Pomerantsev, L 6) highlighted a statement in defense of British writer Salman Rushdie signed by thousands of international literary figures. The program also featured a brief interview with the editor of the journal Index on Censorship which is a member of an international committee in defense of Rushdie, who described how the signatures were collected.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, M 5:30) cited comments from the Neue Zuercher Zeitung, The Philadelphia Inquirer, and The Baltimore Sun on Khomeini's death threat against the author of The Satanic Verses and the question of cultural freedom.

4. The US. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Vainshtein, W 3:30) reported that the US government is examining the question of introducing changes in the US foreign aid program. A recently published report on this question by the Agency for International Development was cited. An article in The Washington Post of February 28 was used.

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

1. An Obituary of Austrian Writer Thomas Bernhard, one of the most important contemporary German-language writers, was featured by OVER THE BARRIERS (Faybusovich, M 8:30).

2. The British Film Comedy "A Fish Called Wanda" was reviewed by OVER THE BARRIERS (Savitsky, M 6).

3. JUDAISM (Lvov, Vail, and Haskelevich, NY 27:30) presented a talk on Judaism's teachings on loving and working the land, discussed the work of the religious-educational society Hama, reported on the festivities which took place at the celebration of the society's 35th anniversary, and featured a talk by a rabbi on religious themes.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis  
for Friday, 3 March 1989  
D. Felton

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

1. Soviet-US Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rubin, NY 5) gave details of a program for Soviet jurists who are to come to the US on an extended visit under an exchange agreement. One of the Soviet candidates for participation in the program was quoted to the effect that the American selection system, based solely on professional qualifications, was in itself a lesson in American democracy.

2. Afghanistan. MAN AND SOCIETY (Gordin, M 3) featured a telephone report from Moscow by Yevgeny Polyakov in which he observed that while there is a lot of propaganda talk in the Soviet press about the USSR's having fulfilled the Geneva agreements and withdrawn its troops from Afghanistan, those responsible for the Soviet invasion in the first place have not been publicly named and called to account. Neither has the Soviet press reported on demonstrations by mourning Soviet mothers and wives who lost sons and husbands in Afghanistan.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, Rome 4) cited a report by Corriere della Sera correspondent Etto Remo on the Mujahidin siege of the town of Khost.

3. Unofficial Organizations. JEWISH CULTURAL AND SOCIAL LIFE (Gordin, M 30) read the full text of an article by Leningrad Jewish refusenik Yakov Yevgelevsky on a meeting with the head of the Pamyat "patriotic association," Vasilev. The article,

entitled "In the Nest of the Black Hundreds," was published in the Israeli Russian-language journal Krug. Yevgelevsky describes a lengthy talk with Vasilev about the latter's anti-Zionist philosophy.

4. Emigre Publications. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanova, P 19:30) reviewed the March 3 issue of the Paris-based weekly Russkaya Mysl.

5. Restructuring. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Levin, M 4:30) aired a telephone report from Moscow by independent journalist Yuri Mityunov on a remarkable article by sociologist Igor Klyamkin in the latest issue of Novy Mir entitled "Why It Is Difficult to Tell the Truth." Klyamkin stated that the Soviet system was founded on lies and repression in the name of a socialist dream. Now, he said, false ideals are being rejected, but it is time that concrete steps are made to change the situation.

6. The Economy. MAN AND SOCIETY (Kroncher and Gordin, M 4) discussed an article of February 23 in Sotsialisticheskaya Industriya on the question of introducing a convertible ruble. The program pointed out that the ruble is inconvertible because it is not backed up by a healthy economy providing adequate goods. The ruble's inconvertibility is also a hindrance to joint ventures with foreign firms.

7. Agriculture. RUSSIA YESTERDAY, TODAY, TOMORROW (Tolz, M 29:30), a RERUN from March 1, was entirely devoted to Soviet agriculture, past and present. The program began with excerpts from a historic speech by Vladimir Tikhonov, Gorbachev's top agricultural adviser, recently delivered at a Harvard University seminar. The program concluded with a commentary on the appearance of a spate of articles in the Soviet press, which, for the first time, admitted the existence of the policy of forced starvation that destroyed millions of peasants in the 1930s.

8. The Nationalities. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Levin, M 5:30) aired a telephone report by Sander Siss from Tallinn reviewing the Estonian press, which has been devoting particular attention to Estonian Independence Day and the anniversary of Stalin's death. Molodezh Estonii published readers' letters asking, among other things, why such prominent living Stalinists as Kaganovich are not being called to account. Sovetskaya Estoniya reported on a decision by Estonian journalists to

discuss the growing conflict between the Estonian and the central press at the next congress of the Estonian Journalists' Union. Molodezh Estonii criticized Estonian National Front leaders and reported on a factory workers' campaign for the return of the Estonian flag to a prominent Tallinn building.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Levin, M 3:30) aired a telephone report from Riga by Mikhail Bombin, the Latvian correspondent of the Moscow independent Ekspress-Khronika, on recent development in Latvia. The Latvian National Democratic Party and the Latvian Democratic Union made an appeal to mark Latvian Legion Day on March 16 by laying wreaths in a cemetery. The Latvian Legion was formed in 1943 to help the Germans against the Red Army. Representatives of the Latvian Popular Front condemned the appeal. Workers held warning strikes at two Riga factories in an attempt to get back living accommodations which they themselves built. Representatives of Latvian independent publications decided to set up a stand at a rock concert.

9. Society. MAN AND SOCIETY (Krasin, W 6) drew attention to statistics recently published in the weekly Argumenty i Fakty giving a breakdown of Soviet white and blue-collar workers according to income in 1986 which indicate that the percentage of the Soviet population living below the poverty line is much higher, 50-60 percent, than previously estimated. The program noted that the corresponding figure in the US is 14 percent. Reference was made to the state benefits which poor people receive in the US.

10. The Environment. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Nadirashvili, M 5:30 and C. Mihalisko, M 3) commented on a mysterious case of mass poisoning of children in the Ukrainian town of Chernovtsy. In a telephone report from Moscow, Dmitry Volchek, an editor of the independent journal Glasnost, said that in an interview to Meditsinskaya Gazeta, the deputy head of a government commission, Romanenko, said merely that the "most probable cause" of the poisoning was an emission of the heavy metal thallium together with other chemical compounds. Romanenko was vague as to where the thallium came from, but indicated that a special group of experts from such bodies as the Interior Ministry and the KGB would shed further light on the problem. Volchek referred to open letters from staffers of various Ukrainian research institutes one of which speaks of a study which revealed traces not of thallium but of boron. Ukrainian ecologists, said Volchek, consider the presence of boron in the atmosphere to be connected with the destruction of Soviet medium-range missiles under international agreements. The program followed with a comment by RL Ukrainian researcher, Cathleen Mihalisko, to the effect that the symptoms in the

children indicate thallium poisoning. Mihalisko mentioned reports by the Ukrainian Helsinki Alliance and the Ukrainian trade union newspaper Robitnychna Gazeta on the possible involvement of local enterprises working for the military. The program pointed to the lack of glasnost surrounding the affair.

11 Espionage. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 3:30) reported on the case of three West German computer hackers arrested on suspicion of spying for the KGB. The program remarked that under Gorbachev, Soviet espionage activities have not only not decreased but have sharply increased.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Shuster, M 4) included an RL telephone interview with French writer Thierry Wolton, author of a book entitled The KGB in France, in which he pointed out that the USSR has always taken advantage of periods of detente in order to step up its espionage activities.

12. Lenin and Stalin. AT THE NEWSSTAND (Perouansky, M 27:30) quoted and commented on an article by writer Levan Khaindrava in Literaturnaya Gruzija, which, in no uncertain terms, asserts that the terror and repression under the Soviet regime were initiated by Lenin, not Stalin. Quoting from Lenin's works and other authoritative Soviet sources, Khaindrava also pointed out that collectivization was also the work of Lenin, not just of Stalin. He exposed the myths surrounding many prominent Soviet leaders who were victims of Stalin and have now been rehabilitated. At the same time, the program disagreed with Khaindrava's positive assessment of Stalin's performance as a statesman. The program said the article is sensational and its appearance is a credit to Gorbachev's policy of glasnost.

13. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Glezer, NY 21) aired excerpts of an interview conducted in Moscow by Alexander Glezer, the chief editor of the Russian emigre literary and art almanac Strelets, with Moscow literary critic Natalia Ivanova. The full text of the interview will be published in the second issue of Strelets. Ivanova talked about the present Soviet literary scene during the present period of democratization and glasnost, which she said is far deeper-going than the Khrushchevian thaw and has already become irreversible. She said the present literary battle going on in the USSR is really centered on the country's future course. Ivanova called for greater integration between Soviet domestic and emigre literature.

14. Religion. CHRISTIAN RUSSIA (Rahr, M 29:30) began by discussing drafts of a new Soviet law "On Freedom of Conscience" which would allow religious instruction by private citizens. The program disagreed with the claim by Soviet jurist Yuri Rozenbaum that his draft would bring Soviet law on the subject



into line with international agreements signed by the USSR and found the drafts vague on the question of legalizing church schools for both adults and children. As an example of what church schools could be teaching in the USSR, the program outlined a course prepared soon after World War II for Russian emigre church schools. In conclusion, the program aired a telephone report from Moscow by Gleb Anishchenko, a board member of the unofficial Moscow journal Vybor, on Sunday schools which have been set up in Moscow without waiting for the new law on freedom of conscience. Anishchenko described the activities of the schools, their difficulties, and the authorities' ambivalent attitude toward them.

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

1. Eastern Europe. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Abramkin, M 4) reported on growing public protests in Poland, the GDR, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Hungary against the sentencing of Czechoslovak playwright Vaclav Havel. It was noted that Czechoslovak party leader Jakes has ignored worldwide protests, and the Soviet media are silent. The program wondered what Czechoslovakia's signatures under the Helsinki Act and the final documents of the Vienna conference are worth.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 4) commented on the growing debts of the USSR and the East European countries. The program pointed out that the economic reforms cost money, and it takes time before they can have an effect. The program mentioned the danger of these countries losing their creditworthiness and noted that the USSR's debts have been growing faster than those of the East European countries.

2. Czechoslovakia. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Levin, M 3:30) aired a telephone report from Prague by a correspondent of the independent East European Information Agency, Jan Urban, on a report from reliable sources that state security officials from Prague recently went to Bratislava to interrogate a man who, in the 1950s, shared a cell with now Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak. This, said Urban, suggests an acute conflict within the Czechoslovak leadership and possible dramatic top-level personnel changes in the near future. A further indication of imminent changes is a recent series of one-day visits to Romania, Poland, the GDR, and Hungary by Czechoslovak CC CP Politburo member Jozef Lenart. Urban also quoted sources close to the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry that an interministerial commission has been formed to launch a disinformation campaign against independent groups and against world protests against repressions in Czechoslovakia.

3. Yugoslavia. PRESS REVIEW (EVENTS AND PEOPLE) (Gregory, M 3:30) quoted comment in Il Giornale Nuovo, the Sueddeutsche Zeitung, and the Stuttgarter Zeitung on the grave nationality conflicts in Yugoslavia which are threatening the very structure of the state.

4. Cambodia. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 2:30) reported on President Bush's appeal to the Chinese leadership to show more activity toward achieving a solution of the Cambodian problem, in particular, by quickly cutting off aid to the Red Khmer. The program said Chinese officials have indicated that they would hardly permit the return of Pol Pot should a coalition government be formed in Cambodia. US Deputy Secretary of State Lambertson was quoted on the need for guarantees that the Red Khmer would not return to power.

5. The PRC. On THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fedoseyev, Peking 3:30) RL staffer Viktor Fedoseyev, reporting by telephone from Peking, said that the main topic of the day in the Chinese press is Prime Minister Li Peng's statement that the country's economic situation is deteriorating due to the continued growth of the population, despite a birth control program. Concern is also being expressed over the unemployment problem.

#### C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. East-West Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 4) cited ACDA official John Gunderson's statements before the National Press Club in Washington in which he outlined proposals which the US and other Western countries planned to make at the upcoming Vienna CSCE conference, and spoke of the US government's optimism over prospects for an agreement. A CND report from Washington of March 3 was used.

2. The US. MAN AND SOCIETY (Simis, W 6) noted the AFL/CIO trade union's positive appraisal of labor legislation passed in the US in 1988 as a result of trade union pressure.

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

1. Consumer Advice and Protection Services in Sweden were the subject of an item in MAN AND SOCIETY (Nagrodsky, M 8).

2. A Lufthansa Album Dedicated to the Upcoming 1991 Centenary of Otto Lillienthal's Historic Flight was reviewed in OVER THE BARRIERS (Glickman, M 6). The album contains reproductions of artistic works, especially by early 20th-century Russian painters, depicting man's age-old dream of flying.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Saturday, 4 March 1989

M. Frost

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

1. Afghanistan. Pegged to the Soviet rebuttal of Sakharov's claim that Soviet troops taken prisoner by the Mujahidin were shot by their own helicopter gunships, ASPECTS (Shuster, M 3) described the relationship between the ordinary Soviet soldier and the command structure in Afghanistan.

SIGNAL (Predtechevsky and Levin, M 10) reported on the current military situation in Afghanistan and reviewed the effect of the introduction of US-supplied Stinger missiles on the military balance between the resistance and the Soviet forces.

2. The Baltic States. BALTIC BEACON (Rahr, M 20) broadcast excerpts from and commented on a decree issued by the Latvian Council of Ministers which severely limits migration into Latvia from other parts of the USSR. The program described the new residence stipulations as draconian and blamed socialism for bringing about such a situation whereby some parts of the USSR are substantially more affluent than others. The program then broadcast articles in Komsomolskaya Pravda from Vilnius on the 30,000 signatures collected in defense of the Latvian soldier Arturas Sakalauskas, who shot eight Interior Ministry soldiers in self-defense in February 1987.

3. Restructuring. Pegged to an interview with the chief editor of Ogonek, Vitaly Korotich, which appeared recently in Molodezh Estonii, WRITERS AT THE MICROPHONE (Perouansky, M 15) interviewed emigre author Vladimir Voynovich on the significance

of Korotich's statements on the progress of the restructuring process. Voynovich described the split in Soviet society over the restructuring program as reflected in the intense ideological battle between the reformers and the conservatives in Soviet literature and reinforced Korotich's view that restructuring is the last chance the USSR has to make the enormous economic and technological leap into the modern world. Voynovich noted that the lack of moral reserves in the country makes it imperative that Gorbachev succeeds with restructuring.

Referring to an interview with Vitaly Korotich published in Molodzhi Estonii, SIGNAL (Predtechevsky and Levin, M 10) contested a number of pronouncements made by Korotich about Western responsibility for certain Cold War incidents.

HUMAN RIGHTS (Malinkovich, M 6:30) characterized the restructuring process as having reached the critical phase where it could make further advances in remolding Soviet society or, conversely, could come up against the brick wall of conservative opposition. The program was RERUN from February 28.

WRITERS AT THE MICROPHONE (Dovlatov, NY 10) presented a brief autobiographical sketch of the program author's life in the USSR and, for the last years, in the US. The program concluded that it is far easier to tolerate the "inequality in wealth" in the US than it is to put up with the "inequality in poverty" which persists in the USSR.

HUMAN RIGHTS (Malinkovich, M 6) presented a report filed from Moscow by SMOT (Free International Workers' Union) on the "battle for democracy" taking place throughout the USSR. The report mentioned meetings and demonstrations taking place in Moscow, Dnepropetrovsk, Petrozavodsk, Kazan, Yerevan, and Vilnius.

With reference to a discussion of human rights in a legal society published in the February 5 edition of Izvestia, HUMAN RIGHTS (Kaminskaya, W 8) excerpted some of the pertinent commentaries with which the program wholeheartedly agreed but lamented the lack of practical suggestions to break out of the current legal vicious circle. The program concluded that it is simply not possible to establish a government based on law within the framework of the existing political regime.

4. Dissidents and Human Rights. HUMAN RIGHTS (Malinkovich, M 8) broadcast an article by Dmitry Volchek published in the Moscow unofficial journal Ekspress-Khronika on former CPSU member Usuf Djafarov, who since 1931 has survived in various Soviet labor camps and to this day is still in exile in Norilsk.

5. Society. ASPECTS (Matusevich, M 2:30) reviewed recent articles in the Soviet press on the USSR's status as a superpower with a third world economy.

ASPECTS (Henkina, M 7) referred to an article in Ogonek in drawing comparisons between the Nazi movement in Germany and the Femyat society in the USSR.

6. Agriculture. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 5) commented on Politburo member Ligachev's speech in Omsk in which he outlined the chief stumbling blocks to improvements in agricultural production. The program pointed out the Ligachev failed to mention the crucial importance of the status of the peasantry and its relationship to the land and expressed doubt about the purchasing power over the last decade.

7. The USSR and the Middle East. Citing articles from the Israeli press, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Miloslavsky, Jerusalem 7:30) backgrounded the current Soviet peace initiative in the Middle East, noted improvements in Soviet-Israeli relations, and described the prospects for an international peace conference attended by all interested parties in the area.

8. History. ASPECTS (Savitsky, M 5) stressed the importance of bringing to light all aspects of Soviet history, not just those which happen to suit the party at the moment.

9. Culture. ASPECTS (Tolstoy, M 4:30) discussed the crucial role of emigre culture in presenting the often unpalatable truths of life in the USSR over the last 70 years.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Vainshtein, W 15) presented an interview with the lead soloist of a Soviet ballet troupe on the group's present US tour.

10. Literature. In response to a listener's letter requesting that the program author submit samples of his work to Neva for publication, ASPECTS (Dovlatov, NY 4:30) explained that experience shows that it is more profitable to deal directly with the editors of Soviet journals rather than with well-meaning third parties.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Siss, Tallinn) reviewed a selection of stories on contemporary life in the USSR by Ivan Popolovsky. The anthology was published by Eesti Raamat in Estonia.

11. Religion. ASPECTS (Potiyev, M 5) commented on a letter in Komsomolets Kirghizii on the status of believers in the USSR.

NOT BY BREAD ALONE (Benigsen and Aksenov-Meyerson, NY 15 and Rahr, M 5) presented a sermon on the theme of the Last Judgment and carried items on recent Russian martyrs and on problems connected with the Optinaya monastery in the Kaluga Oblast.

ASPECTS (Sezeman, P 4:30) reported on the disturbing coincidence of a religious revival and a revival of Russian nationalism in the Soviet Union as exemplified in a recent article published in Sovetskaya Rossiya.

SUNDAY SERVICE (Kholodnaya, NY 50) presented a Russian Orthodox Church service.

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

None

#### C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

- \* 1. East-West Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 5) previewed the coming conventional arms reduction talks in Vienna and compared NATO and Warsaw Pact negotiating strategies in the light of their conventional force strengths.

2. The US. Reviewing the week's main events in Washington, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 5:30) focused on the controversy surrounding the nomination of John Tower as US Secretary of Defense.

3. The FRG. Based on an article from The New York Times of March 3, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Muslin, NY 4:30) reported on the computer spying scandal in the FRG, where data on Western defense systems have apparently been broken into over a prolonged period of time.

SIGNAL (Predtechevsky and Levin, M 7) described how the West German army allows its servicemen to report late to the barracks in the interest of increasing safety on the roads and summarized an opinion poll on the West German public's attitudes toward the military threat from the East, Gorbachev, and the US military presence in the FRG.

4. France. OUR PLANET (Salkazanova, P 5) reported on a libel case in France in demonstrating the difficulty of implementing the laws on libel and deformation of character in Western democracies.

5. The Rushdie Affair. OVER THE BARRIERS (Vail, Paramonov, Dovlatov, and Genis, NY 20) featured a roundtable discussion on the public and private reaction to Salman Rushdie's novel The Satanic Verses.

ASPECTS (Malinkovich, M 3:30) argued against the publication of Rushdie's novel The Satanic Verses since it abuses the right of free speech in a democratic society.

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

1. Miscellaneous Developments. OUR PLANET (Gordon, M 5) reviewed a book entitled What Bonn Diplomats Eat, written by the wife of a Bonn diplomat.

Referring to an article in National Geographic, OUR PLANET (Nudelman, Tel Aviv 10) reported on the decreasing number of elephants throughout Africa and on measures being introduced to arrest the process.

OUR PLANET (Gordin, M 5) reported on the stress factors and life expectancy of Swedish teachers.

2. Sports. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Rubin, NY 5:30) reported on a public investigation in Toronto into doping in sports. The program used articles from The New York Times of March 2 and 3.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Monday, 6 March 1989

D. Felton

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

1. Soviet-US Relations. THE USA TODAY (Morozov, NY 4:30) aired an RL telephone interview with Tom Dowling of the American "Resource Trading Company" on a deal in which the company buys up herring caught by Massachusetts fishermen and sells it to the Soviet fish-processing ship Sovetsk.

THE USA TODAY (P. Vail, NY 0:30) briefly mentioned a successful concert in Anchorage, Alaska, by the Soviet Stas Namin rock group.

2. Afghanistan. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Kuznetsov, M 4) commented on an interview given on the Soviet TV program "Vzglyad" (Viewpoint) by the former commander-in-chief of Soviet forces in Afghanistan, Lieutenant-General Gromov. The program found the interview disappointing and uninformative. The interviewers were not bold enough, and Gromov evaded many of their questions. The program took issue with Gromov's claims that the Afghan resistance fighters were fanatics who were fighting for money and that bullying did not exist among the Soviet troops. The program author said he and his colleagues would like to ask Gromov such questions as whether the decision to invade Afghanistan was a mistake, a crime, or a justified act; how many Afghans were killed; whether the killing of Afghan civilians by Soviet forces was planned; whether any Soviet soldier found responsible for atrocities had been brought before court; and whether there were any guarantees that there would be no new Afghanistan.

MAN AND SOCIETY (Gordin, M 4) aired a telephone comment from Moscow by Moscow writer Yevgeny Polyakov in which he observed that Gorbachev's promise that in international relations the USSR would return to words their genuine, original meaning, has not materialized in references to Afghanistan. Polyakov then urged that the names of those responsible for sending Soviet troops into Afghanistan be made public.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Salkazanov, P 7) commented on a lengthy Western-made documentary film on the Afghan war shown on French TV. The film shows, in particular, the disillusionment felt by Soviet soldiers fighting in the war.

3. The Unofficial Scene. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Nadirashvili, M 4) aired a telephone report from Moscow by independent Moscow journalist Yury Mityunov on an anti-Stalinist meeting held in Moscow by the Memorial society on the 36th anniversary of Stalin's death. The security organs did not interfere with the meeting. Yevtushenko and other speakers spoke of passive resistance to democratic changes in the USSR. References were made to continuing repression, and there was a call for a boycott of the elections to the Congress of People's Deputies in cases where conservative candidates were pushed through by the authorities. The policies of the Soviet leadership were criticized. Mityunov said the meeting showed that Memorial has become a focal point of the democratic movement in the USSR.

4. The Elections. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, M 6:30) gave the contents of an article by The Guardian's Moscow correspondent Jonathan Steele on Boris Yeltsin's return to the Soviet political scene on the eve of the elections. The article reported on Yeltsin's political platform as outlined by him at an election meeting in the Cheremushki district of Moscow.

5. The Nationalities. THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Malinkovich, M 5:30) discussed the course of the elections of candidates for the USSR Congress of People's Deputies in the Union republics. The program noted that Estonia alone has refrained from local election meetings at which the apparatchiki have been trying to filter out independent candidates. In Latvia and Lithuania attempts to block candidates from independent organizations failed. The Latvian Komsomol newspaper Komsomolskaya Molodezh published an interview with a candidate from the Latvian National Independence Movement, Repse, who said he would insist that the Soviet government condemn the Soviet occupation of Latvia in 1940. In Lithuania the "Sajudis" movement for restructuring has decided to withdraw its candidates in favor of liberal party candidates. The program explained why the elections to the republican Supreme Soviets may be expected to be more democratic than the all-Union elections and said that the republican organs will assume more importance in view of a possible Union treaty between the republics and Moscow.

RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Nazarov, M 11:30) commented on the annual Slavic Literature and Culture Festivals which, since 1986, have been held in different Soviet cities. This year's is to take place in Kiev. The program gave background on the Slavic cultural tradition, and noted the party's attempts to divert the festivals into a suitable ideological channel, that of Soviet internationalism. The program remarked that not only unity but mutual understanding is impossible among the Slavic peoples on the basis of a class principle springing from the utopia of the disappearance of individual peoples. The present leadership's "new thinking," said the program, should also be applied in this area too. The program cited an article by historical Georgy Fedotov, published in 1926, on the unifying force of Kievan Rus with its Hellenic-Christian roots.

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Malinkovich, M 7:30) aired a telephone report from Moscow by Ukrainian Helsinki Association representative Anatoly Dotsenko on various developments on the unofficial scene in the Ukraine. On March 1 an initiative committee for the resurrection of the Ukrainian autocephalous Orthodox Church had a request to the authorities turned down for permission to hold a requiem for Taras Shevchenko by his monument in Kiev. On February 25 a meeting took place at a construction engineering institute in Kiev between representatives of the Ukrainian Helsinki Association and other unofficial organizations and university lecturers and students. On February 23 Ukrainian human rights activist Anatoly Ilchenko was transferred from a psychiatric hospital in Nikolayev to one in Moscow, where he is to be examined by American doctors in the presence of Soviet dissident psychiatrist and human rights activist Alexander Podrabinek. On March 4 a constituent conference of the Ukrainian branch of the Memorial society took place. On February 28 an activist of unofficial organizations, Sergey Fedorenchik, received a term of administrative arrest and, after being mishandled by security policemen, went on a hunger strike. On March 5 an officially sanctioned meeting of the Memorial society took place at which speakers called for guarantees that there would be no return to Stalin-type repressions.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Fishbein, M 4) gave the contents of an article by Ukrainian human rights activist and member of the editorial board of the independent journal Ukrainsky Vestnik, Vasil Barladianu, in which he spoke of the Ukrainian party apparatus' opposition to restructuring and to attempts to preserve the Ukraine's national identity.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fistejn, M 2) aired a telephone report from Vilnius by Teodora Kazdaliene on the course of the elections in Lithuania. Kazdaliene said that representatives of the Sajudis movement for the support of restructuring appear to be gaining the upper hand over supporters of the official CP line. She quoted CP leader Brazauskas and second secretary Berezov on the party being caught between pressure from Moscow and pressure from the Lithuanian people. Kazdaliene also noted Sajudis' selective support for liberal forces in the CP.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fistejn, M 6:30) aired a telephone report from Vilnius by a correspondent of the Moscow journal Ekspress-Khronika, Valdas Analaukas, on the newly founded National Front for Perpetuating the Memory of Romas Kalanta (the young Lithuanian who committed self-immolation in May 1972 in the name of Lithuanian independence). Analaukas gave background on the self-incineration of Kalanta and the subsequent repressive actions by the authorities and cited his brother, Antanas, on the concrete measures planned by the front. The program followed by citing a brief report from Vilnius that on March 3, 38-year-old Vitautas Viculis committed self-immolation at the Lenin memorial in Klaipeda. His motives are so far unknown.

BALTIC BEACON (Rahr, M 20) excerpted and commented on a report in Sovetskaya Litva on a round-table talk held on February 3 at the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences on the nationality problem in the USSR. The talk was part of preparations for the upcoming party plenum on the question. Speakers, who included party officials, academics, and representatives of the Lithuanian Sajudis organization, spoke of the need for a radical restructuring of the system of internationality relations and of greater independence for the peoples of the USSR.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fistejn, M 4:30) aired a telephone report from Tallinn by Sander Sys on a congress held in Tallinn by "Interdvizheniye" (Intermovement). Sys said that the movement categorically rejects the recent developments on the Estonian political scene as being against the interests of Estonia's Russian-speaking inhabitants. Sys mentioned that the Intermovement congress passed a resolution to call for the establishment in northeast Estonia of an autonomous oblast to be placed under the jurisdiction of the RSFSR on the ground that the majority of the population of the oblast is Russian.

MAN AND SOCIETY (Gordin, M 3) gave the full text of a statement to USSR Procurator General Sukharev by members of the "Ecology of the City of Yerevan" association demanding the release of one

of Armenia's most active ecologists, Stambaltyan, who is reported to be confined in an investigation cell in Moscow under criminal charges.

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Krimerman, M 5:30) reported on a mass demonstration in Kishinev on February 26. The demonstrators demanded the release of Yury Tsurkanu, a lecturer at an agricultural institute arrested for taking part in an unsanctioned meeting, and the removal of the republic's Procurator General, Demidenko, and the chief editor of Sovetskaya Moldaviya, Lebedkin, for their opposition to unofficial organizations. The demonstrators also demanded the removal of party leader Grossu for his position on the reintroduction of the Latin alphabet for the Moldavian language and of the President of the Moldavian Academy of Sciences, Zhuchenko, for advocating the massive use of pesticides in Moldavia.

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Malinkovich, M 1) replied to statements made by Azerbaijani historians Mekhti and Etibar Mamedov to RL's Azerbaijani Service in which they categorically rejected statements made by the leader of the "Islam and Democracy" movement, Almaz Yestekov, in an interview previously aired by RL, in which he spoke of Muslim fundamentalism in Azerbaijan and claimed that the Mountainous Karabakh conflict was a conflict between Islam and Christianity. The program editor explained that neither he himself nor RL had ever expressed solidarity with these statements, but were merely fulfilling the function of informing listeners about the social and religious movement which had recently emerged in Central Asia.

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NATIONALITY QUESTION (Malinkovich, M 9) reported on the formation in the USSR of a coordination center for Soviet Germans which is to press for the reconstitution of the Volga German Autonomous Republic liquidated by Stalin in 1941. The program excerpted an article by Eduard Becker entitled "Germans in Russia and the USSR," published in the Russian-language Munich-based journal Forum, which describes previous attempts by Soviet Germans to regain their national autonomy.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fistejn, M 2) aired a telephone report from Moscow by Glasnost contributor Viktor Rezunkov on a Pravda article, entitled "Let Us Talk in Equal Languages," which expresses the view that giving the nationality language of an individual republic the status of a state language would be a logical and justified step. The article, described by Rezunkov as humanitarian, also calls for such measures as summer language camps for expatriates.

6. The Economy. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Belotserkovsky, M 8) described the law on the taxation of cooperatives as another law which could lead to the disappearance of genuine, independent cooperatives. The program said that the law, which was adopted without any previous open discussion and could result in a loss of faith in restructuring, was, in addition, signed by Gorbachev as head of both party and state.

MAN AND SOCIETY (Nagrodsky, M 4) pointed to the weakness and ineffectiveness of consumer protection organizations in the USSR. The program cited an article by Vladimir Voyna in Nedelya, 1988, No. 47, in which he remarks that in the West, especially in the US, consumer protection organizations are a force to be reckoned with, since even powerful corporations are afraid of losing their customers. The program commented that Voyna fails to point out the reason why these corporations are afraid, namely the existence of competition, which does not exist in the USSR.

7. Labor Affairs. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fistejn, M 2:30) aired a telephone report from Moscow by Glasnost collaborator Dmitry Volchek on a miners' strike in Vorkuta over pay and working hours. After USSR Coal Industry Minister Mikhail Shalov promised to satisfy some of the miners' demands, some of the miners broke off a hunger strike which they had begun.

8. The Media. AT THE NEWSSTAND (Perouansky, M 30) reviewed the latest issue of Moskovskiy Novosti.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Shuster, M 5) aired a telephone report from the USSR by Karen Agamirov, a party secretary at the All-Union Institute for Raising the Qualification of Press Workers, in which he spoke of being threatened with dismissal after he had criticized the administration for incompetence and insisted on a democratization of the institute's affairs. Agamirov called for independent journalism in the spirit of restructuring and free of regimentation by the authorities.

9. The Death Penalty in the USSR and France. MAN AND SOCIETY (Salkazanova, P 7:30) reported on the controversy in France over the reintroduction of the death penalty following the murder of a three-year-old girl. The program mentioned the debate in the USSR over the death penalty, which is also applied to economic crimes, and agreed with Sakharov and Western criminologists that the death penalty is not an effective deterrent. Under glasnost the Soviet press has provided adequate evidence that Soviet society has been brought up in an inhumane spirit characterized by such slogans as "Death to the Kulaks!", "Death to Enemies of the People!", etc.

10. Religion. MAN AND SOCIETY (Fotiyev, M 4:30) commented on statements made by party sociologist Klara Azhybekova in an interview published in Komsomlets Kirgizii of February 15 in which she insisted that young people should certainly have a belief, but this should be communism. Conditions promoting religious searchings must be combatted. Religious rituals must be replaced by Soviet ones. The program pointed in this connection to man's inborn search for God, and suggested that the Soviet state, instead of making vain promises of "paradise on Earth," should rather see to it that earthly existence loses its hellish character.

RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Fotiyev, M 5:30) commented that restructuring has so far not reached Soviet schools where materialism and Marxism enjoy a monopoly in the pedagogic process. By way of comparison, the program pointed to the regulations introduced in California (other US states are likely to follow) under which the Biblical version of the creation of the world is taught in schools alongside the scientific theory of evolution.

RELIGION IN THE MODERN WORLD (Aksenov-Meyerson, NY 9) reviewed issue No. 153 of the Paris-based Russian-language journal Vestnik Russkogo Khristianskogo Dvizheniya (Herald of the Russian Christian Movement).

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

1. Czechoslovakia. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Nadirashvili, M 2:30) aired a telephone report from Prague by Jan Urban, a correspondent of the independent East European Information Agency, on a meeting which took place on March 5 between a delegation of the International Helsinki Federation led by its president, Karl von Schwarzenberg, and members of the Czechoslovak Helsinki Committee including its president, Jiri Hajek. Meetings with Czechoslovak Interior and Justice Ministry officials failed to take place because they objected to Hajek's presence. Urban noted that in the 1970s, Justice Minister Gaspar was a judge who sentenced many human rights activists, including playwright Vaclav Havel. In conclusion, Urban remarked that the Czechoslovak authorities have clearly shown the extent to which they intend to observe the human rights provisions of the Helsinki and Vienna agreements.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Pomerantsev, L 4) reported on the case of a Czechoslovak spy calling himself "Erwin van Haarlem," who has just been sentenced by a British court to 10 years imprisonment.



2. Romania. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, P 5:30) gave voice cuts of French Prime Minister Rochard's replies to questions by RL's Paris correspondent on the situation in Romania. Rochard described the Romanians as an "unhappy people," and said the Romanian regime was unsure of itself and was therefore carrying out such acts of violence as destroying seven-thousand villages. In the USSR, on the other hand, there was hope for a change in the situation. Audio Section material was used.

3. Yugoslavia. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 5) reported on the latest demonstrations and strikes in Kosovo province and counterdemonstrations in Belgrade and other Serbian cities. The program mentioned the differences between hard and soft-liners on the Kosovo problem.

#### C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. East-West Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, Vienna 7) previewed the Vienna conferences on reducing conventional forces in Europe and increasing mutual trust and security. In particular, the program recalled the long-drawn-out and fruitless talks on force reductions in Central Europe. The program was pegged to the three-day conference in Vienna of the foreign ministers of the 35 Helsinki signatory countries.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Fistejn and Predtechevsky, M and Vienna 12) reported on the three-day meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Helsinki signatory states being held in Vienna as a prelude to the conferences on conventional arms reduction and confidence-building in Europe. Voice cuts were given of statements made on Austrian and West German TV respectively by Austrian Foreign Minister Mock and West German Defense Minister Scholz who both expressed optimism over the outcome of the conferences, although Scholz warned that it would be unrealistic to expect concrete results in the near future. The program aired a telephone report from RL's special correspondent in Vienna in which he also spoke of the general optimism reflected in statements by the various Foreign Ministers. Audio Section material was used.

2. The US. THE USA TODAY (P. Vail, NY 2:30), in a review of developments in and around the US, cited President Bush's positive appraisal of his visit to Far East Asian countries; a joint session of the Congress marking that body's 200th anniversary; demonstrations in New York by supporters and opponents of Salman Rushdie's book Satanic Verses and



explosions in two Californian bookshops selling the novel; the debates in the Senate over the nomination of John Tower as Defense Secretary; a poll showing a majority approving of Bush's performance as President; and the beginning in Washington of the trial of Fawaz Yunis, charged with a terrorist attack against a Jordanian airliner in 1985.

THE USA TODAY (Krasin, W 4) commented on the sharp decrease in the productivity growth rate of the American economy in recent years. The program pointed out that this is only a short-term development and listed various other factors putting it into perspective.

THE USA TODAY (P. Vail, NY 2) named as the program's "American of the Week" the president of the Viking publishing house in New York for defending freedom of speech by publishing Salman Rushdie's Satanic Verses.

3. The US and Japan. THE USA TODAY (P. Vail and Genis, NY 5:30) said President Bush's visit to Japan for Emperor Hirohito's funeral has intensified US interest in Japan, particularly in that country's economic performance. The program noted that, against the background of a changing world geopolitical situation, US-Japanese friendship has been growing,, despite increasingly keen economic competition.

4. Nicaragua. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 3:30) reported on the Central American and US plans for a peaceful settlement in Nicaragua and the US government's interest in maintaining the Contras as a political force for applying pressure to the Sandinist government to carry out democratic reforms.

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

1. The US. THE USA TODAY (P. Vail, NY 1), in a review of developments in and around the US, reported on a 27-million-dollar lottery win in New York; a tribute to black actor Sidney Poitier in New York; US woman athlete Florence Griffith-Joyner's announcement of her retirement; and the death of jazzman Roy Eldridge.

THE USA TODAY (P. Vail, NY 5) included an obituary of American jazzman Roy Eldridge.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis  
for Sunday, 5 March 1989  
M. Rudin

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

1. Soviet-US Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Gregory, M 6) highlighted an article in The New York Times of March 3 which urged the US not to lift the "no-exceptions" policy on the transfer of strategic high technology to the Soviet Union.
2. Afghanistan. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 8:30) took issue with a TASS report which described the rule of the Kabul regime as successful and gave no hint about the difficulties it is experiencing with the Afghan resistance. The program then reported on the military situation between the resistance and government troops noting the high rate of defections of government soldiers and militiamen. An article in The Christian Science Monitor was noted.
3. A Review of the Western Press on Developments in the USSR was provided by EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 4) which cited articles from The Washington Post and the Knight-Ridder Syndicate and AP items. The press coverage included materials on glasnost, problems connected with the catastrophe at Chernobyl, and the conflict between Gorbachev and Ligachev.
4. The Economy. THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Predtechevsky, M 5) gave the gist of an article in The Financial Times assessing the prospects for restructuring of the Soviet economy.
5. The Baltic Republics. THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Predtechevsky, M 5) cited an article in The Sunday Times (London) which reported on Estonia's efforts to gain more independence from Moscow.

6. Ideology. THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Predtechevsky, M 5) highlighted an article in Die Zeit which discussed how the Soviet Union is deviating from Marxist theory and is starting to review its views of global historical processes.

7. Glasnost. COMMUNISM AND REALITY (A. Levin, W 6) highlighted an address by Prof. Remington from Emory University at the Kennan Institute in Washington which examined the question of glasnost and politics in the USSR discussing what Gorbachev hopes to achieve with glasnost.

8. The Law. LAW AND SOCIETY (Kaminskaya and Simis, W 20) continued to discuss the legal reform in the Soviet Union, focusing on the role of law in lawful states. Today's program reviewed the process of lawmaking in democratic countries, discussed the right to legal initiative in the USSR, examined the organization of legislative processes in the Soviet Union in the past and how it will be under the new procedures, and dealt with the adoption of laws. The participants in the program contrasted aspects of the Soviet legislative system with the ones in the US and other democratic countries.

9. Siberia. SIBERIAN DESTINIES (Kushev, M 8), a RERUN from February 5, traced the idea of economic, social, and cultural autonomy for Siberia within a federal structure from the second half of the 19th century.

Reflecting on the past and future of Siberia, SIBERIAN DESTINIES (Shapiro, M 10) commented that the "economic conquest" of Siberia had adversely affected both the environment and the morality of Siberian workers. The program was a RERUN from February 5.

Referring to articles in Izvestia and Komsomolskaya Pravda SIBERIAN DESTINIES (Krasin, W 4:30) discussed the outrage being expressed by the Siberian public against the system of privileges established by the party nomenklatura during the Brezhnev era. The program was a RERUN from February 5.

SIBERIAN DESTINIES (Raigorodetsky, M 7:30), a RERUN from February 5, reported on discriminatory practices used against native sable hunters in Siberia.

10. Forced Labor. COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Krasin, W 8:30) traced communist ideology teaching and practice on forced labor. It was noted that the forced nature of labor under socialism was even spelled out in the Soviet constitution, according to which labor becomes compulsory for every citizen.

11. Literature. OVER THE BARRIERS (Genis and Vail, NY 6) commented on an article in Literaturnaya Gazeta which carried a discussion between literary critics Sergey Chuprinin and Dmitry Urnov centering around the question of the new literary wave in

9. Society. MAN AND SOCIETY (Gordin, M 12) took issue with an article in Pravda of February 22 which argued that the Soviet woman's place is in the home. The program compared the situation of working women in the USSR with those in the West and criticized the article for promoting anachronistic views on the role of women in Soviet society. New data on the alarmingly high number of abortions in the Soviet Union were also discussed. The program was RERUN from February 28.

10. The Media. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Matusevich, M 5) rebutted a Pravda article of February 4 which criticized an article in The Times (London) for its alleged anti-Soviet tone. The program commented that the author of the Pravda article displayed gross ignorance of the workings of the Western press by making the claim that the article in The Times was a British government attempt to destabilize Anglo-Soviet relations.

11. Culture. THE RUSSIAN IDEA (Paramonov, NY 15) examined the psychological basis of nationalism and, citing excerpts from materials by various nationalist writers currently being published in the Soviet Union, advanced the thesis that the psychological roots of nationalism are based on a fear of the future and an uncritical appraisal of the past.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Dovlatov, Genis, and Vail NY 20) highlighted the life and work of the renowned Russian emigre writer Fazil Iskander on the occasion of his 60th birthday.

MAN AND SOCIETY (Seitmuratova, NY 8:30) presented a selection of poetry from various Crimean Tatar poets, focusing on the work of Lili Budzhurovaya.

FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 29:30) presented the 49th installment of Alexander Solzhenitsyn's The Gulag Archipelago.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Messerer, M 4) reviewed the opera Prince Igor currently being staged in Munich.

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

1. Poland. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 6) reported on the progress of the roundtable talks between government and opposition representatives in Poland. The program commented that the Polish people are reacting with skepticism to the regime's plan to create a legal opposition to support its already discredited reform policies.

## C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

- \* 1. East-West Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, Vienna 10) reported on the speeches made by delegates to the European disarmament and security talks in Vienna. The program said that such conferences are less predictable because delegates are now more inclined to react with more flexibility to proposals than they were in the past.

- \* THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Henkina, M 4 and Predtechevsky, Vienna 5) presented a telephone report from Glasnost staffer Dmitry Volchek on official and nonofficial reaction to the conventional arms reduction talks currently taking place in Vienna. RL's military affairs commentator then filed a report on the second day of the talks.

2. The US. Based on an article from The Washington Post of 20 November 1988, MAN AND SOCIETY (Simis, W 7) explained that the right to demonstrate in the US cannot be restricted on ideological grounds according to the Constitution.

Based on an article from The Baltimore Sun and an NCA report from Washington, both of March 7, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Dubinsky, W 3) covered President Bush's address to war veterans on the importance of the US maintaining a powerful defensive capability.

3. The US and Tibet. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Kuznetsov, M 1) broadcast US State Department spokesman Redman's condemnation of the Chinese authorities' use of force against demonstrators in Tibet.

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

1. Science. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY TODAY (Muslin, NY 15) presented items on the use of computers in recruiting specialists in the US and on interesting technological and scientific developments throughout the world.

2. Benjamin Disraeli. THE RUSSIAN IDEA (Paramonov, NY 12) recalled the life and career of the 19th century British Prime Minister Disraeli. Citing excerpts from Sir Isaiah Berlin's essay on Disraeli, the program examined the psychological roots of Disraeli's status as a highly successful outsider in British society.

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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Tuesday, 7 March 1989

M. Frost

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

1. Afghanistan. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Shuster, M 5) presented a telephone interview with the director of the Afghan Information Center in Peshawar, Naima Mazhru, on the military situation inside Afghanistan and on the prospects of forming a stable provisional government there once the Kabul regime is removed. The program also included an interview with a captured Afghan government serviceman who spoke of the low morale of the government troops.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Mityunov, Moscow 5) reported on Pamyat's exploitation of the experiences of the Afghan veterans to promote its own nationalist policies.

2. The Nationalities. MAN AND SOCIETY (Gordin and Krimerman, M 5) broadcast an article from Sovetskaya Moldaviya criticizing the February 8 demonstration in Kishinev for greater democracy in the Moldavian republic and reported on a meeting between Politburo member Chebrikov and representatives of the republic's democratic movement.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Henkina, M 1:30) reported on a demonstration by Muslims in Uzbekistan and on a Moscow demonstration of about 70 Armenian refugees from Azerbaijan.

3. The Baltic States. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Pimonov, Copenhagen 6) presented excerpts from an interview in the Danish daily Politiken with Sajudis activist Paulius Kulikauskas, who among other things stressed the historical and cultural links between the Baltic states and the rest of Northern Europe and called for the complete independence of Lithuania from the USSR within 10 years.

THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Bombin, Riga 3) reported on demonstrations against police actions in the Latvian capital of Riga and gave the names of some of the protesters detained in the latest round of police arrests.

4. Restructuring. ROUNDTABLE (Fistejn, Malinkovich, and Belotserkovsky, M 20) discussed the current critical phase of the restructuring process in the light of the painfully slow democratization of the party, the radicalization of nationalization issues in the European republics and the Transcaucasus, and the general skepticism of the people over the ability of restructuring to produce tangible results. The program pointed to the crisis in the party's management of the economy and of political developments in the country and observed that most of the pressure for reforms emanates from the non-Russian republics. The liberal Moscow intelligentsia has lost much of its authority to republican national front movements because its basic demands -- greater glasnost and destalinization -- are largely being met, while the republican movements have galvanized the local populations with their programs, which focus on nationalist, cultural, and ecological issues.

5. The Party. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Belotserkovsky, M 5) highlighted an article in Pravda of March 4 which reported that people are leaving the party through misunderstanding or disagreement with its policies. The BD pointed out that while it is encouraging that people are being allowed to quit the party without any overt sanctions being taken against them, these are the very people needed to implement Gorbachev's restructuring program.

- \* 6. Agriculture. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Vail, NY 4:30) presented commentaries by AP, The Washington Post, and The Los Angeles Times on the current debate taking place among the Soviet leadership on agricultural reforms.

- \* THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Vail, NY 3) presented a roundup of US press commentaries on the current debate on agricultural reforms in the USSR.

7. Technology. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY TODAY (Muslin, NY 5) presented an interview with recent emigre and former aircraft engineer Alexander Bolonkin on the proposed new laws regulating inventions in the USSR.

8. Nuclear Power. Pegged to the fears of the residents of Vladivostok over the presence of a nuclear-powered ship, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 10) reviewed articles in the Soviet press testifying to the safety of Soviet nuclear installations. The program commented that in the light of the poor safety record of Soviet nuclear installations, the civil authorities in Vladivostok are justified in their alarm over the presence of the vessel.

the USSR. Writers who were previously published only in samizdat are finally breaking into the official press. The program observed that the most important aspect in the discussion is the fact that it is taking place, thereby giving a stamp of recognition to avant-garde literature.

EX LIBRIS (Yurenen, M 45, Genis, NY 2:30, and Volchek, Moscow 2:30) continued reading from Venedikt Erofeev's chilling tale of an alcohol-filled suburban train journey from Moscow, Moskva-Petushki. The reading was a RERUN from 23 November 1985. The program then featured two reviews of Erofeev's work by critic Alexander Genis and writer Dmitry Volchek, a staffer of the independent Moscow bulletin Glasnost.

COMMUNISM AND REALITY (Druzhnikov, W 12) discussed the different stages of the politicization of children's literature in the Soviet Union.

FROM THE OTHER SHORE (Schlippe, M 29:30) read excerpts from the third chapter of emigre writer Vladimir Maximov's new novel I Az Vozdam which was published in the emigre almanac Strelets. This was preceded by a reading from Kontinent of the first chapter of the book in which the author discussed the goals of the book and his approach to the interpretation of historical events in the USSR.

12. Film. OVER THE BARRIERS (Lemkhin, NY 8:30) reviewed the Soviet contributions at the "Women in Film" film festival which was recently held in San Francisco.

13. SOVIETOLOGISTS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Shragin, NY 20) continued to highlight an article by American sociologist Mark Field entitled "Soviet Society and the Communist Party" which was published in an anthology of articles called Understanding the Soviet Union.

14. Sports. WORLD OF SPORT (Rubin, NY 7:30) commented on the announcement made by the Soviet and Canadian Ambassadors to the UN that two teams from the NHL will play against Soviet teams in Moscow and Leningrad in the fall. Soviet teams will return the visit in December.

WORLD OF SPORT (Rubin and Shamkovich, NY 7:30) took issue with an article in Sovetsky Sport which shed a negative light on Soviet chess player Elena Akhmylovskaya who secretly left the chess olympics at Thessaloniki before it finished in order to marry the American John Donaldson, the trainer for the US national team.

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

1. Romania. EAST EUROPEAN VARIANTS (Krimerman, M 5) read the text of renowned writer Eugen Ionescu's deposition to the



European Parliament one-day hearing devoted to the situation of human rights in Romania. Ionescu's notes the deplorable economic situation in Romania and total party control over all facets of life.

2. Poland. EAST EUROPEAN VARIANTS (E. Levin, M 6) presented an abridged version of an interview with an officer from the security organs in the independent journal Przegląd Wiadomości Agencyjnych about the way the Polish security organs are run and the many benefits that its workers receive.

3. Hungary. EAST EUROPEAN VARIANTS (Fistejn, M 6), a RERUN from March 2, reported on a meeting in Budapest on March 1 of the reborn Hungarian Social Democratic Party.

4. Yugoslavia. EAST EUROPEAN VARIANTS (Fistein, M 7), a RERUN from March 1, analyzed the background events which led to the present state of anarchy in Kosovo, and to the irreconcilable polarization of Serbs and Albanians into two hostile camps.

5. Eastern Europe and the USSR. THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS ON THE SOVIET UNION (Predtechevsky, M 5) reviewed an article by Hungarian opposition figure Miklos Haraszti in The Washington Post which said that the USSR must renounce the Brezhnev Doctrine in its relations with Eastern Europe if these countries are to be successful in carrying out democratization.

#### C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

None

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

1. Music. OVER THE BARRIERS (Vail and Volkov, NY 8) reviewed this year's Grammy Awards presentation.

2. Sports. WORLD OF SPORT (Rubin, NY 5) noted that American runner Florence Griffiths-Joyner is retiring from the sports world.

mr/DL



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RADIO LIBERTY DAILY BROADCAST ANALYSIS

[Asterisk (\*) in the margin indicates coverage of lead story(ies) on today's Recommended List]

Russian Daily Broadcast Analysis

for Wednesday, 8 March 1989

M. Frost and M. Rudin

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

1. Soviet-Iranian Relations. DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Shragin, NY 5) reported on Shevardnadze's visit to Iran to seek improvements in relations between the two countries and on the USSR's willingness to act as an intermediary in the Salman Rushdie affair.

2. The Baltic States. BALTIC BEACON (Rahr, M 20) presented excerpts from and commented on a recent article in Pravda on the "abrasive" nature of the Latvian Popular Front, reviewed Soviet press coverage of the congress of the Latvian National Independence Movement which took place in the resort town of Orge near Riga on February 18 and 19, and broadcast excerpts from an interview with Boris Yeltsin which appeared in Sovetskaya Estoniya on February 19.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Nadirashvili, M 3) aired a telephone report from Ekspress-Khronika journalist Valdas Analauskas on the March 4 self-immolation of Vitautis Viculis. Analauskas noted that no motives have yet been uncovered for the act, which took place in front of the Lenin statue in Klaipeda.

3. Nationality Issues. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Malinkovich, M 8) presented excerpts from and commented on an article from the February edition of Sovetskoye gosudarstvo i pravo which discussed the legal balance of power between the republics and Moscow. The program assayed the arguments in favor of a strong center, but concluded that if the USSR is going to become a union of strong sovereign republics, then the idea of a strong center is "absurd."

4. Restructuring. Referring to recent articles in Ogonek and Literaturnaya Gazeta, RUSSIA YESTERDAY, TODAY, TOMORROW (Babenyshev, NY 10) examined Lenin's NEP with regard to its

effect on agricultural production in the 1920s before collectivization. The program said that while the establishment of family plots is a step toward NEP in agriculture, NEP itself should not be seen as the ultimate goal of the current reformists, since the policy was far from successful in raising agricultural production to even pre-World War I standards.

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Belotserkovsky, M 6) commented on the February 23 decision to increase the taxes on cooperatives' profits from 10 to 35 percent, ostensibly to bring them in line with taxes on state enterprises. The program pointed out, however, that cooperatives already pay numerous taxes not applicable to state enterprises and pay approximately triple the price for raw materials. Moreover the cooperatives have to provide money for bribes and "insurance" money to the "mafia."

EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Muslin, NY 6) presented a commentary from the March 13 edition of Newsweek analyzing Gorbachev's performance as the architect of restructuring over the last four years.

5. Jewish Affairs. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Volchek, Moscow, 3:30) filed a report from Moscow on a hunger strike by Jewish refuseniks who are protesting against the delay in resolving the cases of Jews who wish to emigrate from the USSR. The refuseniks complain of a lack of a legal mechanism to deal effectively with their cases and about the arbitrary application of the official secrets act to prevent their emigration.

6. Democracy. DEMOCRACY IN ACTION (Shragin, NY 5) compared various democratic and totalitarian forms of government and argued that there can be no real democracy without a plurality of views.

7. Society. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Kroncher, M 4) described the serious economic difficulties encountered by families with young children in the the USSR. Referring to a report in Komsomolskaya Pravda of March 2 which enumerated the financial problems of families with young children, the program commented that the authorities' attempt to reform the existing socioeconomic system "has only exacerbated the current contradictions."

8. International Women's Day. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Henkina, M 10) presented a telephone interview with the wife of the chief editor of Radio Free Afghanistan who offered her condolences to all Soviet and Afghan women who have lost relatives in Afghanistan. The program then aired a telephone report from independent journalist Teodora Kazhdailena on a meeting between Sajudis representatives and mothers of Soviet soldiers subjected to hazing. In other developments Sanders Sys

filed a report from Tallinn commemorating the 1944 attack on that city by a women's regiment of the Soviet Army, and Yuri Mityunov from Moscow took a look at the image of Soviet women as reflected in the Soviet official press. The program also broadcast a statement by the US-based Jewish organization Hadassah announcing a three-day hunger strike in Moscow to protest the refusal of visas to would-be Jewish emigrants from the USSR.

MAN AND SOCIETY (Gordin and Henkina, M 10:30) discussed the situation of women in connection with International Women's Day. The program noted that women at RL are gaining a stronger voice, observed that Gorbachev and restructuring have not introduced any improvements in the lives of Soviet women, and assessed the visible participation of Raisa Gorbachev in government life. The program also debunked an article by Karen Rash in Pravda advocating that a women's place is in the home.

MAN AND SOCIETY (Gordin and Salkazanova, M 8:30) discussed the celebration of International Women's Day on March 8 in the Soviet Union and France and contrasted the everyday living problems and professional difficulties faced by women in the USSR and in the West. The program also observed that women staffers at RL have not achieved full equality with their male counterparts.

- \* 9. Soviet-Polish Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Levin, M 10) commented on Polish government spokesman Urban's announcement that Soviet NKVD forces were to blame for the murder of more than 4,000 Polish officers in Katyn Forest in the spring of 1940. The program backgrounded the atrocity and concluded that the Katyn massacre is only one of numerous blank spots in Soviet-Polish relations which need to be exposed.

10. The Media. Pegged to International Women's Day, AT THE NEWSSTAND (Gregory, M 28) presented articles from Moskovskiy Novosti, Sovetskaya Rossiya, and Komsomolets Turkmenistana on women's issues, the Moscow Popular Front, and director Yuri Lyubimov's comments on censorship during the stagnation era.

11. Siberia. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Henkina, M 6) aired a telephone report from Novosibirsk by independent journalist Aleksey Mannanikov on the new election law in Siberia, informal organizations in Novosibirsk and Irkutsk, workers' discontent in western Siberia, and the ecological situation in Novokuznetsk.

12. Trade. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Vail, NY 5) presented commentaries from AP, Reuter, and The Los Angeles Times on the Soviet Union's announcement that it will reduce its oil exports.

13. History. RUSSIA YESTERDAY, TODAY, TOMORROW (Geller, P 18) presented the second and third installments of a series on political parties in Russia. This week's program focused on the beginnings of the Constitutional Democratic Party in the first and second Dumas.

14. Culture. OVER THE BARRIERS (Khazanov, M 7) praised the translations of Soviet translator Solomon Apt, who has translated into Russian such German-language writers as Thomas Mann, Bertolt Brecht, and Franz Kafka.

OVER THE BARRIERS (Yurenen, M 5:30) broadcast an essay on the metaphysical significance of shopping lines in the USSR by the Moscow cultural commentator Mikhail Epshtein.

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

- \* 1. Poland. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Bensi, M 5) covered Lech Walesa's statements on the prospects of an accord being reached at the roundtable talks between government and opposition representatives.
2. Czechoslovakia. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Nadirashvili, M 3) aired a telephone report from independent East European Information Agency reporter Jan Urban about the just-concluded two-day CMEA conference in Prague and about human rights-related issues.
3. Tibet. Drawing on articles in Le Figaro and The International Herald Tribune of March 8 and AFP reports of March 7, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Mirsky, Paris, 6) described the disturbances taking place in the Tibetan capital of Lhasa.

#### C. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TOPICS:

1. East-West Relations. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Predtechevsky, M 10) reported on the conclusion of the three-day meeting in Vienna of foreign ministers of the countries participating in the Helsinki process. The program included interview material with the heads of various Western delegations on the progress of the CSCE talks and described the general atmosphere in which the talks are being conducted.
2. The Middle East. EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Miloslavsky, Jerusalem 6) reported on Israeli and Arab reaction to US Secretary of State Baker's latest announcement on the need for a Middle East peace conference with the participation of all the main protagonists.

3. The US. Using an NCA report from Washington of March 7, EVENTS AND PEOPLE (Polishchuk, W 5) covered the the current debate in Congress on a reform of the immigration law.

4. Afghanistan. THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD (Henkina, M 2) broadcast a news bulletin from the resistance information agency in Peshawar on the Mujahidin attack on the airport at Jalalabad and on the imminent collapse of Jalalabad itself.

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

1. Literature. OVER THE BARRIERS (Jenkins, M 8) reviewed American writer Michael Chabone's novel The Mysteries of Pittsburgh.

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