

study. But already today it can be said with confidence that the Congress led our society into a new phase in the development of socialist democracy and glasnost. It can be related to the most important events in the history of the state. This is a turning point in the country's political, social, and spiritual development. And it is the real, tangible result of restructuring itself.

In his report M.S. Gorbachev thoroughly analyzed the restructuring processes—without underestimating what has been done but also without keeping quiet about the practical difficulties we have encountered.

The report was a very rich basis for frank and constructive reflections on the future of the country. It was felt that the people's deputies were very concerned about the problems that have accumulated, and they all displayed anxiety about how to lead the country out of the hole it is in. And it was very important that the Congress was based on realistic assessments of our potential and on the understanding that the state can only live off the means earned by our common labor.

The political and economic programs proposed to the Congress are geared to the maximum to the individual. Of course, they will not make lightning changes in all spheres of life. Restructuring is a labor-intensive and long-term job. Now it is important to determine what primarily to concentrate efforts on and how to resolve the most painful problems in the shortest time.

Thorough changes in the economic and social spheres are of key significance. They primarily concern such questions as supplying people with provisions, accommodation, and services, health protection, nature conservation, and improving education, science, and culture.

L.N. Zaykov then concentrated on some of the indicators of the development of Moscow's economy in the current 5-year plan. The growth in the volume of production in the 3 years, he announced, was 13.2 percent compared with the planned 9.3 percent. This was achieved through increased labor productivity. The number of working people in the physical production sphere was reduced by 30,000, which meant that it has been possible to increase the number of workers in the social sphere.

In 1986-1988, 9.6 million square meters of accommodation, 167 children's preschool institutions, 99 general education schools, 23 hospitals, and 43 polyclinics were built, and 175,000 square meters of shops and catering establishments for 86,000 people were opened. A total of 14.2 km of metro line was commissioned. Some 825,000 people, or 357,000 Moscow families, improved their living conditions.

And yet people are still very dissatisfied with what has been achieved. And the people's deputies brought this dissatisfaction with them to the Congress. They talked

more frankly than ever before about shortages, negligence, and our misfortunes. The main problem at present is of course the imbalance of the market. This is, in practice, bringing to naught the incipient positive changes in the economy and the social sphere. The problem has taken on a political character. That is why the task of increasing the production of goods and services is so urgent—to ensure the preferential growth of commodity stocks in relation to monetary income. Effective measures are also necessary to improve the socialist market.

The program presented to the Congress outlines the most determined measures to improve financial health and regulate the country's circulation of money. Fulfilling the Central Committee March Plenum's resolution on questions of agrarian policies and the food problem was singled out as a task of utmost importance.

At the council of deputies other priorities regarding social policy for the current period, including the question of raising the standard of living among the poorer sections of the population, were also submitted. Specific decisions improving the living conditions of pensioners and invalids were directly made at the Congress.

L.N. Zaykov explained in detail what the Moscow program "Progress-95" envisages in the sphere of environmental protection. The state would not, he noted, make this an economic issue.

The Congress, the speaker continued, confirmed the political directive of the 27th party congress to ensure that every family has its own accommodations by the year 2000. The task is an extremely complex one even in Moscow, although we have the greatest construction potential in the country at our disposal. In the remaining period we must build 48 million square meters of living area. However, if the work is properly organized, this complex task is feasible. We will also persistently take the course of strictly observing the principle of social justice in the distribution of accommodation. L.N. Zaykov once again called on the "GPZ-1" collective to meet up to their possibilities of resolving the accommodation problem by 1995.

The very atmosphere at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies convincingly showed that the broadly developing democratization of the country's state and social life is an important achievement of restructuring. The delimitation of the functions of party and state organs is being persistently pursued. The historic slogan "Power to the Soviets!" is being realized in all its fullness.

Criticism of the party could also be heard at the Congress. The deputies correctly noted that restructuring in many party committees was falling behind the democratization of society. But we cannot agree with attempts to belittle the party's role—which incidentally did not receive support at the Congress.

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As the initiator and main driving force of restructuring, the Communist Party today is the guarantor of revolutionary transformations and the integrating force without which the renewal of socialism could not be brought to a successful conclusion. Both the party itself and its role in society are changing in restructuring on deeply democratic foundations. For the CPSU there is nothing more important than the interests of the people and ensuring consolidation in the actions of all elements of the political system. The party is ready to collaborate with social organizations and movements in the restructuring and renewal of our life. The basic guidelines of the city party organization's activity in the current phase of restructuring and measures to increase its authority will be dealt with at the upcoming Moscow CPSU Gorkom plenum.

The central question of the second phase of the political reform is the formation of a new structure of local organs of power and administration. The results and lessons of the past electoral campaign must be born in mind.

In the context of the subjects discussed at the Congress, the question of the present state of discipline and order stands out. Drastic changes for the better are necessary here. The low level of discipline and poor fulfillment of service duties brings great losses, both economic and moral, to all of us. It must be firmly stated that without discipline and order there is no restructuring either.

Democratization and glasnost have aroused unprecedented social activeness on the part of the people. And this is a good thing. But, unfortunately, antisocial elements have also been stirred up. Their activities must be opposed not just by reasonable arguments, appeals, and public opinion but also by the force of the law.

Almost the sharpest debate at the Congress was that on the nationality question. All the complexity and acuteness of interethnic relations can also be felt in Moscow. This stems from the special status of the capital city, which people from all corners of the country head for, and the fact that Moscow itself is multiethnic. We bear this in mind in our work. The first steps to fulfill the Muscovites' national cultural demands have been taken. We are trying to make this work comprehensive, to make sensible use of various forms of patriotic and international education in labor collectives and places of residence, and speed up the formation of cultural centers of the union republics and the socialist countries.

The formation of a delicate instrument, sensitive to people's moods and expectations, to regulate our internal interethnic demands is connected with the developing practice of the new political thinking in the state's international activity.

The Congress that has taken place, the speaker stressed, uncovered the inexhaustible reserves of socialism and a wealth of humanist ideas for the service of the individual. This is essentially the first, but maybe the most important, step toward restoring full power to the soviets. A great deal still remains to be done here.

And there is the confidence, the USSR people's deputy noted in conclusion, that the collective wit of the people has been able to formulate an effective program of Soviet state activity for the coming years and has given new energy to the whole process of the revolutionary renewal of our society. The working class was and still is the main support of the party and the fundamental strength of restructuring.

L.N. Zaykov answered many questions asked by the participants in the meeting.

Battle To Show Chernobyl Film Won
18001295 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA
in Russian 27 Jun 89 p 4

[Article by SOVETSKAYA KULTURA correspondent O. Gusev: "The Overcautious Have Retreated"]

[Text] "They Received it With Applause, But...Did Not Authorize it"—this is the title of an interview with Director of the A. Dovzhenko Cinema Studio N. Mashchenko on the difficult fate of the feature documentary movie "Threshold" (SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, 18 April 1989). Let us recall that the movie by Kiev director R. Sergiyenko devoted to the post-accident cleanup at Chernobyl was given a hostile reception by the experts of the Minatomenergo [Ministry of Atomic Power] and the Minzdrav [Ministry of Health]. No matter how hard the latter have tried to shield their ministries from the criticism voiced in the film, the voice of the public, protesting the narrow departmental approach to releasing the movie describing the reality of Chernobyl and the efforts of some individuals in executive positions to conceal the actual state of affairs at the station, has won out.

"The publication in SOVETSKAYA KULTURA also made a weighty contribution to the cause of defending glasnost, bolstering the right of an artist to his own opinion in evaluating the tragedy, even if it diverges from the narrow departmental approach," said USSR People's Deputy, First Secretary of the Board of the Union of Cinema Employees of the Ukraine M. Belikov.

"As we were informed by the USSR Goskino [State Committee for Cinematography], the printing of copies of the movie 'Threshold' had been authorized. The first prints of it will play in Kiev within days.

"The value of this small, but, in principle, important victory won by the public over the overcautious ones is high: This is first of all a defeat inflicted on inertness, go-by-the-book approach, and other ingrained anti-restructuring customs which are still present in certain places. The hope has emerged that subsequent movies about Chernobyl and its citizens which cinematographers of the Ukraine are working on will reach the audience freely.

"Personally, I am shooting crucial sequences for the feature movie 'Decay' at present. We are also preparing to work with the actors in Chernobyl and the villages of the closed 30-kilometer zone.

"I would admit that I still feel an internal 'censor' in myself who whispers: 'Maybe we should not shoot how, say, the children of 'highly-placed' elite were sent further away from Kiev in the first days following the accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station?' I try not to listen to him.

"Having come to Kiev after the Congress of People's Deputies, I faced a dilemma: whether to serve on the commissions of the Supreme Soviet or direct the movie? The issue was resolved in favor of the movie.... Besides, together with my colleagues, I have been designing the variants of a new model of the cinema industry for our republic, in which we have to create 'Ukrainian Film' Association with its releasing system, its own independent technical facilities, as well as the setting up of direct foreign contacts. I believe that this model will pave the way for many movies we could only dream about before, and not only on the topic of Chernobyl."

Article Details Psychiatric Abuse
18001312 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
29 Jun 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Article by V. Razboynikov of Ulyanov Oblast: "Instructions To Put Him Away"]

[Text] Yu. Sobolev, the former chief of a forestry station, as it was officially reported, recently escaped from the Zagarinskiy psychiatric hospital. He was forcibly committed there with the diagnosis: "Reactive psychosis, depressive-paranoid syndrome." Everyone was calm about his disappearance from the hospital. Moreover, he was immediately hired as a machine tool operator. The reason for this calmness is simple: He had no "psychosis" or "syndrome."

The end of our conversation with the patient automatically became confused—he was hurrying off to work on the second shift. I offered him a ride to the wood processing plant. He accepted. But his wife, leaving the house ahead of us, wrote down the license number of the car in which her husband was leaving.

"She does that so she will know where to look for me if something happens," said Sobolev. "She has learned through bitter experience..."

They really do have experience. The first time they took him right from the timber felling area several years ago. Then these departures were repeated. And in the spring, when the election campaign began...

Incidentally, here it is more appropriate to refer to documents. Here is what was written to me by the deputy chief of the Nikolayevskiy Rayon internal affairs division, militia Captain A. Loginov: "On 2 or 3 March (I do not recall now) I was called by the secretary of the Nikolayevskiy party raykom [rayon committee] V.A. Panasenko, who said that Sobolev at a pre-election meeting with a candidate people's deputy had put forth some bad idea. He said that Sobolev had to be put away. I called the psychiatrist V.F. Kamalov and explained the situation. He said he would send an order to the psychiatric hospital..."

And that was the end of the matter. Somebody called the Slavkino village ispolkom [executive committee] and asked Sobolev to come there. They said it had something to do with job placement. When Sobolev appeared at the designated place, there was a vehicle from the psychiatric hospital with a red stripe waiting for him. That is where he understood what was what...

What were the rayon authorities afraid of when they took this criminal step? The answer, strange as it may seem, is in the order signed by Kamalov: "...He started acting suspiciously, putting forth extremist ideas about changing power, he intends to stage a revolution, he is writing to all the levels of authority..."

But there was every justification for him to write. Sobolev presented the essence of his wrathful indignation, written and oral, extremely succinctly:

"First they tried to make me a criminal and then a psychiatric patient. After all, I spent 494 days there against my will."

He wrote about all this to the local, republic, and central organs. The responses are typical bureaucratic nonsense. He wanted to relate this to the candidate people's deputy, the first secretary of the Ulyanov party obkom [oblast committee] Yu.G. Samsonov and, indirectly, to the voters. But it seems that the rayon authorities were protecting the candidate and themselves—so that the meeting would proceed quietly, with only the traditional applause.

I do not know whether Sobolev was correctly accused in the judicial meeting or what justification there was for keeping him in the psychiatric hospital. I shall only say that he did not see the charges and he was not present in court. But I read, for example, the response from the oblast procurator that was sent to Sobolev: "You have been found guilty of committing theft...through abuse of your work position. Your guilt has been established by testimony from witnesses..." A list of names followed. I do not need to cast doubt on the extremely difficult work of the lawyers. I just met with certain witnesses to whom the procurator had referred. In court they had said something quite the opposite. The people with whom I spoke had left the corresponding entries in the reporter's notes.

But let us return to our patient. When he was delivered to the hospital he said that he was not preparing any extremist plans or revolutions and that the guilty parties would be punished. They laughed at him in response. The next day the doctor spoke with him. He wanted to know what the patient was complaining of. Sobolev answered: his teeth. The first meeting ended there. Then in professionally illegible handwriting the medical workers did their job: "Yu.I. Sobolev does not consider himself mentally ill. He blames the doctor who committed him to the hospital. He says with agitation that there is no justice but the procurators and the judge are defending the honor of the uniform. He thinks that the doctors of the 'punitive organ' are not guilty, they are just following orders..."

As though seconding these words of an author I did not know, Kamalov let drop:

"But what do you do if you are given an order."

Now he admits that he sent to a psychiatric hospital for compulsory therapy a person who was not registered and whom he had never laid eyes on. He concealed him in violation of the provisions "On the Conditions and Procedure for Rendering Psychiatric Aid." It seems that these facts go beyond professional mistakes. When I telephoned the chief of the oblast health department of the Ulyanov oblispolkom, V. Yaroslavtsev, and told him this story, he asked the question I expected:

"Do you think that any sane person, the more so a physician, would do such a thing without orders from above?"

I did not answer but simply read the letter from the deputy chief of the rayon internal affairs division: "They telephoned me and ordered him put away. I followed the order."

This story has now disturbed more than just the Nikolayevskiy Rayon internal affairs division. There will be an investigation. Their ways are inscrutable. Only one thing causes misgivings: Will they name the initiator of all these criminal cases? So far in all the references and documents I have seen they have been too embarrassed to give the names of the leaders.

...We left Slavkino, but Sobolev's wife busily wrote down the license number of the correspondent's car. I wanted to calm her down: They say that will never happen again. Although who knows; we have another pre-election campaign ahead of us....

Economic

Official Notes Ongoing Effects of Pipeline Blast LD1307085889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] Tension has not subsided yet in the work of the joint control administration for the mainline gas pipelines system of the Ministry of the Petroleum Industry's

oil transport board. Correspondent Yuriy Ryrkin met (Ivan Andreyevich Matlashev), the chief of this board. Listen to the recording of their discussion:

[Begin recording] [Ryrkin] The consequence of the explosion that occurred in Bashkiriya as a result of the leak of liquefied gas are well known to all of us. This is the so-called direct damage, but there also exists some indirect damage. Many rayons of the Ukraine, the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, and Kuybyshev Oblast were left without gas. (Ivan Andreyevich), what is the present situation with the supply of gas to the population of these rayons.

[(Matlashev)] A very complex situation has arisen to this day with the provision of hydrocarbonous raw material for our country's national economy, in this case with broad fraction of light hydrocarbons. The situation at this time is as follows: The oil products pipeline was shut down after the accident at the Tobolsk- Minnibayevo section. If one is to speak about figures, then the output and the distribution to the consumers has been reduced by 50 percent. In this situation, at the instruction of the USSR Council of Ministers on urgent conduct of repair and renovation works of prime importance at the West Siberia-Ural-Povolzhye oil product pipelines, an operational headquarters was set up which included representatives of the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply, the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, and the Ministry of Construction of Petroleum and Gas Industry Enterprises. They are tackling questions related with putting the oil products pipeline back in operation. This work is connected, first and foremost, with the repair of the defects that were discovered during inspection, there also are works connected with adopting complex measures aimed at raising the reliability of oil products pipelines in the areas of dangerous proximity. These are works connected with the reconstruction of underwater crossings, with the installation of the means of television control, automation, diagnostics, and also with the change of technology.

[Ryrkin] (Ivan Andreyevich), tell us please—so that it will be clear to those who now find themselves in this critical situation, without gas—when in realistic terms is it possible to expect the stabilization of gas supply to these rayons?

[(Matlashov)] This is a difficult question because in this respect there exist many conditions. Our own funds, which we have at our disposal today, do not make it possible to say today unambiguously that yes, a guarantee can be given that this oil products pipeline is safe at a given section. Since we cannot say that, it is still very difficult to make this decision. I think that completely meeting consumers' demands for petrochemical products, for domestic gas and products used to make synthetic rubber, as well as for liquid hydrocarbons cannot be resolved by November. If the measures of prime