

Correspondence, notes, research materials, addresses in Russia, and the draft of a poem, "At the Cathedral of St. Isaac In Leningrad"

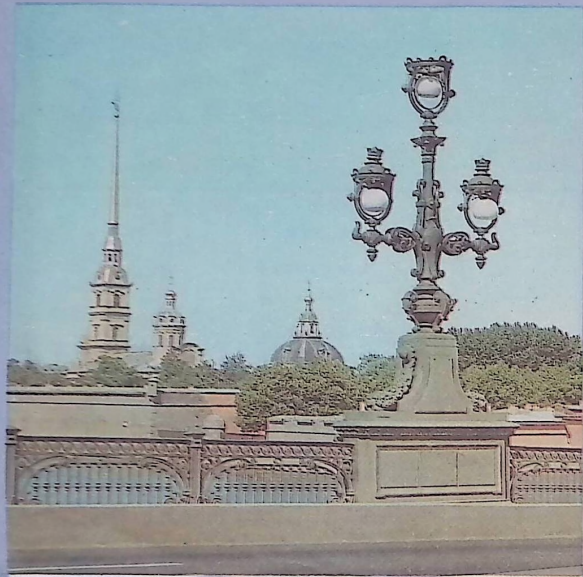
Mailer made four trips to Russia: March , 1984, Moscow and Lithuania (two weeks); June 84, with Norris Mailer, about two weeks; February 1987; and fall 1992-winter, 1993, a total of ~~five~~ ^{nine} months, with Larry Schiller in Minsk (now Belarus) and Moscow. His 1991 novel, *Harlot's Ghost*, which is set in part in Russia and deals with the spy agencies of the U.S. and Russia, was begun after his first trip, and published in November 1991, a year before his last trip. All of the papers in this packet have a connection to this novel and reflect his deep interest in Russian life, literature, and political situation. His last trip there in 1991-92 was for the purpose of researching his nonfiction account of Lee Harvey Oswald's time in Russia, which he undertook in collaboration with Lawrence Schiller. It was published by Random House, September 7, 1995.

Notable in the collections are the following:

1. List of 151 individuals, with contact information, who lived in Russia. All were friends/contact of Lawrence Schiller. Several are noted by Schiller to be his "personal friends." The list, dated February 18, 1989, was sent to Mailer by Schiller.
2. A 23-page list of writers, composers, theatre personalities, filmmakers, painters and architects, the invited participants in a Russian-sponsored cultural conference, "For a Nuclear-Free World." Writers from America beside Mailer include: James Baldwin, Bel Kaufman, Yoko Ono, , and John Naisbitt. Gore Vidal also attended, but was a late addition. Mailer also saw Graham Greene of England, at the conference.

3. A three-page undated bibliography of works about the Cold War, spy agencies, Russian and American history. The list overlaps somewhat with a longer bibliography on the same topics at the end of *Harlot's Ghost*.
4. Correspondence with various speaker's bureaus in the U.S. seeking Mailer as a speaker, and letters from various friends, including Galy Malaquais, the first wife of Mailer's mentor, Jean Malaquais.
5. A sheaf of notes and business cards from the 1984 trips to Russia.
6. On a blue index card, the first draft of poem, "At the Cathedral of St. Isaac in Leningrad," which was published, in a revised form in *Partisan Review* Vol. 51. No. 4, 1984, p. 535. No other draft of this poem exists. *N.Y. Times*
7. Articles on Russia from various periodicals, including *Washington Post* and *New York Review of Books*.

Russian correspondences,
notes, & poem



LENINGRAD

TOURIST PLAN

Leningrad

LENINGRAD

Цена 56 коп.

*Randall, Kern
12th floor
900000*

TOURIST PLAN

MAIN ADMINISTRATION OF GEODESY AND CARTOGRAPHY UNDER
THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE USSR
MOSCOW 1979

Ленинград. Туристская схема (на английском языке)

Б-2456

© GUCK, 1979

*Home
Leo
Lerman
245
0083*

*Ant
713
208
8626*

*Tim Brown
Leo
Lerman
880-8000*

TOURIST PLAN

*Bob Bernheim
572-2276*

*Charles
Churchman*



Monument to A.S. Pushkin



St. Isaac's Cathedral

HOTELS

1. "Astorijskaja", ul. Gercena, 39 C-3
2. "Baltijskaja", Nevskij prosp., 57 C-4
3. "Vyborgskaja", Torzhkovskaja ul., 3 A-3
4. "Družba", ul. Capygina, 4 A-3
5. "Jevropejskaja", ul. Brodskogo, 1/7 C-3
6. "Zar'a", Kurskaja ul., 40 D-4
7. "Karelija", ul. Tuchačevskogo, 27/2 B-5
8. "Ladoga", prosp. Saum'ana, 26 D-5
9. "Leningrad", Pirogovskaja nab., 5/2 B-4
10. "Mir", ul. Gastello, 17 F-3
11. "Moskva", pl. Aleksandra Nevskogo, 2 D-4
12. "Okt'abr'skaja", Ligovskij prosp., 10 C-4
13. "Pribaltijskaja", Vasiljevskij ostrov, ul. Korablestroitelej, 14 B-1
14. "Rossija", pl. Cernyševskogo, 11 E-3
15. "Sovetskaja", Lermontovskij prosp., 43 D-2

RESTAURANTS AND BARS OF THE "INTOURIST" HOTELS

1. "Astorijskaja", ul. Gercena, 39 C-3
2. "Jevropejskaja", ul. Brodskogo, 1/7 C-3
3. "Karelija", ul. Tuchačevskogo, 27/2 B-5
4. "Leningrad", Pirogovskaja nab., 5/2 B-4
5. "Moskva", pl. Aleksandra Nevskogo, 2 D-4
6. "Pribaltijskaja", Vasiljevskij o-v, ul. Korablestroitelej, 14 B-1
7. Motel-Camping, Ol'gino, Primorskoje šasse (outside the frame)

RESTAURANTS OF OTHER HOTELS

8. "Baltijskaja", Nevskij prosp., 57 C-4
9. "Vyborgskaja", Torzhkovskaja ul., 3 A-3
10. "Ladoga", prosp. Saum'ana, 26 D-5
11. "Moskovskaja", Ligovskij prosp., 43/45 C-4
12. "Okt'abr'skaja", Ligovskij prosp., 10 C-4
13. "Rossija", pl. Cernyševskogo, 11 E-3
14. "Sovetskaja", Lermontovskij prosp., 43 D-2
15. "Sputnik", prosp. Toreza, 34 A-4

OTHER RESTAURANTS

16. "Baku", Sadovaja ul., 12 C-3
17. "Kavkazskij", Nevskij prosp., 25 C-3
18. "Moskva", Nevskij prosp., 49 C-4
19. "Neva", Nevskij prosp., 46 C-3
20. "Nevskij", Nevskij prosp., 71 C-4
21. "Parus", nab. reki Ždanovki, 2 B-2

MAINTENANCE STATIONS

1. Ul. 1-ja Staroderevenskaja, 5 A-2

The contents indicated in the plan is grouped and denoted by symbols deciphered in the text.

The plan is subdivided into squares denoted by figures horizontally and by letters — vertically.

The name of each object in the text carries a letter and a figure which identify the square where a given object is situated. These letters and numbers are printed in red along the margin of the plan.

KEY TO THE SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION

In the plan	English equivalent
a	a
b	b
c	cs
č	ch
ch	kh
d	d
e	e (as in bed)
f	f
g	g (as in good)
l	l (as in pin)
j	y (as in yes, boy)
k	k
l	l
m	m
n	n
o	o
p	p

In the plan	English equivalent
r	r
s	s
š	sh
šč	sch
t	t
u	u (as in rule)
v	v
y	y (i after hard consonant)
z	z
ž	zh
Shows that the preceding consonant is soft	

OTHER RESTAURANTS

16. "Baku", Sadovaja ul., 12 C-3
17. "Kavkazskij", Nevskij prosp., 25 C-3
18. "Moskva", Nevskij prosp., 49 C-4
19. "Neva", Nevskij prosp., 46 C-3
20. "Nevskij", Nevskij prosp., 71 C-4
21. "Parus", nab. reki Ždanovskij, 2 B-2

MAINTENANCE STATIONS

1. Ul. 1-ja Staroderevenskaja, 5 A-2
2. Ul. Salova, 70 E-4
3. Prosp. Kosmonavtov, 69 (outside the frame)

REFUELLING STATIONS

1. Ul. Savuškina A-2
2. Primorskij prosp., 56 A-2
3. Vasiljevskij o-v. Naličnyj per., 76 B-1
4. Park im. Lenina (at Petropavlovskaja Krepost') B-3
5. Leninskij prosp., opposite building 140 F-2
6. Prosp. Jurija Gagarina F-3
7. Kijevskoje šosse, 13 km (outside the frame)
8. Urick. Krasnosel'skoje šosse (outside the frame)

TRANSPORT

RAILWAY TERMINALS

1. Baltijskij, nab. Obvodnogo Kanala, 120 D-2
2. Varsavskij, nab. Obvodnogo Kanala, 118 D-2
3. Vitebskij, Zagorodnyj prosp., 52 D-3
4. Moskovskij, pl. Vosstanija, 2 C-4
5. Fini'andskij, pl. Lenina, 6 B-4

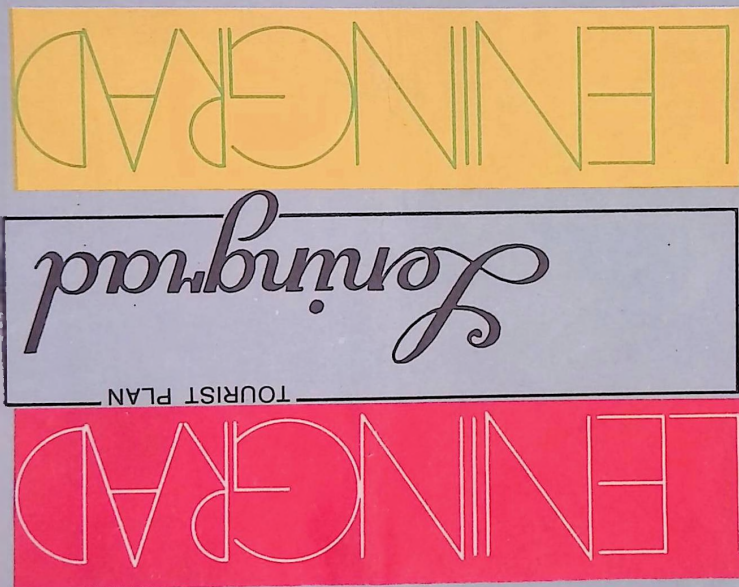
 AIR TERMINAL, Nevskij prosp., 7/9 C-3

 SEA PORT, Vasiljevskij o-v, harbour C-1

š sh
č ch
t t
u u (as in rule)
v v
y y (i after hard
consonant)
z z
ž zh
Shows that the
preceding
consonant is soft

ABBREVIATIONS AND NAMES

alleja		— alley
Botaničeskij sad		— Botanical Garden
bul'v.	= bul'var	— boulevard
byuša (ii)		— former
ČPK(O)		— S. M. Kirov
im. S. M. Kirova		— Central Recreation Park
guba		— Inlet
im.	= imen	— named after
kanal		— canal
km.	= kilometr	— kilometre
kladbišče		— cemetery
kv.	= kvartira	— flat
linija (ii)		— line (s)
Marsovo Pole		— Mars Field
most		— bridge
nab.	= naberežnaja	— embankment
o., o-v	= ostrov	— island
park		— park
per.	= pereulok	— by-street
pl.	= ploščad'	— square
pristan'		— wharf
projezd		— passage
prosp.	= prospekt	— avenue
reka (i)		— river
sad		— garden
šosse		— highway
ul.	= ulica	— street
val.		— bank
vokzal		— terminal





Fragment of the Monument to the Leningrad Heroic Defenders



View of the Peter Paul Fortress from the Neva

LENINGRAD BRANCH OF VAO. "INTOURIST"

Isaakijskaja pl., 11, C-2

MUSEUMS-FLATS OF V. I. LENIN

1. *Pereulok Iljiča, 7/4, kv. 13 C-3*
2. *Ul. Lenina, 52/9, kv. 24 B-3*
3. *Chersonskaja ul., 5, kv. 9 C-4*
4. *Serdobol'skaja ul., 1 kv. 20 A-4*
5. *10-ja Sovetskaja ul., 17, kv. 20 C-4*
6. *Nab. reki Karpovki, 32/1, kv. 31 B-3*

MONUMENTS TO THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND HEROES OF THE CIVIL WAR

1. SMOLNY, The Great October Socialist Revolution Staff, *Smol'nyj proezd, 1 C-5*
2. CRUISER *AURORA* B-3
3. STELE *AURORA*, *nab. Krasnogo Flota, 44 C-2*
4. MONUMENT TO REVOLUTIONARY FIGHTERS AT THE COMMON GRAVES, *Marsovo Pole* (Field of Mars) Inset
5. MONUMENT TO REVOLUTIONARY FIGHTERS AND CIVIL WAR HEROES AT THE COMMON GRAVES, *pl. Kommunarov C-2*

MONUMENTS TO THE GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR OF 1941-1945

1. MONUMENT TO LENINGRAD HEROIC DEFENDERS, *pl. Pobedy F-3*
2. PISKAREVSKY MEMORIAL COMPLEX AT THE HEROIC LENINGRAD DEFENDERS COMMON GRAVES, *prosp. Nepokor'onných, 74 A-5*

MONUMENTS OF WAR AND HISTORY

1. FORMER CHIEF STAFF BUILDING ARCH, *Dvorcovaja pl. (Palace square) Inset*
2. NARVA TRIUMPHAL GATE, *pl. Staček D-2*
3. ALEXANDER COLUMN, *Dvorcovaja pl. (Palace square) Inset*
4. OBELISK ERRECTED AT THE PLACE WHERE THE DECEMBRISTS WERE EXECUTED, *Kronverk Petropaulovskoj kreposti, val B-3*
5. MOSCOW TRIUMPHAL GATE, *Moskovskij prosp. E-3*

MONUMENTS TO THE SCIENTIFIC COMMUNISM FOUNDERS

TO V. I. LENIN

1. *Prospekt Obuchovskoj Oborony, 51 D-5*
2. *Ploščad' Lenina B-4*
3. *Smol'nyj proezd, 1, Smolny C-5*
4. *Vasiljevskij ostrov, Bol'soj prospekt, 85 C-2*
5. *Naberežnaja Obvodnogo kanala, 118, Varšavskij vokzal D-2*
6. Corner of the *Bol'soj prospekt* and *ulica Lenina B-3*
7. *Moskovskaja ploščad' F-3*

TO KARI MARKS

8. *Smol'nyj proezd, 1, Smolny C-5*
9. *Park im. Karla Marksa B-4*
10. *Prospekt Karla Marksa*, opposite building 86 A-4

TO FRIEDRICH ENGELS

11. *Smol'nyj proezd, 1, Smolny C-5*

3. MUSEUM OF THE CRUISER *AURORA* DECORATED WITH THE ORDERS OF THE RED BANNER AND THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION at *Petrogradskaja nab., 4 B-4*

4. S. M. KIROV MUSEUM, *Kirovskij prosp., 26/38, kv. 20 B-3*

5. MUSEUM OF LENINGRAD HISTORY, *nab. Krasnogo Flota, 44 C-2*

6. *PETROPAVLOVSKAYA KREPOST* (SS Peter and Paul Fortress Museum), *pl. Revol'ucii B-3*

7. HOUSE MUSEUM OF PETER I, *Petrovskaja nab., 2 B-3*

8. RELIGION AND ATHEISM HISTORY MUSEUM, *Kazanskaja pl., 2 Inset*

9. CENTRAL NAVAL MUSEUM, *Puškinskaja pl., 4 Inset*

10. WAR AND HISTORY MUSEUM OF ARTILLERY, ENGINEERS AND SIGNAL TROOPS, *park im. V. I. Lenina, 7 B-3*

11. A. V. SUVOROV WAR AND HISTORY MUSEUM, *ul. Saltykova-Sčedrina, 43 C-4*

12. MILITARY MEDICINE MUSEUM, *Lazaretnyj per., 2 C-3*

13. HERMITAGE, *Dvorcovaja nab., 34 Inset*

14. RUSSIAN MUSEUM, *Inženernaja ul., 4/2 Inset*

15. USSR ACADEMY OF ARTS SCIENTIFIC-RESEARCH MUSEUM, *Universitetskaja nab., 17 C-2*

16. ST. ISAAC'S CATHEDRAL MUSEUM, *Isaakijskaja pl., 1 Inset*

17. PETER I PALACE-MUSEUM AND THE SUMMER GARDEN, *Dvorcovaja nab. Inset*

18. CITY SCULPTURE MUSEUM, *nab. reki Monastyрки, 1 D-4*

19. NECROPOLIS *LITERATORSKIJE MOSTIKI*, *Rassstannaja ul., 30 D-4*

20. ANTHROPOLOGY AND ETHNOGRAPHY MUSEUM NAMED AFTER PETER I (former Kunstkamera), *Universitetskaja nab., 3 Inset*

21. USSR PEOPLES ETHNOGRAPHY MUSEUM, *Inženernaja, ul. 4/1 Inset*

22. LITERATURE MUSEUM OF THE RUSSIAN LITERATURE INSTITUTE OF THE USSR ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, *nab. Makarova, 4 Inset*

23. A. S. PUSHKIN MUSEUM-FLAT, *nab. reki Mojki, 12 Inset*

24. N. A. NEKRASOV MUSEUM-FLAT, *Litejnyj prosp., 36 C-4*

25. F. M. DOSTOJEVSKY MUSEUM-FLAT, *Kuznečnyj per., 5/2 C-4*

26. I. I. BRODSKY MUSEUM-FLAT, *pl. Iskusstv, 3 Inset*

27. D. I. MENDELEEV MUSEUM AND SCIENTIFIC ARCHIVES, *Universitetskaja nab., 7/9 Inset*

28. I. P. PAVLOV MUSEUM-FLAT, *Vasiljevskij o-v, 7-ja linija, 2, kv. 11 C-2*

29. N. A. RIMSKY-KORSAKOV MUSEUM-FLAT, *Zagorodnyj prosp., 28, kv. 39 C-3*

30. THEATRE MUSEUM, *pl. Ostrovskogo, 6a C-3*

31. RUSSIAN OPERA THEATRE. THEATRE MUSEUM BRANCH IN F. I. SHALYAPIN'S FORMER FLAT, *ul. Graftio, 2b B-3*

32. RAILWAY TRANSPORT MUSEUM, *Sadovaja ul., 50 C-3*

33. ACADEMY OF SCIENCES ZOO MUSEUM, *Universitetskaja nab., 1 Inset*

34. ARCTIC AND ANTARCTIC MUSEUM, *ul. Marata, 24a C-4*

35. BOTANICAL MUSEUM, *ul. Professora Popova, 2 B-3*

THEATRES, CONCERT HALLS, PALACES OF CULTURE

1. S. M. KIROV OPERA AND BALLET ACADEMIC THEATRE, *Teatral'naja pl., 1 C-2*

2. A. S. PUSHKIN ACADEMIC DRAMA THEATRE, *pl. Ostrovskogo, 2 Inset*

3. ACADEMIC MALY THEATRE OF OPERA AND BALLET, *pl. Iskusstv Inset*

4. M. GORKY ACADEMIC BOLSHOI DRAMA THEATRE, *nab. reki Fontanri, 65 C-3*

5. ACADEMIC COMEDY THEATRE, *Neuskij prosp., 56 Inset*

6. MUSICAL COMEDY THEATRE, *ul. Rakova, 13 Inset*

7. LENSOVIET THEATRE, *Vladimirskij prosp., 12 C-4*

8. LENINIST KOMSOMOL DRAMA THEATRE, *park im. V. I. Lenina, 4 B-3*

9. V. F. KOMISSARZHEVSKAYA DRAMA THEATRE, *ul. Graftio, 2b B-3*

7. *Moskovskaja ploščad'* F-3

TO KARL MARX

8. *Smol'nyj proezd, 1*, Smolny C-5
9. *Park im. Karla Marksa* B-4
10. *Prospekt Karla Marksa*, opposite building 86 A-4

TO FRIEDRICH ENGELS

11. *Smol'nyj proezd, 1*, Smolny C-5

MONUMENTS TO REVOLUTIONARIES, FIGURES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE SOVIET UNION

1. TO I. V. BABUSHKIN, *prosp. Obuchovskoj Oborony, PKiO im. Babushkina* E-5
2. TO F. E. DZERZHINSKY, *Kirovskij prosp., 67, Sad im. Dzeržinskogo* A-3
3. TO M. I. KALININ, *pl. Kalinina* B-4
4. TO S. M. KIROV, *Kirovskaja pl.* A-2
5. TO A. N. KOSYGIN, *Moskovskij park Pobedy* E-3
6. TO N. K. KRUPSKAYA, *prosp. Obuchovskoj Oborony, 105* E-5
7. TO M. V. FRUNZE, *ul. Komsomola, 1/3* B-4

MONUMENTS TO PUBLIC FIGURES, MILITARY FIGURES, SCIENTISTS AND CULTURAL WORKERS

1. TO BARCLAY DE TOLLY, *Kazanskaja pl.* Inset
2. TO M. I. GLINKA, *Teatral'naja pl.* C-2
3. TO N. V. GOGOL, *Sad trud'aščich's'a im. Maksima Gor'kogo* Inset
4. TO A. M. GORKY, *Corner of prosp. Maksima Gor'kogo and Kirovskij prosp.* B-3
5. TO A. S. GRIBOYEDOV, *Pionerskaja pl.* D-3
6. TO I. A. KRYLOV, *Letnij sad* (Summer Garden) Inset
7. TO M. I. KUTUZOV, *Kazanskaja pl.* Inset
8. TO M. Yu. LERMONTOV, *Lermontovskij prosp., 54* D-2
9. TO M. V. LOMONOSOV, *pl. Lomonosova* C-3
10. TO N. A. NEKRASOV, *Corner of pl. Nekrasova and Grečeskij prosp.* C-4
11. TO A. S. PUSHKIN, *Suvorovskaja pl.* Inset
12. TO A. V. SUVOROV, *Suvorovskaja pl.* Inset
13. TO N. G. CHERNYSHJEVSKY, *Moskovskij prosp., 163* E-3

MONUMENTS

1. TO PETER I *MEDNY VSADNIK* (The Bronze Horseman), *pl. Dekabristov* Inset
2. TO CATHARINE II, *pl. Ostrovskogo* Inset
3. TO NICHOLAS I, *Isaakijskaja pl.* Inset

MUSEUMS

1. CENTRAL V. I. LENIN MUSEUM, LENINGRAD BRANCH, *ul. Chalturina, 5/1* Inset
2. GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION MUSEUM, BRANCH OF THE USSR REVOLUTION CENTRAL MUSEUM, *prosp. Maksima Gor'kogo, 1/2* B-3



St. Isaac's Square

3. ACADEMIC MALY THEATRE OF OPERA AND BALLET, *pl. Iskusstv* Inset
4. M. GORKY ACADEMIC BOLSHOI DRAMA THEATRE, *nab. reki Fontanki, 65* C-3
5. ACADEMIC COMEDY THEATRE, *Neuskij prosp., 56* Inset
6. MUSICAL COMEDY THEATRE, *ul. Rakova, 13* Inset
7. LENSOVIET THEATRE, *Vladimrskij prosp., 12* C-4
8. LENINIST KOMSOMOL DRAMA THEATRE, *park im. V. I. Lenina, 4* B-3
9. V. F. KOMISSARZHEVSKAYA DRAMA THEATRE, *ul. Rakova, 19* Inset
10. VARIETY THEATRE, *ul. Zel'uhova, 27* Inset
11. YOUNG SPECTATORS' THEATRE, *Pionerskaja pl., 1* D-3
12. BOLSHOI PUPPET THEATRE, *ul. Nekrasova, 10* C-4
13. M. I. GLINKA ACADEMIC CHOIR, *nab. reki Mojht., 20* Inset
14. N. A. RIMSKY-KORSAKOV CONSERVATOIRE OPERATIC STUDIO, *Teatral'naja pl., 3* C-2
15. LENINGRAD CONCERT HALL, *pl. Lenina, 1* B-4
16. OKTYABRSKY BOLSHOI CONCERT HALL, *Ligovskij prosp., 6* C-4
17. D. D. SHOSTAKOVICH PHILHARMONIC, *ul. Brodskogo, 2* Inset
18. HOUSE OF YOUTH, *ul. Professora Popova, 47* B-3
19. LENSOVIET PALACE OF CULTURE, *Kijevskij prosp., 42* B-3
20. A. M. GORKY PALACE OF CULTURE, *pl. Staček, 4* D-2
21. NEVSKY PALACE OF CULTURE, *prosp. Obuchovskoj Oborony, 32* D-5

Leningrad Circus, *nab. reki Fontanki, 3* Inset

PLANETARIUM, *park im. V. I. Lenina, 4* B-3

ZOO, *park im. V. I. Lenina, 1* B-3

CINEMAS

1. "Aurora", *Neuskij prosp., 60* Inset
2. "Baltika", *Vasiljevskij o-u, 7-ja linija, 34* C-2
3. "Vesna", *Autovskaja ul., 15* E-2
4. "Gigant", *Kondratjevskij prosp., 44* B-4
5. "Zenit", *ul. Gastello, 7* F-3
6. "Kolizej", *Neuskij prosp., 100* C-4
7. "Kosmonaut", *Bronnickaja ul., 24* D-3
8. "Leningrad", *Pol'omkinskaja ul., 4* C-4
9. "Meridian", *Novoizmajlovskij prosp., 48* F-2
10. "Ochta", *prosp. Saum'ana, 22* C-5
11. "Planeta", *ul. Tipanova, 25* F-3
12. "Rodina", *ul. Tolmačova, 12* Inset
13. "Titan", *Neuskij prosp., 47* C-4
14. "Chudožestvennyj", *Neuskij prosp., 67* C-4

S. M. KIROV STADIUM WHERE THE FOOTBALL MATCHES WILL BE PLAYED ACCORDING TO THE OLYMPIC GAMES PROGRAMME OF 1980
Krestovskij o-u, Morskij prosp., A-1

SPORTS STRUCTURES

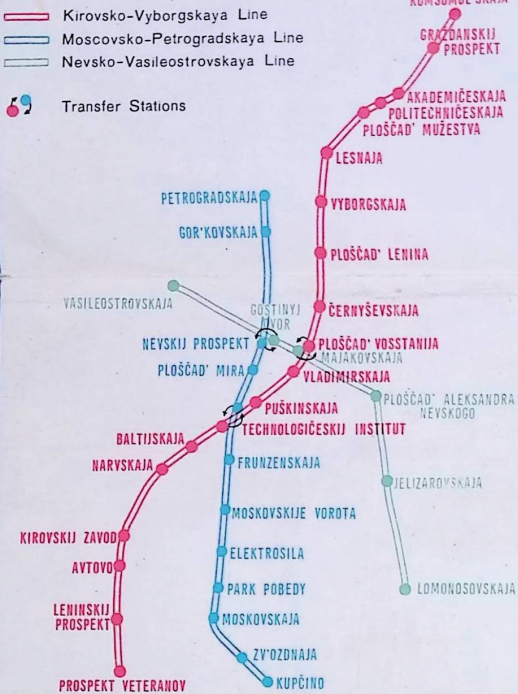
1. V. I. Lenin Stadium, *Petrovskij o-u, 2* B-2
2. Palace of Sports "Jubilejnyj", *prosp. Dobrol'ubova, 18* B-2
3. Palace of Sports Games, *ul. Butlerova, 9* A-5
4. General-Purpose Gymnasium, *prosp. Jurija Gagarina, 8* E-3
5. School of the Highest Sports Mastery, *Kamennoostrovskij prosp., 10* A-3
6. Winter Stadium, *Inženernaja ul., 11* Inset
7. "Dinamo" Sports Complex, *prosp. Dinamo, 44* B-2
8. Yacht-Club, *Petrovskaja kosa, 7* B-2



Hermitage



LENINGRAD METRO PLAN



- Leningrad Branch of VAO "Intourist"
- Museums-Flats of V.I. Lenin
- Monuments to the Great October Socialist Revolution and Heroes of the Civil War
- Monuments to the Great Patriotic War of 1941—1945
- Monuments of War and History
- Monuments to the Scientific Communism Founders
- Monuments to Revolutionaries, Figures of the Communist Party and the Soviet Union
- Monuments to Public, Military Figures, Scientists and Cultural Workers
- Monuments
- Museums
- Theatres, Concert Halls, Palaces of Culture
- Circus
- Cinemas
- Planetarium
- Zoo
- Sports Structures



Stadium where the football matches will be played according to the Olympic games programme of 1980



Hotels



Restaurants and Bars



Maintenance Stations



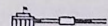
Refuelling Stations



Metro Stations



Air Terminal



Railways, Railway Terminals and Stations



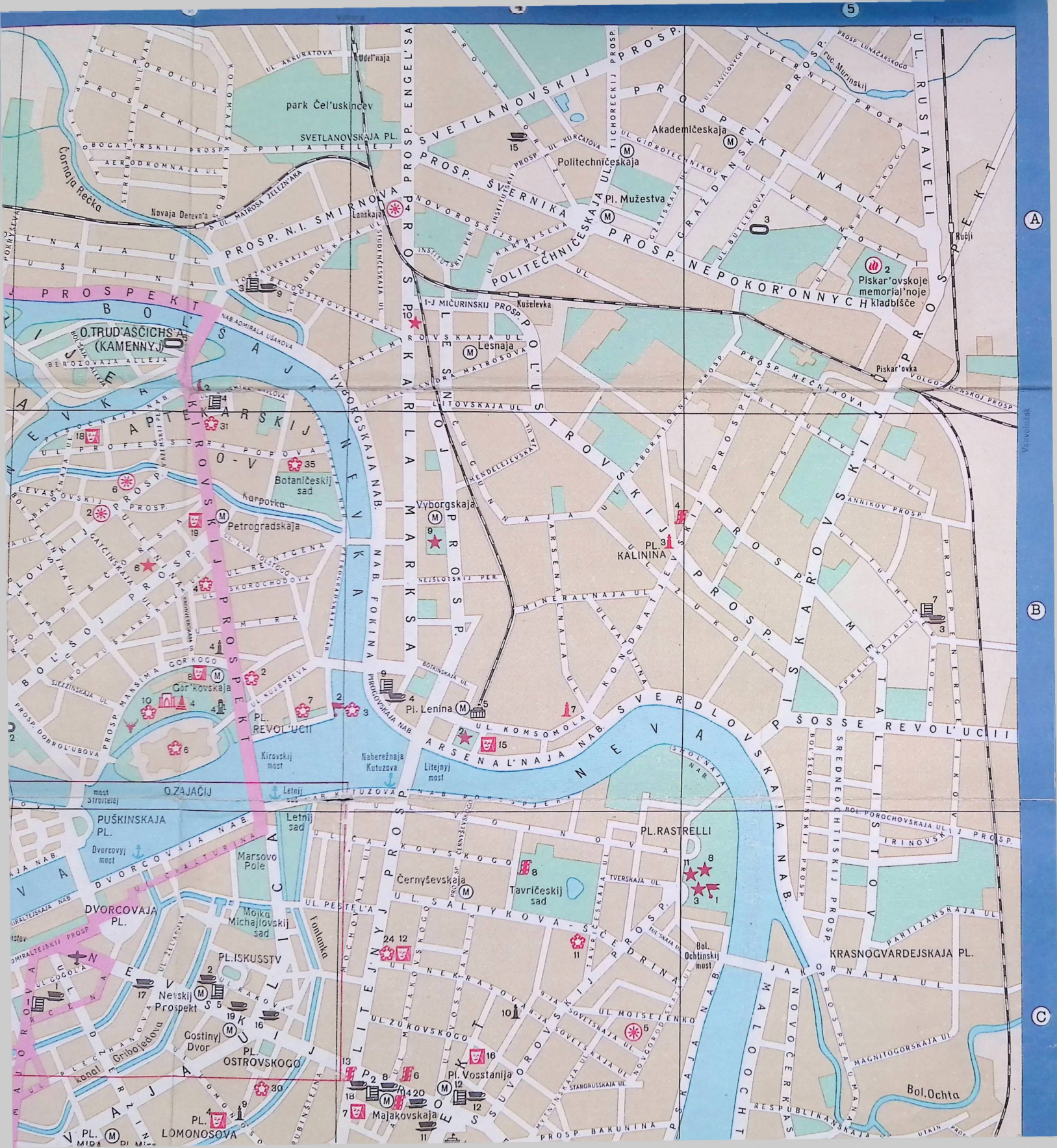
Sea Terminal



Landing stages

Main Passages







Travel notes

Moscow - two older parts of Moscow you should wander around in are Arbat St. and the area directly behind GUM - the massive "dept. store" on Red Square

- try and see the interior to St. Basil's cathedral on Red Square - it has recently been restored.

- plan to spend at least a half a day in Zagorsk - the monastery there is exquisite - it's 70 km. north of Moscow. (The relics of a Russ. orthodox saint - St. Sergius of Radonezh are there - women from the village keep a 24-hour vigil over his body.)

- the Tretyakov gallery is the best for Russian art

Leningrad - try + go to a service at the Alexander Nevsky Laura (seminary) and see the sculpture-graveyard.

- take a day trip either to Pushkin or Pavlovsk

- the Kunstkammern museum has a "chamber of curiosities" which Peter the Great collected (bijan)

Kiev -

→ A good place to wander about in is the road that goes past + below St. Andrei's cathedral - St. Andrei's is on a hill, turquoise on the outside (very baroque) and red on the inside.

Another cathedral which functions is St. Vladimir's - please go either for a part of the service (any evening, esp. Sat night) on Sun, AM or go just to see the fresco work on the interior

Mailer's
translation
of words
from Russian

1984 Mailer poem

First Draft

"At the Cathedral of St.
Isaac in Leningrad"

At the Cathedral of St. Isaac
in Leningrad

Great and ancient building
Dread reeks out of your damp
Huge fears sit in your stone
You sit at the front
in gloom and splendour
You lie in copulation
on our common air
Old historians have left a camp
Your shores are the road to hell.

They swear to call again
We hear ~~swear~~ ^{oaths} from your dead

Great and ancient building
~~Stones~~

Odorous
~~Smelly~~ old beast

We have you

(Original is w/ Tatiana Kudreatseva
also to Wm Phillips)

МНЕ БОИ ЗНАКОМ-ЛЮБЛЮ Я ЗВУК ~~СВОИ~~ МЕНЕ
to me battle fami^{war}liar-I love ^{stopped} ~~the~~ sword

Combat is my friend - I love the sound of swords

ОТ ПЕРВЫХ ЛЕТ ПОКЛОННИК СПАЩИИ
from first childhood admirer battle field

СЛАВЫ
glory

I dreamed in childhood of battle fields and glory

[Mailers writing]

ESALEN INSTITUTE
SOVIET-AMERICAN EXCHANGE PROGRAM
3105 Washington Street • San Francisco, CA 94115



Mr. and Mrs. Norman Mailer
142 Columbia Heights
Brooklyn, NY 11201

file

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SOVIET-AMERICAN EXCHANGE PROGRAM

3105 Washington Street • San Francisco, CA 94115
Telephone (415) 563-4731 • Telex 4931349 ESAL UI

James A. Garrison, Director

February 16, 1988

Norman Mailer
142 Columbia Hts.
Brooklyn, NY 11201

Dear Norman,

After years of planning, in August 1986, the USSR Union of Writers signed a unique agreement with the Esalen Soviet-American Exchange Program for reciprocal exchanges of writers and collaborative projects. On January 10, 1988, Vladimir Karpov, First Secretary of the Writers Union, led the first delegation to the U.S. under our agreement. By the time the two-week trip to New York, San Francisco, Big Sur and Los Angeles was over, and our Soviet guests had boarded their plane home, we knew this trip had been an important one.

Many people made this trip a success. Our Soviet guests were overjoyed at the opportunity to have in-depth talks with Alberto Vitale at Doubleday, George Craig and Ian Chapman at Harper and Row, and Robert Bernstein at Random House, where meetings were set up to discuss future publication of Soviet literature. At a breakfast at PEN, hosted by Susan Sontag and a reception at the Authors Guild, hosted by Robert Massey, the group discussed with their American colleagues the roles of writers in both societies. There was a luncheon at the Council on Foreign Relations where Secretary Karpov spoke to a distinguished audience on "The Role of the Writers Union in Expanding Expression in the USSR" and a reception at the New York Public Library, hosted by Vartan Gregorian, where the group met authors Arthur Miller, William Gaddis, Toni Morrison and other influential members of the American literary community.

We spent evenings at the homes of Esalen Trustee Bobo Patterson, and long-time friend and colleague Robert Schwartz where the delegation conversed over dinner with old and new friends. One of the highlights of the week was a dinner at Norman Mailer's home, where the delegation met fellow authors Joyce Carol Oates, Jay McInerney, Gay Talese and George Plimpton as well as Lauren Bacall and New York Times correspondent Tom Wicker.

After a whirlwind five days, the group proceeded to San Francisco, where an elaborate dinner, which was arranged by literary agent Fred Hill, awaited them at the home of Ann and Gordon Getty. The next night, the delegation got a taste of California cuisine at a dinner at Chez Panisse organized by Tom Luddy and hosted by the restaurant's owner Alice Waters.

After the weekend in San Francisco, we drove down the California coast, stopping at Esalen for two days of much needed rest. In the informal Esalen setting, we discussed future plans and ideas for our writers exchange, some of which include:

- poetry workshops at Esalen, Big Sur, in which two Soviet and two American poets meet each year for a period of five years, translating each others' poetry for a series of books entitled *The Esalen Soviet-American Poetry Series*.

- publication of a joint collection of short stories by authors born after the second world war. We see it as fitting that the generation which has grown-up never knowing a time of true friendship between our nations create a fresh vehicle for understanding through fiction. The anthology *Life in the Eighties* will consist of stories by ten American authors, selected by the Soviets and ten Soviet authors, selected by the Americans.

- a delegation of American short story writers who are part of the anthology will travel to the Soviet Union and meet their counterparts. This may include a literary tour of Moscow and Leningrad.

- publication of *The Glasnost Papers*, a collection of articles reprinted from Soviet journals and newspapers about the present changes taking place in Soviet society, followed by commentary from a Soviet political expert from the Institute for USA and Canada Studies in Moscow.

- seminars in Big Sur and San Francisco with Vladimir Karpov and possibly Mr. Afanasayev, Director of Soviet Historical Archives about the opening up of suppressed Soviet historical records.

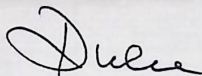
- visits to the Soviet Union by a few eminent American writers, similar to the Soviets' visit here. Ideas will be exchanged and projects developed which can create new possibilities for future collaboration.

- Dialogues on social, political and economic transformation, which will join thinkers and writers in both countries who are opening our vision to the socio-economic-political changes now underway in the world. As part of this project, we are preparing a book, *Superpowers in Transition: USA and USSR on the Threshold of the Twenty-first Century*. American writers include U.S. Senator Claiborne Pell; Ambassador Steven Rhinesmith, former Director of President Reagan's US-USSR Exchange Initiative; and John Naisbitt, author of *Megatrends*. Soviet contributors include Academician Abel Aganbegyan, Mikhail Gorbachev's chief economic adviser; Fyodor Burlotsky, former speechwriter for General Secretary Krushchev and current political observer for *Literaturnaya Gazette*; and Ivan Frolov, former editor-in-chief of *Kommunist*, and now Gorbachev's top personal aide.

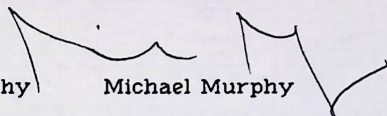
After spending two nights at Esalen, we continued our drive down the coast, arrived at the Beverly Hills Hotel, and barely had time to check into our rooms before leaving for a reception at the home of Irving and Sylvia Wallace. On the following evening, the Los Angeles chapter of PEN presented a forum at U.C.L.A., which was moderated by its President Digby Diehl. In Vladimir Karpov's opening statement, he said, "Glasnost and perestroika were absolutely necessary because things had to change."

And perhaps that was our cue. There are historic changes happening today in the Writers Union and in the whole Soviet literary world. We are invited to be part of that history. These past two weeks were a tremendous success, breaking down barriers and creating an opportunity for real collaboration. That couldn't have happened without your help.

Warm regards,



Dulce W. Murphy



Michael Murphy

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DEAR MR AND MRS MAILER

WE WOULD LIKE THANK YOU THIS TIME FROM MOSCOW FOR
KINDNESS AND HOSPITALITY ACCORDED OUR DELEGATION
DURING ITS STAY IN NEW YORK THE FRIENDLY ATMOSPHERE
AT THE GET-TOGETHER WITH PROFESSIONALS IN YOUR BEAUTIFUL
COL 142

69/11101 MR AND MRS PAGE 2/50
AND HOSPITABLE HOME GIVES US GOOD REASON HOPE THAT
PERSONAL CONTACTS BETWEEN US SERVE AS SOLID FOUNDATION
UPON WHICH TRUST MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND FRIENDSHIP
BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES CAN BE BUILT UP WILL BE
HAPPY WELCOME YOU AND YOUR FAMILY IN MOSCOW AND DO
EVERYTHING POSSIBLE HELP YOU LEARN AT FIRST

69/11101 MR AND MRS PAGE3/25
HAND ABOUT
OUR COUNTRY AND THE CHANGES NOW TAKING PLACE HERE
WITH BEST WISHES ON BEHALF OF OUR DELEGATION I REMAIN
YOURS SINCERELY VLADIMIR KARPOV

NNN
1506 EST

15:42 EST

MGMCOMP

*File
under 1988R
Possible trip*

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April 11, 1984

Judith McNally
for Norman Mailer
142 Columbia Heights
Brooklyn, New York 11201

Dear Judith:

Following our phone conversation of last week about the possibility of Mr. Mailer returning to San Francisco to speak under our auspices, I have a couple of new proposals to make. A third, reliable sponsor is interested in Mr. Mailer and this adds a new dimension to what we can offer.

One possibility is our original invitation to come here during the winter or spring of 1985 to speak at the Herbst Theater again and at UCLA and now also in Portland. Several combinations are possible but if the all-three-places could be considered, Mr. Mailer would be paid a combined fee of \$11,000.

Now, since Mr. Mailer has Tough Guys Don't Dance coming out in the fall, it may be of greater interest to him to come here during the fall, in which case UCLA and LA Portland are very interested and we would do a smaller program with him in San Francisco. This combination could bring a combined fee of \$8,000.

The point is, it seems that because of the interest in Los Angeles and Portland, we could do something in the fall, if that is preferable. We would have to schedule dates very soon, however.

Let me know your thoughts.

Sincerely,

Sydney Goldstein

2661 CLAY STREET

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94115

415/563-2463

*UCLA & Herbst Theater
the w/ extension
city hall small*

*or maybe
can't fit
in with
Herbst
Dakota
in March
1985
let's talk*

What I'd like is one evening for maximum.

*ask her why
it's so little
for 3 appearances
I'm not inclined
at those rates.*

PORTLAND ARTS & LECTURES

1474 S.W. DAVENPORT STREET, PORTLAND, OREGON 97201 503-228-1304

Mr. Norman Mailer
c/o Sydney Goldstein
City Arts & Lectures
2661 Clay Street
San Francisco, Cal. 94115

20 August 1984

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Dear Mr. Mailer,

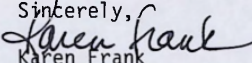
We are very much looking forward to having you in Portland in the spring as part of the premier season of Portland Arts & Lectures.

Your lecture is scheduled for 7:30 p.m. on Tuesday evening, March 26th, at downtown Portland's First Congregational Church. The Church and the new Heathman Hotel, at which you will be staying, are both just a few blocks from the new Portland Center for the Performing Arts which opens this fall. We are very pleased to have Portland Arts & Lectures debut in this season of major cultural growth for the community.

In addition to your lecture, we would like to schedule a book signing for the afternoon of the 26th if your schedule permits. It will be held at Powell's Books, a really spectacular store which is one of the largest in the West. It will be a well-publicized event and would last about an hour.

Please let us know if it will be possible to schedule the book signing and what, if any, other sights we might show you during your stay in Portland.

We are looking forward to having you with us.

Sincerely,

Karen Frank
Director

CITY ARTS & LECTURES, INC.

PRODUCER

SYDNEY GOLDSTEIN

September 14, 1984

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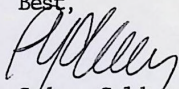
BARRY TRAUB

Judith McNally
for Norman Mailer
142 Columbia Heights
Brooklyn, New York 11201

Dear Judith:

In addition to the UCLA and Portland, Oregon dates we've set for Mr. Mailer for March, the Jewish Community Center in San Francisco would like very much to have Mr. Mailer speak in their auditorium on Monday evening March 25. They can only afford a \$2,500 fee and one night at the Stanford Court. This would be the night before the Portland engagement and I promised them I would extend the invitation. What do you think?

Best,


Sydney Goldstein

*Judith - get back to
me on dates, and
what I am doing.*

N. Dakota - Mar 21

UCLA Mar 22

Portland Mar. 26

- Elie Abel, The Missile Crisis, (Lippincott, 1966)
- Dear Acheson, Present At the Creation, (Norton 1969)
- Philip Agee, Inside the Company: Cia Diary, (Stonehill, 1975)
- Stewart Alsop, The Center, (Harper & Row, 1968)
- John Barron, KGB, (Reader's Digest Press, 1984)
- Louise Bernikow, Abel, (Trident Press, 1970)
- Paul Blackstock, The Strategy of Subversion, (Quadrangle, 1964)
- Douglas Blaufarb, The Counter-Insurgency Era, (Free Press, 1977)
- L BennC. Bradlee, Conversations with Kennedy, (Norton 1975)
- Clyde W. Burleson, The Jennifer Project, (Prentice Hall, 1977)
- George Christian, The President Steps Down, (Macmillan, 1970)
- Ray Cline, Secrets, Spies and Scholars (Acropolis, 1976)
- William Colby, Honorable Man (Simon & Schuster, 1978)
- E.H. Cookridge, Gehlen, Spy of the Century (Random House, 1971)
- Miles Copeland, The Game of Nations (Simon & Schuster, 1969)
- Without Cáoak or Dagger, (Simon & Schuster, 1984)
- William Corson, The Armies of Ignorance, (Dial, 1977)
- Richard Deacon, A History of the Russian Secret Service (Taplinger, 1972)
- Sanche de Gramont, The Secret War (Putnam, 1962)
- Peer de Silva, Sub Rosa: The CIA and the Uses of Intelligence, (Times Books, 1978)
- Paul Dickson, The Electronic Battlefield (Indiana Univ. Press 76)
- Herbert Dinnerstein, The Making of a Missile Crisis (Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1978)
- L Allen Welsh Dulles, The Craft of Intelligence (Harper & Row, 1963)
- Francis Dvornik, Origins of Intelligence Services (Rutgers Univ. Press, 1974)
- Edward Jay Epstein, Legend: The Secret World of Lee Harvey Oswald (Reader's Digest Press, 1978)
- Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, Nixon in the White House (Random House, 1978)
- "Christopher Felix! A Short Course in the SECRET War (Dutton, 1963)
- Thomas Franck and Edward Weisband, Eds., Secrecy and Foreign Policy (Oxford, 1974)
- Peter Geismar, Fanon (Dial, 1971)
- Gravel Edition of The Pentagon Papers (Beacon Press, 1971)
- H.R. Haldeman, The Ends of Power (Times Books, 1978)
- Roger Hilsman, To Move a Nation (Doubleday, 1967)
- Heinz Hohne and Hermann Zölling, The General Was a Spy (Coward, McCann and Geoghegan, 1972)
- E. Howard Hunt, Give Us This Day (Arlington House, 1973)
- Undercover (Berkley-Putnam's, 1974)
- Leon Jaworski, The Right and the Power (Reader's Digest Press, 1977)
- Haynes Johnson, The Bay of Pigs (Morton, 1962)
- Lady Bird Johnson, A White House Diary (Holt, Rinehart & Winston 1970)
- Lyndon Baines Johnson, The Vantage Point (Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1971)
- Bernard Kalb and Marvin Kalb, Kissinger (Little, Brown, 1974)
- Robert F. Kennedy, Thirteen Days (Norton, 1969)
- Lyman B. Kirkpatrick, Jr. The Real CIA (Macmillan, 1968)
- Maj. Gen. Edward Lansdale In the Midst of Wars (Harper & Row, 1972)
- Flora Lewis, The Red Pawn (Doubleday, 1965)

- ✓ J. Anthony Lukas, Nightmare: The Underside of the Nixon Years (Viking, 1976)
- ✓ Victor Marchetti and John D. Marks, The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence (Alfred A. Knopf, 1974)
- J.C. Masterman, The Double Cross System (Yale Univ. Press, 1972)
- Patrick J. McGarvey, CIA, The Myth and the Madness (Dutton, 1972)
- John Mecklin, Mission in Torment (Doubleday, 1965)
- Anthony Mockler, The Mercenaries (Macmillan, 1969)
- Roger Morris, Uncertain Greatness (Harper & Row, 1977)
- Robert Moss, Chile's Marxist Experiment (David and Charles, 1973)
- John Newhouse, Cold Dawn, the Story of SALT (Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1973)
- North American Congress on Latin America, Guatemala, 1974
- ✓ Bruce Page, David Leitch, and Philip Knightly, The Philby Conspiracy (Doubleday, 1968)
- ✓ Kim Philby, My Silent War (Grove Press, 1968)
- David Atlee Phillips, The Night Watch (Atheneum, 1976)
- Sylvia Press, The Care of Devils (Beacon Press, 1958)
- ✓ L. Fletcher Prouty, The Secret Team (Prentice Hall, 1973)
- Harry Howe Ransom, The Intelligence Establishment (Harvard University Press, 1970)
- Harry Rositzke, The CIA's Secret Operations (Reader's Digest Press, 1977)
- Ben Schemmer, The Raid (Harper & Row, 1976)
- ✓ Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., Robert Kennedy and His Times (Houghton Mifflin, 1978)
- ✓ A Thousand Days (Houghton Mifflin, 1965)
- ✓ Daniel Schorr, Clearing the Air (Houghton Mifflin, 1977)
- Peter Dale Scott, Paul L. Hoch, Russell Stetler, eds., The Assassinations, (Vintage, 1978)
- Patrick Seale and Maureen Conville, Philby: The Long Road to Moscow (Simon & Schuster, 1973)
- ✓ Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Hearing on CIA Foreign and Domestic Activities (US Govt. Printing Office, 1975)
- ✓ Hearing on the Nomination of Richard Helms as Ambassador to Iran (US Govt. Printing Office, 1974)
- ✱ Senate Select Committee on Government Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities, Alleged Assassination Plots Involving Foreign Leaders (US Govt Printing Office, 1975)
- Covert Action Report (US Govt. Printing Office, 1975)
- Hearings and Final Report (US Govt. Printing Office, 1975)
- Colin Smith, Carlos: Portrait of a Terrorist (Holt, Rinehart Winston, 1977)
- Harris Smith, OSS, (Univ. of California Press, 1972)
- Joseph Burckholder Smith, Portrait of a Cold Warrior (Putnam's, 1976)
- Thomas Bell Smith, The Essential CIA (privately printed, 1975)
- Frank Snepp, Decent Interval (Random House, 1977)
- Lawrence Stern, The Wrong Horse (Times Books, 1977)
- Stewart Steven, Operation Splinter Factor (Lippincott, 1974)
- John Stockwell, In Search of Enemies (Norton, 1978)
- Maj. Gen. Sir Kenneth Strong, Man of Intelligence (Cassell, 1970)
- K.V. Tauras, Guerrilla Warfare on the Amber Coast (Voyages Press, 1962)
- Maxwell Taylor, Swords and Plowshares (Norton 1972)
- P.L. Thyrand de Vosjoli, Lamia (Little Brown, 1970)
- Transmittal of Documents from the National Security Council

to the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Parts
2, and 4 (US Government Printing Office, 1974)
Vernon Walters, Silent Missions, (Doubleday, 1978)
David Wise, The American Police State (Random House, 1976)
_____, The Politics of Lying (Random House, 1973)
L _____ and Thomas Ross, The Espionage Establishment (Random
House, 1967)
L _____, The Invisible Government (Random House, 1964)
The White House Transcripts (Viking 1974)
Donald Yergin, Shattered Peace (Houghton Mifflin, 1977)

March 29, 1984

Mr. Edward Cornish
World Future Society
President
Washington D.C., USA

Dear Dr. Cornish,

A vital element of Orvell's "1984" is an omnipresent Telescreen created to brainwash people. Now, the latest electronic technology offers a gigantic (up to 200 m²) high resolution Videoscreen for direct, live communication back and forth between large groups of people around the world.

I was able to help conceptualize this new Channel of Communication when applied for a grant from the Rollex Awards For Enterprise 1984 Contest, and my project entitled "Network Of Space - Bridge Terminals for Group Consciousness Transformation" was included into the list of "Selected Projects" where concepts will be distributed widely to different associations, universities and international organizations.

I have also taken the liberty to invite participants of the forthcoming World Future Society Congress in 1984 to make that next step into the Future, which Orvell did not envision: I see the possibility now existing to connect by satellite groups of people all over the world who are interested in accelerating contacts between many of the potential Futurists of the world.

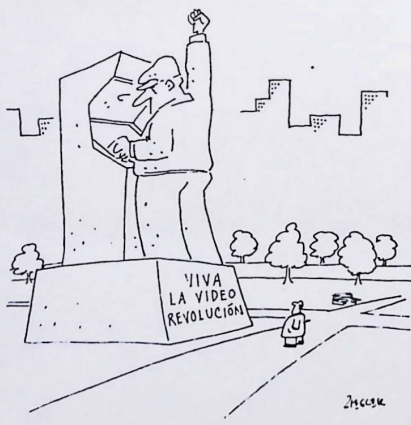
This global experience by means of the experimentally tested "Mirror for Humanity" can give birth, it is my belief, to a new awareness of a "distant proximity", that may help to initiate a global shift away from nuclear war.

I enclose other papers I have written that expatiate on these extraordinary new openings.

yours sincerely

Joseph Goldin,
Moscow, USSR.

Joseph Goldin



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Donna Hartman AE

Warren Zimmerman AE

Joseph Golden AE Biber, The Late Masters; the Early Masters)

(c/o Michael Murphy) 240-1903) *to Dorothy Dicker Wash. Post correspondent*

Tatiana Rotenberg AE 233-5972 *Dusko*

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Boris Masserer AE 202-9580

Andre Voznessensky AE 227-4990

Zoia Boguslavskaya OWATE Marilyn 227-4990

Vytalis Zalakevicius AE; ~~3 Ex Song from Playboy~~

Silo 62-4 Vilnius USSR 749653

Vitali Zhurkin AE 290-5875

Serge Schaeemann AE

Andy Rosenthal AE 281-1533 243-7015

Alexei - friend of Victor Erofeev - 3 Ex Song/Playboy

*The missing books from map
must go out to SLLer*

Nikolai

Mike
Fluffy

415/388-9090

→ *take counting from number
Look over my connections
before sending letters.*

*Look to Mother Benjamin's office
do you have a list?*

Dr. Radomir G. BOGDANOV

Deputy Director

Institute of USA and Canada Studies
Academy of Sciences of the USSR

2/3 Khlebny per.,
Moscow, USSR

Sergei

Tel. 291-14-83

Rogov

USSR Embassy, Washington

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Soul Society Fair

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441-58-62

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c/o Rev. Downs.

P.O. Box 515

Address to send typewriter to

Prison for women

P.O. Box 515

Kingston, On

Canada

TEL: 613-547-4058

547-4085

Ms. O'Neill

547 4060

Ms. Porter

12x12x18

maximum size allowed

Prison

40 Sir John A Mc Donald
Blod

K7M 4W7

att; Stores Area

Inmate effects

Gabe wants
the typewriter we
offered. Let's
find a way to
send it.

P.O. Box 515
Kingston, Ont
K7L 4W7

18th October 1984

Dear Norman,

Do you believe in telepathy? If not, you should. I was just about to write to you. I want a typewriter. This morning I sat in front of my empty machine, pumping up courage, daring myself to write and ask you to help me get a typewriter and lo and behold there was your letter. That must be telepathy.

Something is happening to me. I have caught the writing disease. Two short stories and I have only just begun. The Prof marked them "excellent". Now they can't get me away from the typewriter. My sceptical typing teacher wanted proof of what I was working at having taken no notice of her lessons. I gave her my story and she read it in her office while I stood

and waited for a sarcastic remark. To my happy surprise she blew her nose, dried her tears, she loved it. She insisted the warden should read it. My fame is spreading.

/ J. H. Patton

Not a word from Richard since he was found guilty. Too upset to write. He is a very brave man but his bravery has been stretched to breaking point. I feel so sad, so very sad. I do not know what to write to him. How to sound cheerful, how to put hope in words when there is almost none. I dread the day of the sentencing, more horrors to come.

Christopher is back in Toronto. He can't get back in the army until Ottawa tells the military he has been cleared in the States! Ivan Fisher is working on it I believe. I have not ^{met} Ivan Fisher but I hope I will one day because he is a lawyer with a heart and there are few, most lawyers have a dollar for a heart.

Both Michelle and I are taking a university course in Sociology. We enjoy the lectures but the hours of study I find tedious and I begrudge the hours of study when I could be reading and writing, however I intend to pass.

Tanya and Jim bought a small farm in Gorham near Portland. At least she can relax. She has been moving from one place to another since we left Phillips and moving with eight horses, nine cats, two dogs has not been easy.

Norman I'm looking forward to reading "Tough Guys Don't Dance". I follow the Book Review and I rejoice when I see it on the list sellers list. Congratulations.

My love to Barbara and all the children. Thank you for your warm, happy letter, made me feel so good.
 All my love
 Gail

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Studies

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Dear Norman,
DUSKO left for
a press-conference,

so please, call
~~check out~~ Mr. Bogdanov

291 14-83

(291-14-83)

and ask him about
your visit.

See you soon
~~take down number~~

Joseph

~~RADOMIR BOGDANOV~~

Monday A.M.

Find out time of party

~~Move bags~~ Pack

+ move bags
out to carrip.

Notes ?

Get money and safe

At home

Books to Alina
Viktor

Boris

Mella

Vos

Zoya (Germingrad)

Joseph

George

Andy

Randy

Zimmerman

Dona Hartman

Mike Murphy

Stefan

Friday
take cab to
8 Gilyarevskaya
8 ТИЛЯРЕВСКОВА
(ПРОСПЕКТ МИРА)

Mon Sat - Jc

Sat morning before
Call Voz for Sunday
around 6.

Call ~~Andy~~ & Larry
around 6. Sat when
get back.

Call Andy Sunday
morning for pickup

See you for Boris Messer

Sunday AM. 12 -

Dance will pick up at hotel

Call Andy Rosenblatt
on Friday A.M.

Warren Zimmerman

Breaking Away

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Sparrow House

Wed. 9:00

in Bobbie's (1st floor)

John Baur

Gertrude Schmemann

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8:00

6:30 -

Galins

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Vogel - 9245-

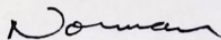
NORMAN MAILER
142 COLUMBIA HEIGHTS
BROOKLYN, NEW YORK 11201

23 October 1984

Dear Sol,

If I get a chance, I'll certainly take a good luck at The Tough of Treason (nice title). But I fear I'm getting little reading done these days. Taking on the presidency of the American chapter of PEN absorbs all too many leisure hours. I'm beginning to think of trying less sleep. At any rate, let's see. In the interim, let me wish you well.

Cheers,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Norman", with a stylized, cursive flourish at the end.

Norman Mailer



Евтушенко Е.

Moscow district

(московский

область)

скара

н/о 405076

(Шовот)

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(переделкино)

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Богов стр. 1.

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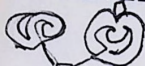
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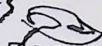
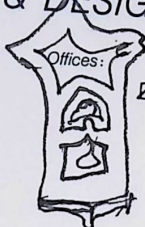
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26

NORMAN MAILER
142 COLUMBIA HEIGHTS
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23 October 1984

Dear Scott,

I think we ought to do something about this.
Do you have any idea what royalties are owed to
me in Poland? *Probably, there are none, but*
just in case.

Norman

23 October 1984

Dear Mr. Baranczak,

I'm returning from London and see your letter of October 11 and will forward it to my agent. I have no idea how many zlotys are in my account in Poland, although I feel the sum is not too large, but in any event, some of it can certainly be transferred to ZAIKS. I'll keep you posted on what happens.

Yours sincerely,

Norman Mailer

PEN American Center

47 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10003 / (212) 255-1977 / Cables: Acinterpen New York
(212) 255-4009: PEN Freedom to Write

Mr. Norman Mailer
142 Columbia Heights
Brooklyn, NY 11201

October 11, 1984

11

Dear Norman Mailer:

I am writing on behalf of my fellow writers in Poland who asked me to act as a liaison with their American colleagues. As you probably know, since the putsch of December 1981, Polish writers spent months in internment camps and lost their jobs. The military regime has disbanded the Polish Writers' Union, thus depriving authors of whatever modest benefits they had had; the new, officially-sponsored union is boycotted by the overwhelming majority of writers. Since they also boycott the state-controlled media and their works are more often than not suppressed by censorship, they are, as a rule, unable to earn a living.

If you are willing to help those people, you can do a lot simply by lifting the phone and calling your agent. As an author who has been published in Poland, you probably still have some royalties in zlotys due to you. If you agree, your agent could ask your Polish publisher to transfer that amount, or some part of it, to an independent fund created by Polish writers to help their needy colleagues. Here is the full name of the fund and its account number:

ZAIKS, Fundusz Popierania Tworczosci
ul. Hipoteczna 21
00950 Warszawa
skr.p.16

Konto NBP III O/Warszawa
1036-8240-132

Let me emphasize that the existence of the fund is perfectly legal and that the publisher cannot refuse to make the transfer. You will not hurt anybody either, because the distribution of the collected funds is in the hands of trustworthy and discreet people. Needless to say, the Polish government has no control over the fund.

Right now you have no possible use of your zlotys, unless you go to Poland to spend them. I hope you agree that the best way to use that money would be to help your fellow writers who sacrificed their material privileges in order to maintain their artistic and moral integrity.

Sincerely yours,

Stanislaw Baranczak

Former member of Polish Writers' Union
Professor of Polish Language and
Literature, Harvard University

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Минск — город-герой, столица Белорусской ССР, крупнейший промышленный и культурный центр, важный транспортный узел; население города — свыше 1,6 миллиона жителей. Город делится на 9 административных районов.

Минск — один из красивейших городов нашей страны. Современная планировка, благоустроенность жилых районов, широкие проспекты и улицы в сочетании с разнообразием и стройностью архитектурных ансамблей создают его неповторимый облик.

Ведущей отраслью промышленности города является машиностроение и металлообработка. Заметное развитие получили приборостроение, легкая, пищевая, деревообрабатывающая, полиграфическая промышленность, производство стройматериалов.

В Минске функционируют Академия наук БССР, имеющая в своем составе многочисленные научные учреждения, и 14 вузов, где обучается около 100 тыс. студентов; имеется около 200 массовых библиотек, 11 государственных музеев, 6 театров, много Дворцов культуры, кинотеатров, спортивных сооружений.

Современный Минск — это возрожденный из пепла и руин времен Великой Отечественной войны (1941-1945 гг.) город с новыми архитектурными ансамблями и величественными монументами. Среди зданий послевоенного времени немало объектов, которые считаются памятниками культуры (Белгосуниверситет им. В.И. Ленина, гостиница «Беларусь», новый корпус Белорусского политехнического института и др.). Наиболее значительным памятником сооружением города является монумент Победы как символ героических свершений нашего народа в Великой Отечественной войне. Монумент воздвигнут в 1954 г., высотаobeliska 40 м.

Сохранившихся памятников старины сравнительно немного — среди них представляют ценность в архитектурно-художественном отношении капитальные гражданские и культовые здания XVII-XIX вв., в основном расположенные в исторически сложившемся центре города.

Минск все растет и красивеет. Появляются новые микрорайоны, улучшается их архитектура. Город творит, живет и уверенно продвигается в завтрашний день.

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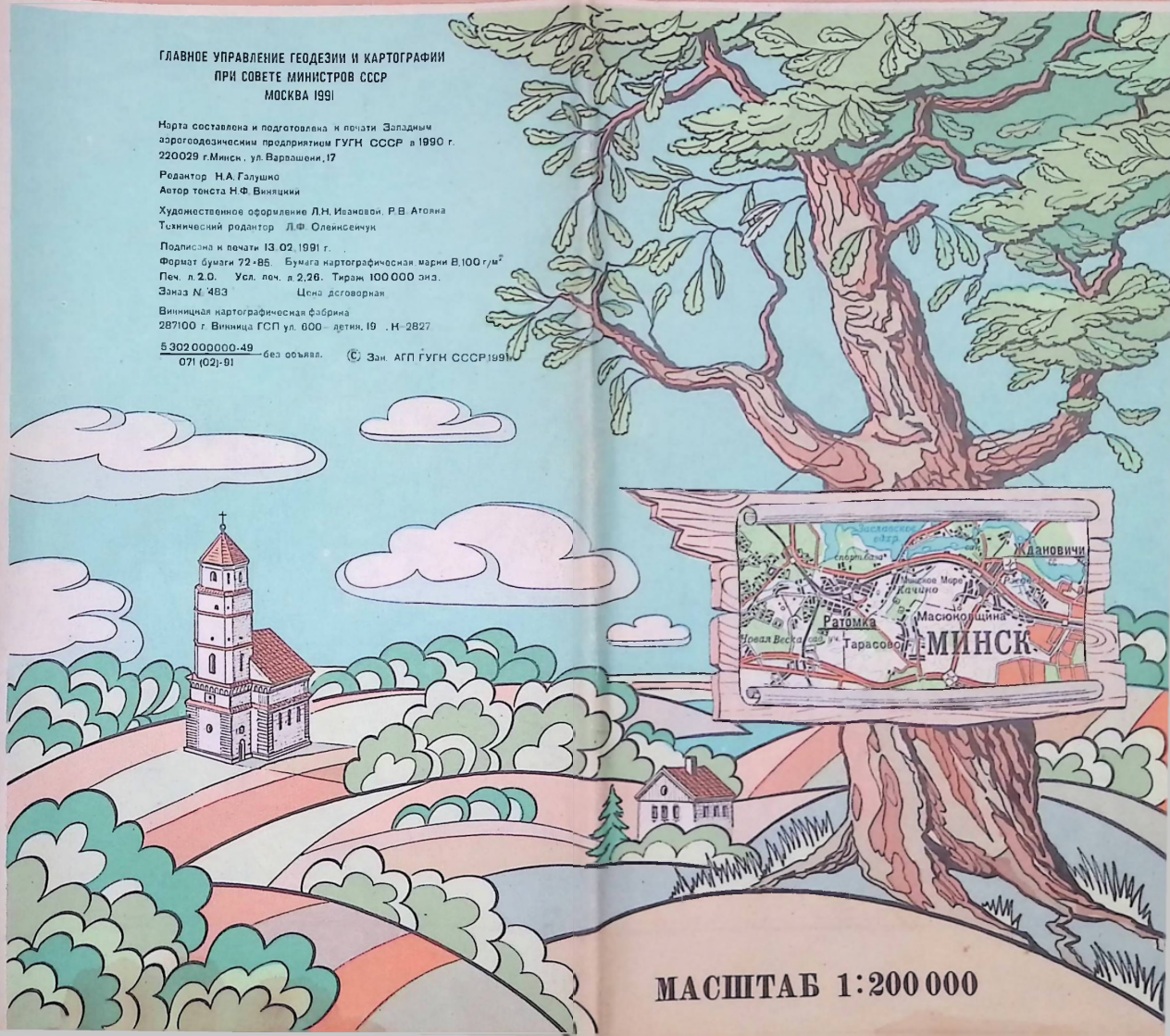
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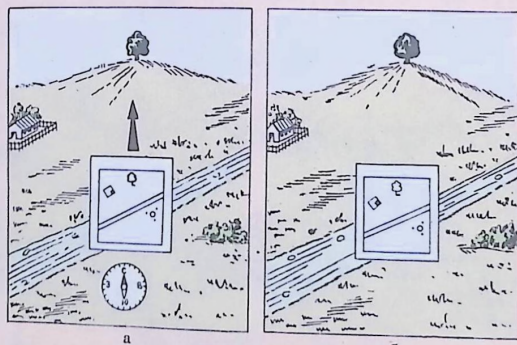
На карте дано картографическое изображение Минска и прилегающих к нему окрестностей с включением городов: Борисов, Молодечно, Жодино, Вилейка, Дзержинск, Заславль (областного подчинения); Марьина Горка, Смолевичи, Червень (районного подчинения).

Окрестности Минска — это одно из красивых мест Белоруссии. Здешний пейзаж интересен обилием живописных округлых холмов Минской возвышенности (максимальные абсолютные высоты относительно уровня Балтийского моря: 345 м — г. Дзержинская, 342 м — г. Лысая), поросших основными лесами и насаждениями. В равнинно-пересеченный рельеф богато озелененной местности красочно вписываются зеркала вытнутых по долинам рек водоемов. На прилегающих к этим водоемам живописных территориях расположены обустроенные зоны массового отдыха. Зоны отдыха «Минское море» (Заславское вдхр.), «Вяча» (вдхр. Вяча), «Раубичи» (спорт. комплекс Раубичи), «Васелька» (Петровское вдхр. на р. Волма), «Птичь» (верховье р. Птичь) и другие пользуются большой популярностью. Здесь — многочисленные дома отдыха, санатории, пионерские лагеря. Зоны отдыха привлекают к себе тех, кто увлекается спортом, рыбалкой, самостоятельным туризмом. К услугам отдыхающих благоустроенные пляжи, лодочные станции, пункты проката туристского снаряжения, спортивные базы, клубы, кинотеатры и другие культурно-просветительные учреждения. Объектом особого внимания рыболовов-любителей является Вилейское водохранилище.

Богаты окрестности и другими достопримечательностями и историческими местами: Прилуцкий ландшафтный заказник (район Волчковичского вдхр.), музеи Янки Купалы (с. Вязынка Молодечненского района) и Якуба Коласа (с. Николаевщина Столбцовского района), памятники, памятники и мемориальные знаки. Среди последних: Курган Славы (21-й километр автомагистрали Минск-Москва), воздвигнутый в честь подвига советских воинов в Великой Отечественной войне (высота памятника 70 м); мемориальный комплекс «Хатынь» (Логойский район), в центре композиции которого высятся 6-метровая бронзовая скульптура «Непокоренный человек»; монумент в честь советской матери-патриотки (г. Жодино); памятник в честь подвига экипажа летчика Н.Ф. Гастелло 26 июня 1941 г. (пос. Радошковичи) и др. Представляют интерес достопримечательности старины: г. Борисов — костел и собор (XIX в. — начало XX в.); г. Заславль — Спасо-Преображенская церковь (XVI-XVII вв.); г. Вилейка — церковь конца XIX в. и костел начала XX в.; г. Логойск — древнее городище, парк и церковь XIX в.

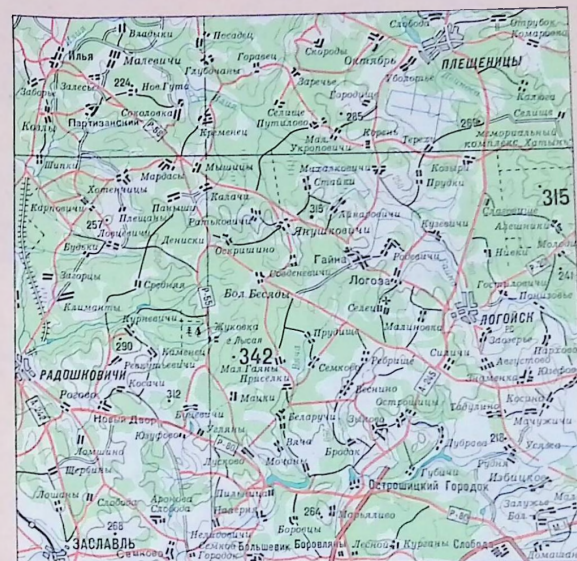
В промышленном отношении наибольшее значение имеют города Борисов (машиностроение и металлообработка, химическое и деревообрабатывающее производства), Молодечно (станко- и инструментостроение, производства стройматериалов и мебельное), Жодино (автомобилестроение). В этих и других городах получают дальнейшее развитие новые виды промышленного производства, а также легкая и местная пищевая промышленность.

Сегодняшние окрестности Минска, восстановленные и значительно преобразованные в послевоенные годы, — это зримое воплощение трудовых достижений минчан, всего белорусского народа.



Ориентирование карты:
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Западное аэрогеодезическое предприятие Главного управления геодезии и картографии при Совете Министров СССР — самая крупная по своим возможностям топографо-геодезическая организация, обслуживающая территорию БССР, некоторые административные районы РСФСР



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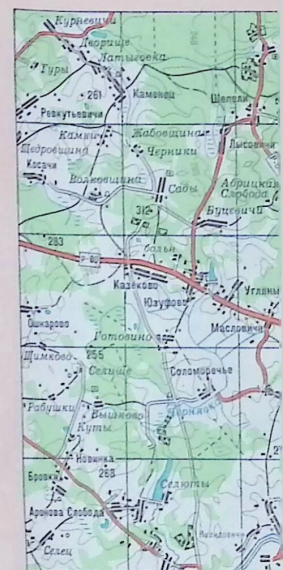
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Сплошные горизонтали проведены через 50 метров

и Прибалтики, — наряду с производством в больших объемах традиционных видов топографо-геодезических и картографических работ с 1989 года приступило к созданию обзорных, маршрутных туристских и других карт и планов для продажи населению. Обзорные карты масштабов 1:200 000, 1:500 000, 1:1 000 000 и мельче предприятием выпускаются, как правило, в общепринятой государственной разграфке по номенклатурным листам. В ряде случаев, особенно по хозяйственным, они могут создаваться на любую площадь регионов при дополнении общегеографического содержания элементами специальной тематической нагрузки. Маршрутные карты, в зависимости от их назначения, охвата территории и т.д., изготавливаются в масштабах 1:50 000-1:200 000. Ширина картографируемой полосы туристского маршрута местного значения (масштабы 1:50 000-1:100 000) принимается до 5 км, а для маршрутов большой протяженности (масштаб 1:200 000) — из расчета достаточно подробного показа местности вдоль оси маршрута, с учетом важнейших ориентиров. На парки и зоны массового отдыха площади картографируемой территории задаются в пределах до 25 кв. км при масштабах карт 1:10 000-1:25 000. Для территорий туристских баз и окрестностей, в зависимости от их значимости и сложности ситуации местности, карты и планы могут изготавливаться самых различных

масштабов — от 1:5 000 до ные карты, как правило, 1:20 000, 1:15 000 и крупнее. Планы городов для населенных пунктов, подлежащих застройке и прилибы созданы в диапазоне

В основу создания принимаются государственные планы различных масштабов геодезическим и другими



1:2

в 1 сантиметре 2 километра

км 4 3 2 1 0

Сплошные горизонтали

При необходимости, исходные карты, по наиболее важным, с поправками в их основе. Для крупномасштабных карт производятся в масштабах, изображаемой контурной фотоснимками, либо выписками из них.

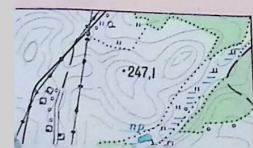
В качестве иллюстраций топографического изображения («Минск и окрестности») масштабах (фрагмент масштаба) территории города и окрестностей, на них элементы составляются создаваемых карт. Как в них практически все основное географическое содержание, гидрография, почвенно-растительность. По мере уменьшения масштаба, в зависимости от назначения, охвата территории и т.д., карты и планы могут изготавливаться самых различных

зское предприятие Главного
тографии при Совете Минист-
а по своим возможностям топо-
зация, обслуживающая терри-
министративные районы РСФСР



1:100 000
5 километров
10 20 км
Сплошные горизонталы проведены через 50 метров

изготовлением в больших объ-
топографо-геодезических и
89 года приступило к соз-
туристских и других карт
нию. Обзорные карты маш-
1:1000000 и мельче пред-
правило, в общепринятой
номенклатурным листам.
оздоговорам, они могут соз-
регионов при дополнении
ния элементами специаль-
аршрутные карты, в зави-
вата территории и т.д., из-
50 000-1:200 000. Ширина
иетского маршрута местно-
00-1:100 000) принимается
большой протяженности
ета достаточно подробно-
маршрута, с учетом важ-
и зоны массового отдыха
ритории задаются в пре-
ах карт 1:10 000-1:25 000.
и окрестностей, в зависи-
ности ситуации местности,
иваться самых различных



масштабов — от 1:5 000 до 1:50 000-1:100 000. Спортив-
ные карты, как правило, составляются в масштабах
1:20 000, 1:15 000 и крупнее на территорию до 10 кв.км.
Планы городов для населения и туристов, исходя из пло-
щадей застройки и прилегающих окрестностей, могут
быть созданы в диапазоне масштабов 1:8 000-1:30 000.

В основу создания указанных выше карт и планов
принимаются государственные топографические карты и
планы различных масштабов, созданные Западным аэро-
геодезическим и другими предприятиями ГУГК СССР.



1:200 000
в 1 сантиметре 2 километра
0 4 8 12 км
Сплошные горизонталы проведены через 20 метров

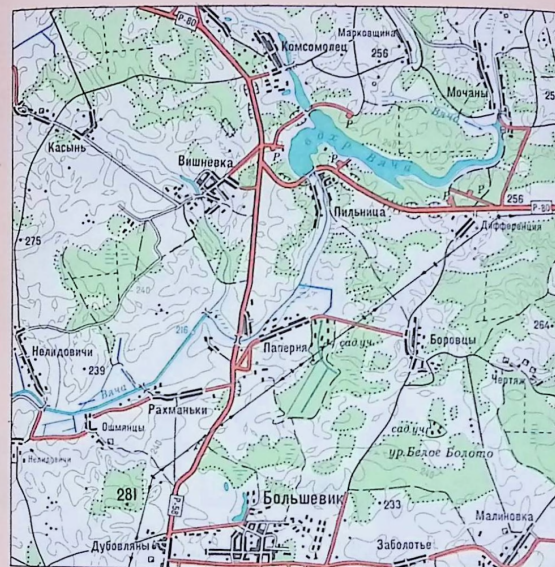
При необходимости, исходя из масштаба создаваемой
карты, по наиболее важным изменениям местности вно-
сятся коррективы в их общегеографическое содержание.
Для крупномасштабных карт и планов туристской тема-
тики производится в большинстве случаев сличение
изображаемой контурной ситуации с новейшими аэро-
фотоснимками, либо выполняется полевое обследование
местности.

В качестве иллюстраций приводятся фрагменты кар-
тографического отображения одной и той же местности
(«Минск и окрестности») последовательно в различных
масштабах (фрагмент масштаба 1:1000 000 включает тер-
риторию города и окрестностей полностью). Показанные
на них элементы составляют общегеографическую основу
создаваемых карт. Как видно, на этих картах показыва-
ются практически все основные элементы общегеографи-
ческого характера: населенные пункты, дорожная сеть,
гидрография, почвенно-растительный покров, рельеф
местности. По мере уменьшения масштаба картографируе-

мой местности заметнее становится степень обобщения
(генерализации) элементов общегеографической основы и,
следовательно, более выражено выступает признак об-
зорности карты. С укрупнением масштаба карты деталь-
ность и подробность в отображении элементов увеличи-
ваются, измерения по ней производятся более точно.

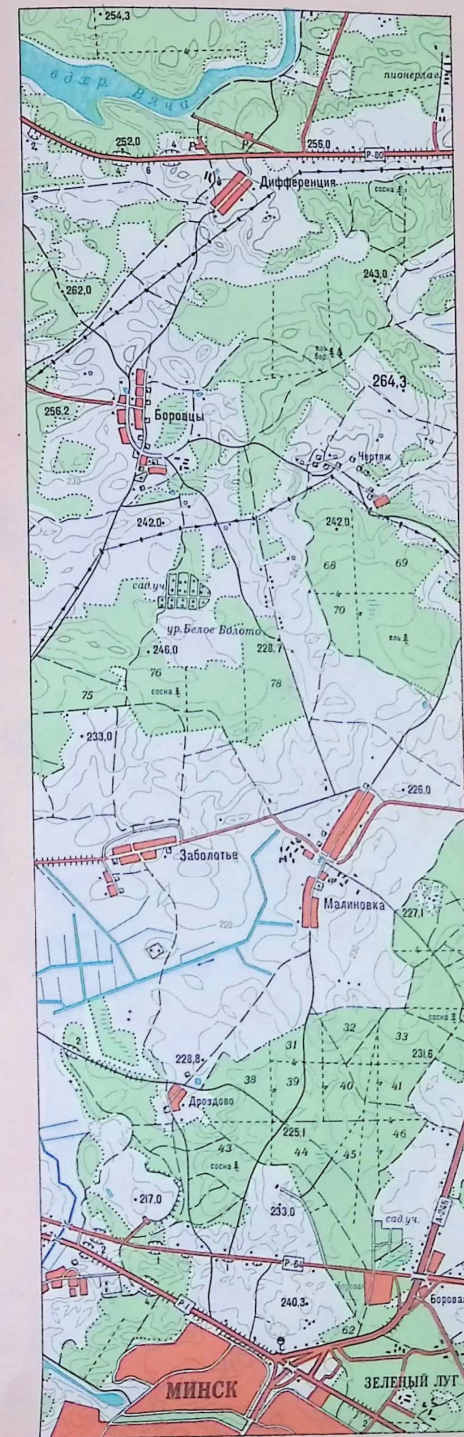
Путем дополнения, при необходимости, общегеографи-
ческой основы элементами специального содержания по
данному, полученным в учреждениях туризма либо дру-
гих организаций, высококвалифицированными специа-
листами — картографами предприятия составляется кар-
та заданной тематики соответствующего масштаба.

Создаваемые на предприятии карты и планы обла-
дают высокой информативностью, хорошими измеритель-
ными свойствами. Пользуясь картами, подготовленными
предприятием, Вы можете быстро и с необходимой точ-



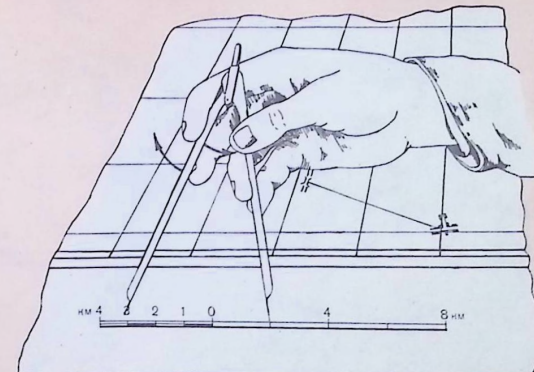
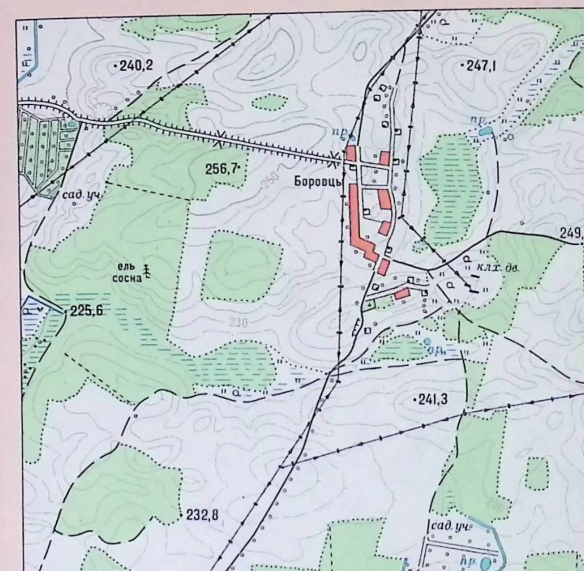
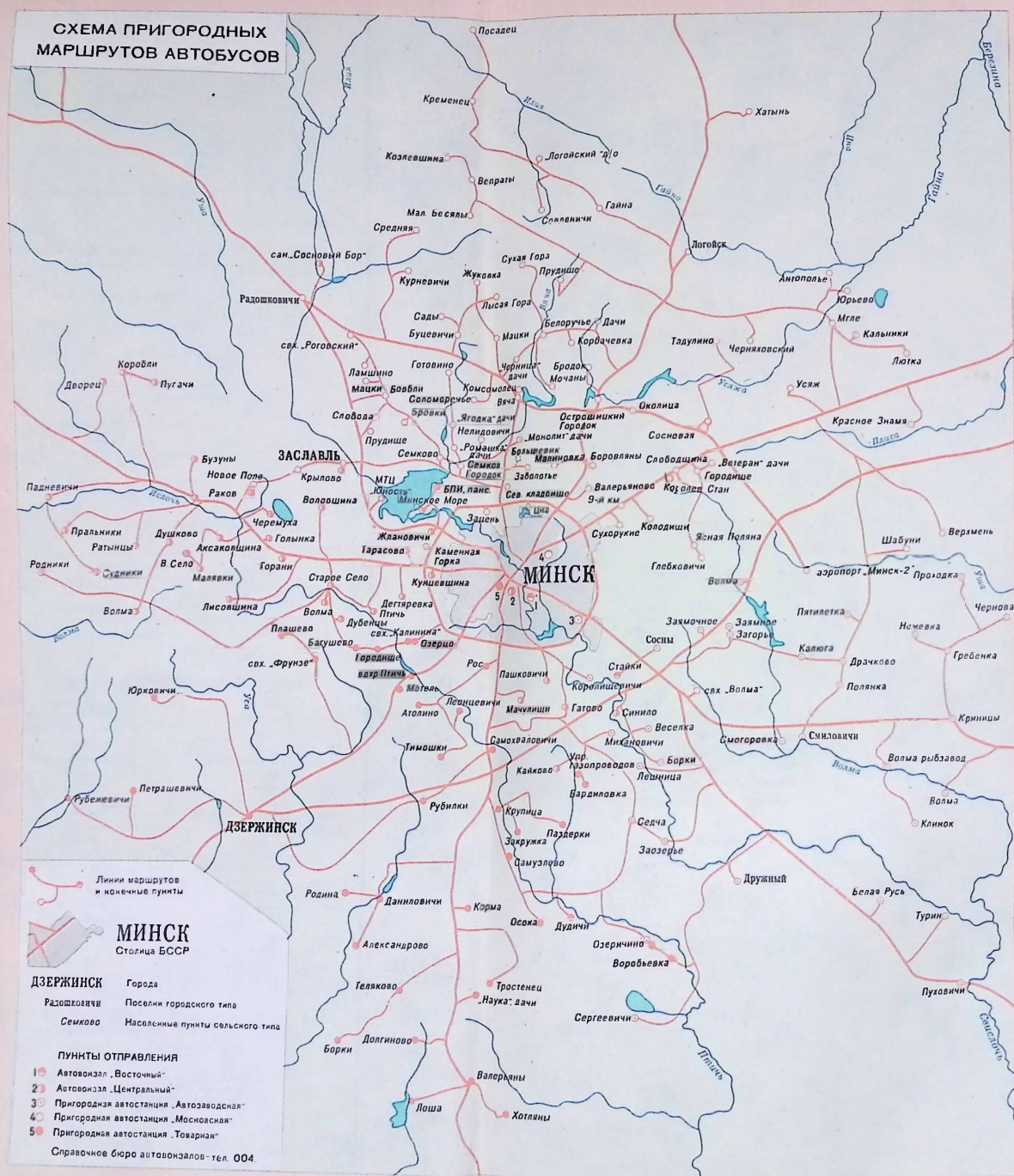
1:100 000
в 1 сантиметре 1 километр
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 км
Сплошные горизонталы проведены через 20 метров

ностью просчитывать расстояния между интересующими
Вас объектами, надежно ориентироваться на местности,
планировать маршруты путешествий и походов по род-
ному краю, выбирать места для отдыха в живописных
уголках синеекой Белоруссии, Рижского взморья и дру-
гих районов нашей страны. Отдыхая, помните о необхо-
димости чуткого и бережного отношения к природе, за-
бота о которой — долг каждого гражданина.



1:50 000
в 1 сантиметре 500 метров
0 1 2 км
Сплошные горизонталы проведены через 10 метров

СХЕМА ПРИГОРОДНЫХ МАРШРУТОВ АВТОБУСОВ

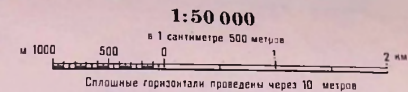


Измерения на карте

Чтобы определить расстояние между двумя точками, вначале измеряют это расстояние на карте, а затем, пользуясь масштабом, узнают действительное значение его на местности.

При пользовании численным масштабом измеренное на карте расстояние между двумя точками в сантиметрах умножают на величину знаменателя масштаба.

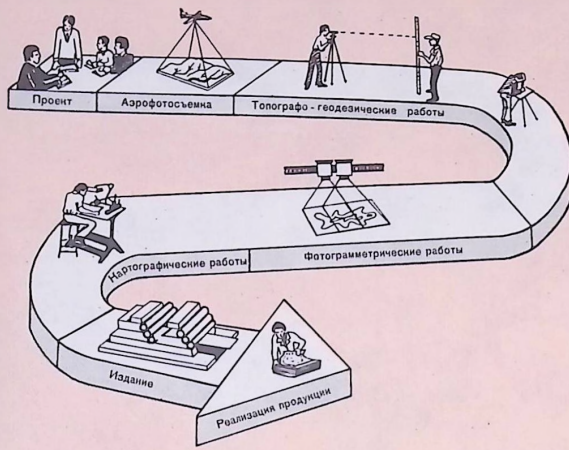
При пользовании линейным масштабом измеряют циркулем (линейкой или полоской бумаги) расстояние между заданными точками на карте, и по линейному масштабу определяют результат.



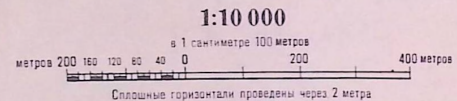
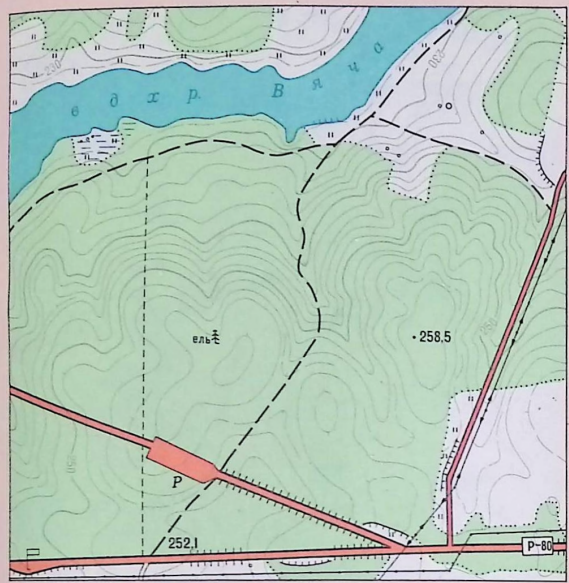
Западное аэрогеодезическое предприятие принимает заказы на выполнение топографо-геодезических, инженерно-геодезических и картографических работ в согласованные сроки с оплатой на договорной основе.

Ваши пожелания и предложения по изданным картам, а также по созданию более подробных карт на интересующие Вас районы Белоруссии направляйте по адресу:

220029 г. Минск, ул. Варашени, 17
Телефоны: 34-78-29; 34-78-08.



Процесс создания топографической карты



УСЛОВНЫЕ ОБОЗНАЧЕНИЯ

- Главпочтамт
- Автозаправочные станции
- Станции технического обслуживания автомобилей
- Охраняемые платные стоянки легковых автомобилей
- Железнодорожные вокзалы и остановочные пункты
- Станции метро
- Санатории, профилактории
- Спортивные сооружения
- Пляжи
- Парки, скверы, зеленые насаждения
- Кладбища
- Названия жилых микрорайонов
- Граница города
- Близлежащие сельские населенные пункты

ПАМЯТНИКИ: 1. В.И. Ленину; 2. Мемориальная доска на братской могиле советских воинов, партизан и жертв фашизма; 3. М.И. Калинин; 4. Обелиск «Город-герой»; 5. Якубу Коласа; 6. Поэту М.А. Богдановичу; 7. Герою Советского Союза пилоту Марату Казю; 8. Монумент Победы; 9. Янке Купале; 10. Максиму Горькому; 11. Тини Т-34, установленный в 1952 г. в честь танкистов, первыми вступивших в Минск 3 июля 1944 г.; 12. Демиду Герою Советского Союза лётчику С.И. Грицевцу; 13. Ф.Э. Дзержинскому.

ПАМЯТНИКИ АРХИТЕКТУРЫ XVII-XIX вв.: 1. Костел св. Розы, XIX в.; 2. Ворота Кальварийского кладбища, 1830 г.; 3. Петропавловская (Екатерининская) церковь, XVII в.; 4. Кафедральный собор бернардинского монастыря, XVII в.; 5. бернардинский мужской монастырь, XVII в.; 6. Дом масонов, XVIII-XIX вв.

МУЗЕИ, ВЫСТАВОЧНЫЕ ЗАЛЫ, ПЛАНЕТАРИИ: 1. Выставочный комплекс МинскЭКСПО; 2. Литературный музей Максима Богдановича; 3. Государственный музей истории Белорусской литературы; 4. Строительная выставка БССР; 5. Литературный музей Якуба Коласа; 6. Дворец искусств; 7. Выставка достижений народного хозяйства БССР; 8. Дом-музей 1 съезда РСДРП; 9. Планетарий; 10. Литературный музей Янки Купалы; 11. Белорусский музей Петра Бровки; 12. Белорусский музей истории Великой Отечественной Войны; 13. Государственный художественный музей БССР; 14. Государственный музей БССР; 15. Выставочный зал Союза художников БССР.

ТЕАТРЫ, КОНЦЕРТНЫЕ ЗАЛЫ, ЦИРК, ДВОРЦЫ КУЛЬТУРЫ: 1. Белорусская филармония; 2. Зал камерной музыки Белорусской филармонии; 3. Академический Большой театр оперы и балета БССР; 4. Дворец культуры профсоюзов Белоруссии; 5. Цирк БССР; 6. Театральный и киноконцертный залы окружного Дома офицеров; 7. Белорусский академический театр им. Янки Купалы; 8. Концертный зал Белорусской консерватории; 9. Театр кукол; 10. Белорусский республиканский театр юного зрителя им. 50-летия комсомола Белоруссии; 11. Русский драматический театр БССР им. Максима Горького; 12. Театр музыкальной комедии БССР.

КИНОТЕАТРЫ: 1. «Вильнюс»; 2. «Пиртизин»; 3. «Киев»; 4. «Огильбер»; 5. «Москва»; 6. «Мир»; 7. «Аррара»; 8. «Белорус»; 9. «Птица»; 10. «Победа»; 11. «Смена»; 12. «Современник»; 13. «Централный»; 14. «Ракета»; 15. «Комсомолец»; 16. «Берестень»; 17. «Синют»; 18. «Электрон»; 19. «Дружба».

ГОСТИНИЦЫ: 1. «Дружба»; 2. «Беларусь»; 3. «Планета»; 4. «Юбилейная»; 5. «Алгоритм»; 6. «Орбита»; 7. «Минск»; 8. Республиканского Дворца шахмат и шашек; 9. «Сависла»; 10. «Советская»; 11. «Спутник»; 12. «Турист»; 13. аэропорта; 14. «Звезда»; 15. Мотель-кемпинг «Минский».

РЕСТОРАНЫ: 1. «Заславль»; 2. «Зеленый Луг»; 3. «Верас»; 4. «Арбат»; 5. «Вориса»; 6. «Днепр»; 7. «Каменный цветок»; 8. «Связь»; 9. «Вечерний»; 10. «Троцкое предместье»; 11. «Погосда»; 12. «Палара-кветка»; 13. «Минск»; 14. «Колос»; 15. «Сосны»; 16. при аэропорте; 17. «Зубровка».

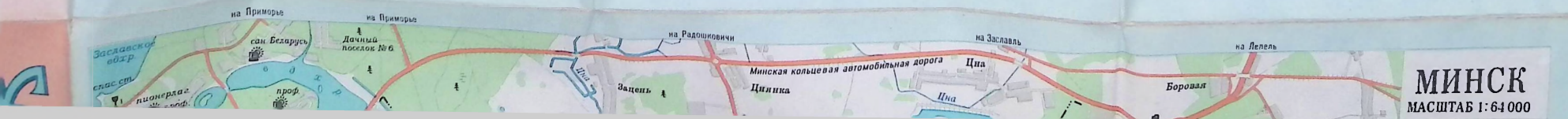
Примечания. Рестораны «Беларусь», «Планета», «Турист», «Юбилейный», «Сависла» находятся при одноименных гостиницах, «Чайка» — при гостинице «Дружба».

УНИВЕРСАЛЬНЫЕ И КРУПНЕЙШИЕ СПЕЦИАЛИЗИРОВАННЫЕ ПРОМТОВАРНЫЕ МАГАЗИНЫ: 1. «Детская игра»; 2. «Вильнюс»; 3. «Электроника»; 4. «Восток-1»; 5. «Нестерка» (товары для мужчин); 6. «Турист»; 7. «Музыка»; 8. «Подарки»; 9. «Товары для женщин»; 10. «Горизонт» (телевизоры, радиоприемники); 11. «1 000 мелочей»; 12. «Дружба» (иностранные литературы); 13. Хозтовары; 14. «Охота и рыболовство»; 15. Универмаг «Звезда»; 16. «Дом мебели»; 17. Дом торговли «Первомайский»; 18. «Мода»; 19. Цум «Минск»; 20. «Кристалл» (стекло, хрусталь, фарфор); 21. Дом торговли «Сависла»; 22. «Спорттуризм»; 23. Универсальный книжный магазин «Светоч»; 24. «Товары для молодежи»; 25. «Радиотехника»; 26. «Техника в быту»; 27. «Алесс» (товары для женщин); 28. ГУМ; 29. «Лавинка» (сувениры); 30. Центральный книжный магазин; 31. «Стройматериалы»; 32. «Кадр»; 33. Магазины Художественного фонда БССР; 34. «Сувениры»; 35. Универмаг «Беларусь»; 36. «Стройматериалы»; 37. «Дом одежды».

КРУПНЫЕ РЫНКИ: 1. «Комаровский»; 2. «Червоцкий»; 3. «Курасовицкий»; 4. «Чижовский».

АВТОВОКЗАЛЫ, АВТОСТАНЦИИ: 1. Пригородная автостанция «Московская»; 2. Автовокзал «Центральный»; 3. Пригородная автостанция «Товарная»; 4. Автовокзал «Восточный»; 5. Пригородная автостанция «Автозаводская».

ТУРИСТИЧЕСКИЕ ОРГАНИЗАЦИИ: 1. Белорусский республиканский совет по туризму и экскурсиям; 2. Отдел реализации туристских путевок ТЭПО «Минсктурист»; 3. Минское областное туристско-экскурсионное производственное объединение (ТЭПО) «Минсктурист»; 4. Туристский клуб ТЭПО «Минсктурист»; 5. Республиканская станция юных туристов.



МИНСК
МАСШТАБ 1:64 000

Минск

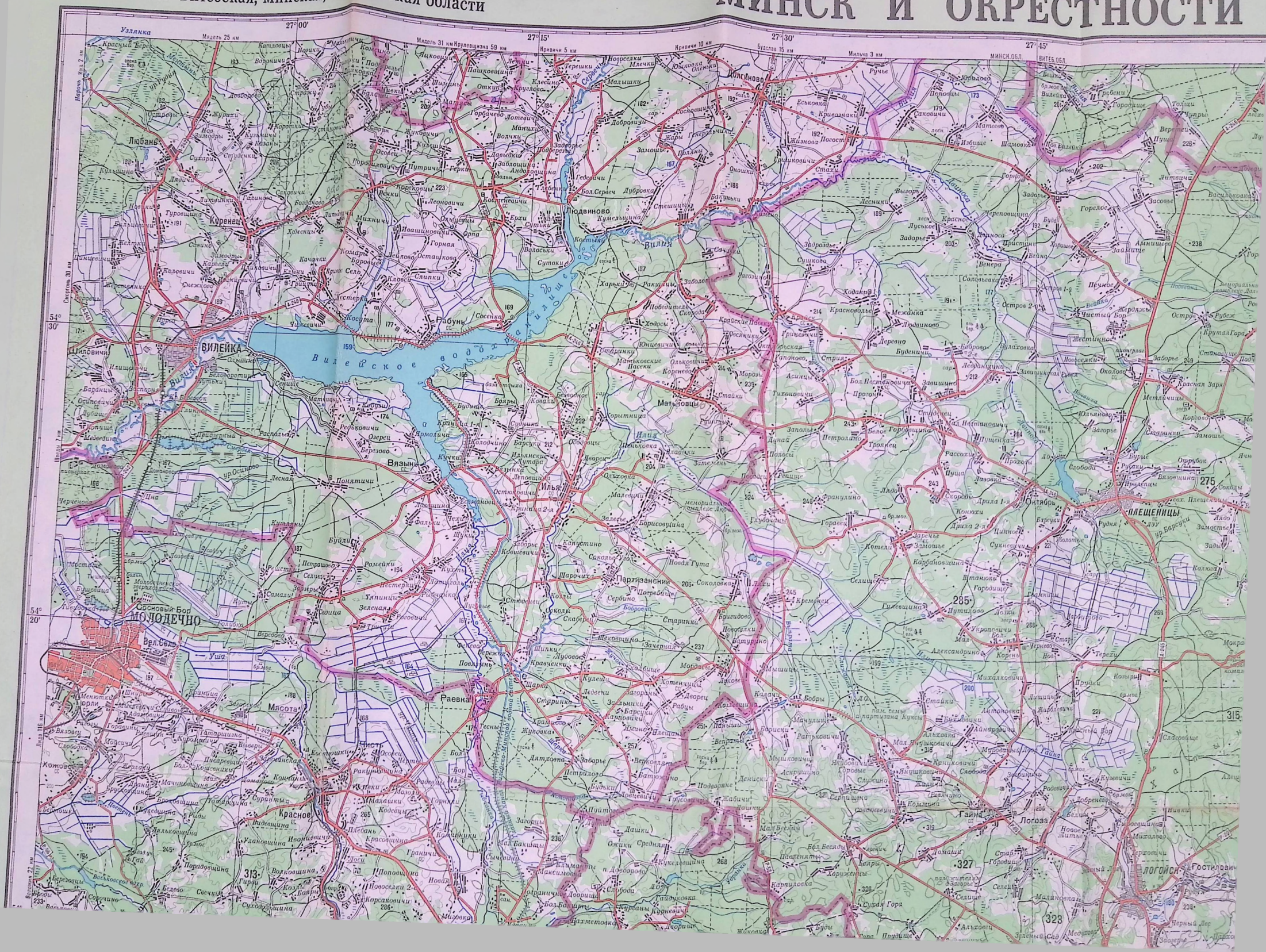
окрестности

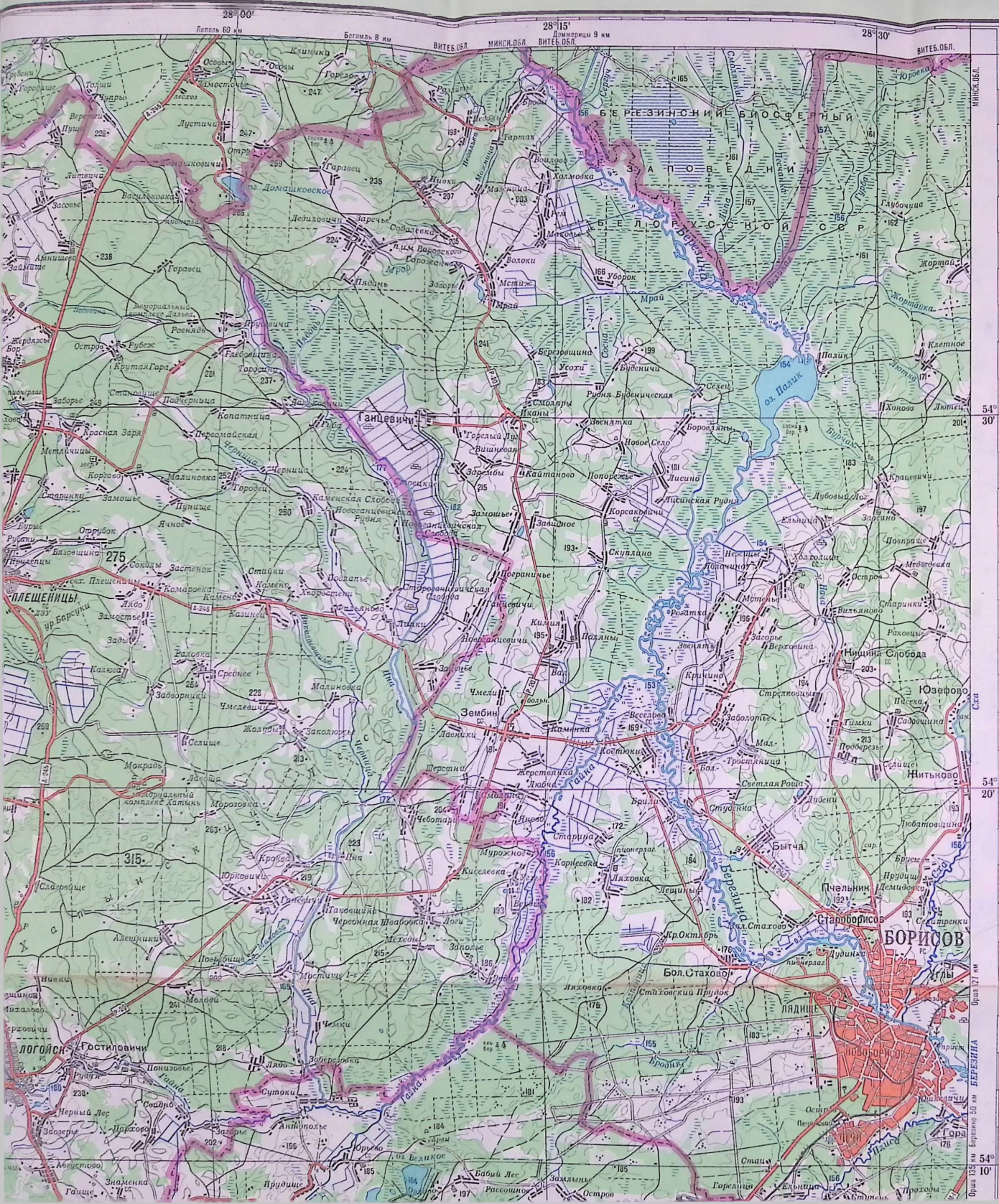
топографическая карта



СССР. БССР Витебская, Минская, Могилевская области

МИНСК И ОКРЕСТНОСТИ





УСЛОВНЫЕ ОБОЗНАЧЕНИЯ

- Города с населением 50 000 жителей и более
- Города с населением менее 50 000 жителей и поселки городского типа
- Поселки сельского типа
- Отдельно расположенные дворы и строения
- ПО КОЛИЧЕСТВУ ЖИТЕЛЕЙ
Города**

МИНСК	свыше 1 000 000. Столица БССР
БОРИСОВ	от 100 000 до 500 000
ЖОДИНО	от 50 000 до 100 000
ВИЛЕЙКА	от 10 000 до 50 000

Поселки городского типа

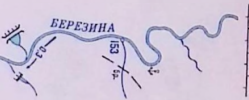
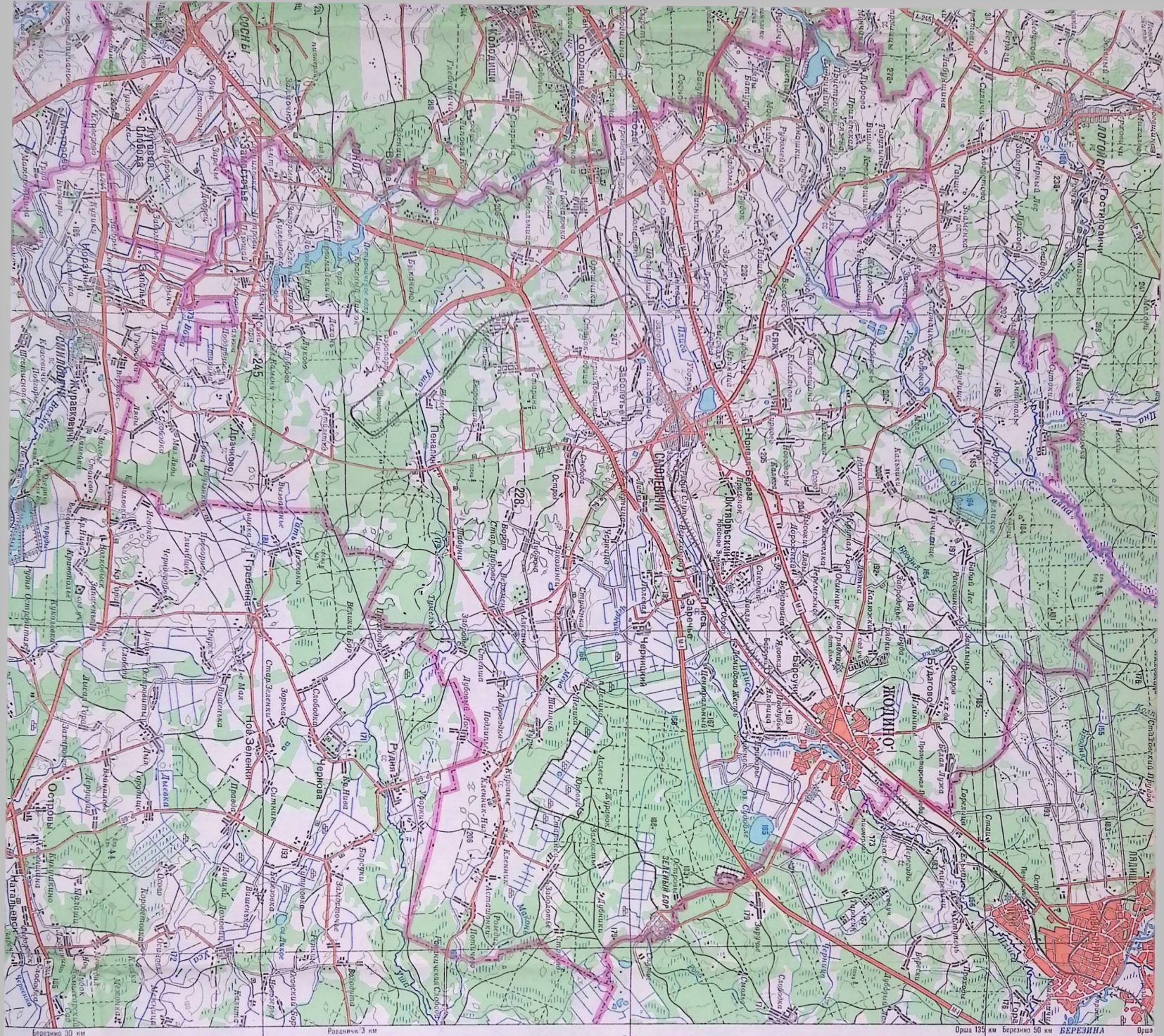
УЗДА	2 000 и более
НЕГОРЕЛОЕ	менее 2 000

Поселки сельского типа

Раков	более 1 000
Заречье	от 500 до 1 000
Старое Село	менее 500

- Ширококолейные: 1-станции, 2-разъезды и остановочные пункты
- Электрифицированные
- Узкоколейные
- 1-насыпи, 2-вымши
- Автомагистрали: номера дорог, транспортные развязки
- с усовершенствованным покрытием; Р-стоянки автотранспорта
- с покрытием: 1-мосты, 2-бензозаправки и заправочные станции
- без покрытия
- Грунтовые проселочные дороги
- Полевые и лесные дороги
- Аэродромы
- Памятники и монументы, братские могилы
- Церкви, костелы
- Младбища
- Торфопереработка
- Границы областей
- Границы районов
- Границы государственных заповедников
- Реки шириной 20 м и более
- Реки шириной менее 20 м
- Пристани и якорные стоянки
- Отметки урезов воды, броды
- Судосходные реки
- Направление и скорость течения рек в м/сек
- Плотины провозные, непровозные





- Границы государственных заповедников
- Речи шириной 20 м и более
- Речи шириной менее 20 м
- Пристани и портовые стоянки
- Отметки уреза воды, броды
- Судоходные реки
- Направление и скорость течения рек в июне
- Плотины, провалы, непроходимые
- Дамбы

Лес, просек, охота, лесных насаждений, преобладающих пород, лесистость

Низкорослые (карликовые) леса

Поросль, лес, сплошные заросли кустов

Улицы, парки, леса

Площадь леса, не вырубленного в масштабе карты

Одиночные деревья, редкие леса

Болота, низкорослые растительности

Заболоченные долины, луговины

Очертания высот

Очертания высот

Очертания высот

Очертания высот

Очертания высот

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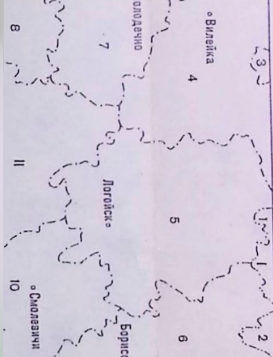
Очертания высот

Очертания высот

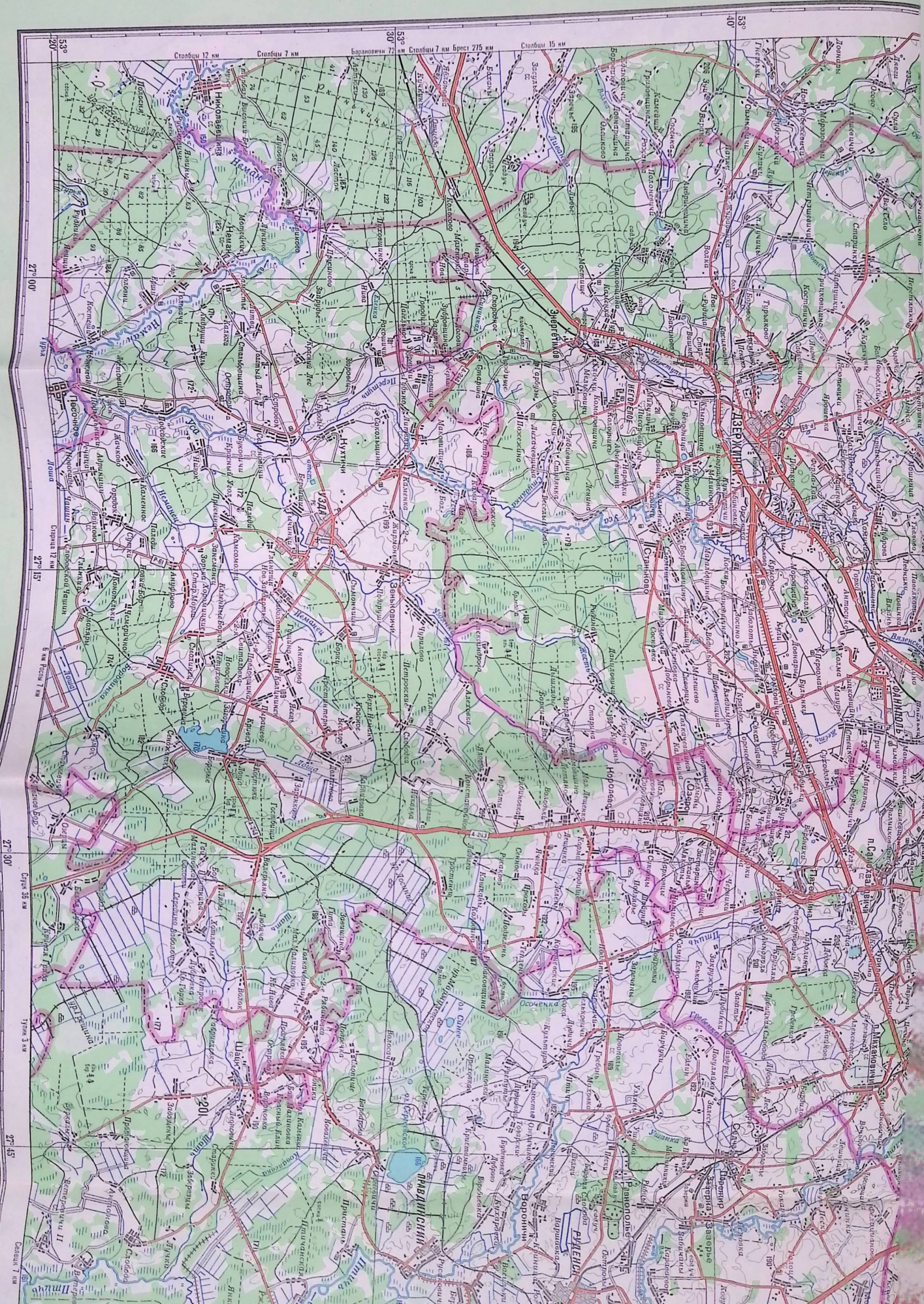
Очертания высот

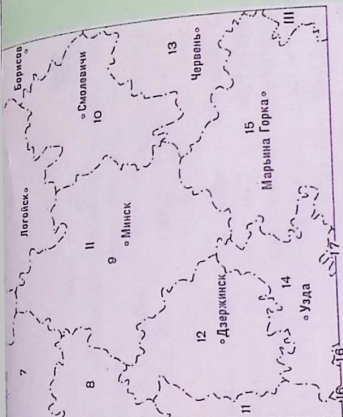
Очертания высот

СХЕМА АДМИНИСТРАТИВНОГО ДЕЛЕНИЯ



Примечание. Подчеркнуто название населенного пункта, от которого и в ближайшей железнодорожной станции или районной пристани.





Центры районов
I ВИТЕБСКАЯ ОБЛАСТЬ
Районы
II МИНСКАЯ ОБЛАСТЬ
Районы

1. Дзержинский
2. Лепельский
3. Могилевский
4. Шкловский
5. Гомельский
6. Житомирский
7. Киевский
8. Львовский
9. Одесский
10. Ровенский
11. Тернопольский
12. Хмельницкий
13. Винницкий
14. Черкасский
15. Черниговский
16. Житомирский
17. Киевский

III МОГИЛЕВСКАЯ ОБЛАСТЬ, Остравский район

1:200 000

В 1 сантиметре 2 километра

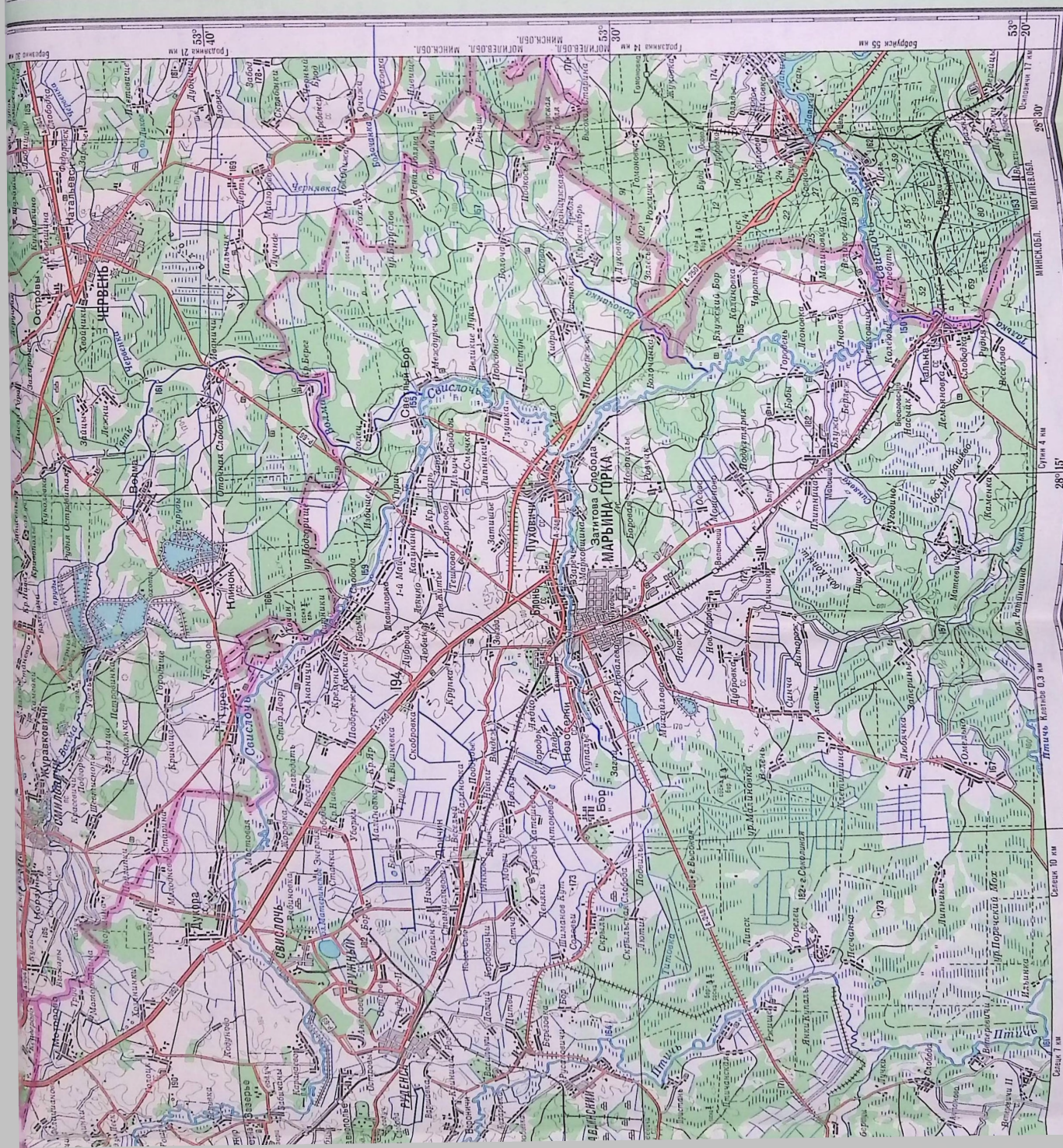
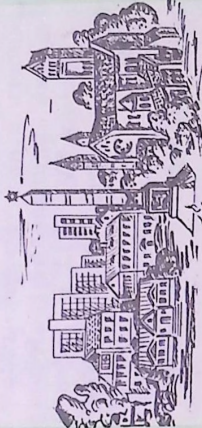
Сплошные горизонталы проводятся через 20 метров
Проведены равноугольная поперечно-цилиндрическая Гаусса



Общая географическая карта
«Минск и окрестности» предназначена для общей
оценки местности, изучения природных условий и
может быть использована для выбора оптимального
маршрута движения по дорогам с твердым покрытием.

На карте отображены все города, поселки городского типа и крупные сельские населенные пункты. Подробно показаны пути сообщения. Гельмер местности отображен горизонталями и отметками высот.

Изменения местности на 1984-1989 гг.
Изменения, происшедшие на местности, со времени создания карты, будут учтены при последующих изданиях.



1. Invitation to Paris
2. Hitler's statement
3. Great economy + novelty
4. World's as economists of human energy.
5. Study of it today
 - a) proliferation of plastics
 - b) of TV
produce labor quantity
 - c) of commodities we do not desire
high rise
frozen food
Mac's
fluorescent lights
 - d) with advertising
(mendacity)
 - e) taxation - mendacity

B) growth of computer

1) breakdown

2) media glut in

reading - Xerox

(a form of impoverishment

by eye).

Acquires - total enthusiasm

of your work. The

rules are being

imposed

which impoverishment of

spiritual corruption

debauched production

(~~knobbing~~ all sustained
by addiction (abstinence))

The greatest addiction

is idea that Russia is

a threat

Remedies.

1) No seduction for
more car

^{"the last night"}
Natural Economy on the last night
In the convention of '84, Kennedy

Comes on after the dead lock
Doesn't win the draft see
Black horse american. ???
But better to have it in '88,
and victory in '92
Apocalypse in 1976

Girls on high stilts
need walking very fast
Shremetyevs Aunt Aunt
with the aid of the White Germans

(over)

Intouant is like an
old fashioned marriage
Contract - your fate is in the
hands of who ever you are
married. ~~Some~~

Demity - quote from
Deen Ranha

Then enumeration of
ills of ~~Social~~ Racism

Statist ^{statist} (Chander), It
was like saying that
Dawood D. Bhanuvaran

A mass meeting
Humboldt ^{was} held at
the bearing of bad weather

Leading Soviet Director Is Said to Be Dismissed

By JOHN F. BURNS

Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, March 6 — Yuri Lyubimov, widely regarded as the Soviet Union's most politically daring and accomplished theatrical director, has been dismissed from his position at Moscow's Taganka Theater for failing to return from an eight-month trip to the West, sources at the theater said today.

A senior cultural official in the Moscow city government announced the dismissal at an angry meeting of actors and other creative staff that was held at the Taganka today, according to the sources. Several of the country's best-known dramatic actors were said to have expressed outrage at the decision and demanded that it be revoked.

Vladimir Shadrin, the head of the city's Main Cultural Board who is responsible for overseeing Moscow's theaters, was said to have opened the meeting by reading a three-sentence decree. As quoted by the sources, it said that Mr. Lyubimov, who is believed to be in Italy, had been dismissed from his position as director of the Taganka for not returning to the Soviet Union and for giving "no respectable reason for failing to return to his duties" at the theater.

Arrived in England in Summer

If he remains abroad, his loss to the Soviet theater would be comparable to the blow inflicted on the literary world by the enforced exile a decade ago of Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn, the novelist whose chronicle of Stalin's labor camps provoked the enmity of the Kremlin.

The dismissal seemed likely to send shockwaves through the Soviet cultural world, particularly that part of it that looked to Mr. Lyubimov as an example of how a courageous innovator can gradually push back the limits of tight political and social constraints that were Stalin's legacy to the arts. Although it marked the culmination of years of skirmishing between Mr. Lyubimov and the Kremlin's cultural overseers, the dismissal had more immediate political overtones.

It came barely three weeks after the appointment as Soviet leader of Konstantin U. Chernenko, who used his position last year as the party's chief ideologist to begin a conservative tirade against those deviating from strict party standards in the arts.

For Mr. Lyubimov, who is 65 years old, a dismissal could not have been a surprise. Since arriving in England to direct a highly acclaimed performance of Fyodor Dostoyevsky's "Crime and Punishment," he has carried on a verbal war with the Kremlin through a series of newspaper interviews published in the West. In January, for example, he told a London evening newspaper that he

him with a drug and abduct him back to Moscow.

At times in recent months, Mr. Lyubimov has said that he intended to return to Moscow to continue the struggle for "a culture that will be worthy of my native land," as he put it in an interview last September. But reports circulating in the theatrical community here said that the director was held back by the anxieties of his Hungarian-born second wife, Katalin, with whom he has a 4-year-old son, Petya. Both of them are with the director.

There also were signs that Mr. Lyubimov was tiring of a battle that had seen three of his major productions struck down by the censors or sharply cut back in recent years. Before leaving for England, he wrote a letter to Yuri V. Andropov, then the Soviet leader, saying he would resign unless the restraints were eased. He sent a second letter from the London airport, and when that also went unanswered he began a series of newspaper interviews.

He told The Times of London, for example, that he could not "allow myself to be trampled underfoot," that he was a Christian despite belonging to the Communist Party for 30 years, and that he was despairing of ever achieving an understanding with the "chinovniki" — an old Russian word for bureaucrats — who control the theater. "Most of them simply have to be replaced by more humane and educated people," he said. "They're incompetent in the arts."

Planned to Direct Opera

Mr. Lyubimov's "Crime and Punishment" was a big hit in Britain. "What has stopped London audiences in their tracks is the immense theatricality of the concept and the execution," wrote Robert Cushman, the theater critic of The Observer. "This 'Crime and Punishment' is one of the most sustained nightmares ever put upon the stage and yet it is completely free from sensationalism."

Mr. Lyubimov is in great demand as a director and has received offers from experimental theaters all over Europe. He also has been invited to New York by Joseph Papp of the Public Theater, who is also interested in bringing "Crime and Punishment" to New York.

From Britain, Mr. Lyubimov traveled to Italy, where he was to receive medical treatment and direct an opera. At last report, he was in Florence.

His impact on the Russian theater was said to have been one of the main arguments made by actors who protested the director's dismissal at the Taganka meeting today. Those speaking out in angry terms were said to have included Nikolai Gubenko and Benjamin Smekhov, lead-



United Press International

Yuri Lyubimov

formers who have made major names during Mr. Lyubimov's 20-year tenure at the Taganka.

The 40-minute meeting at the theater was said to have broken up with Mr. Shadrin, the cultural official, indicating that the director's dismissal had been ordered at a high level and would stand. The official was reported to have said that repeated efforts had been made through Soviet Embassies in Italy and Britain to persuade Mr. Lyubimov to return to the Soviet Union, but these had been met with evasion and by pleas that the director needed further medical treatment in the West.

The old Taganka Theater on Moscow's Inner Ring Road and the new one Mr. Lyubimov successfully campaigned for alongside it have been a mecca for theatergoers. There is rarely a night when the theater is not sold out, and for performances of his more famous productions, such as Mikhail Bulgakov's "Master and Margarita," the lines for last-minute returns reach around the block.

Mr. Lyubimov, who turned to directing in his 40's after achieving fame as a movie actor, brought an excitement and surprise to the stage that had disappeared under the stifling orthodoxy bequeathed by Stalin. As Western audiences discovered on the infrequent occasions when his requests to travel abroad were not blocked by the Kremlin, his stagings could be breathtaking.

But it was in the sphere of politics that Mr. Lyubimov was at his most challenging. Audiences accustomed to numbing paeans to the genius of the party and its leaders received a jolt at the Taganka. An example was Mr. Lyubimov's production of "Boris Godunov," a chronicle of intrigue in the Russian imperial court. At the point in Pushkin's masterpiece where a nobleman upbraids the complacent Russian masses for doing nothing to challenge the repression of the rulers, Mr. Lyubimov had his actor step into the audience and speak the classic line: Why do you remain silent? The production was one that the censors

Books

By Christopher

THE MARCH OF FOLLY
Vietnam. By Barbara
pages. Illustrated. Kn

IN her latest book, Tuchman — the well-known and successful author of "The Guns of August" and "The American China" — has set her task than to probe the folly as it has revealed long course of human her conclusions is that times caused by peo headedness." At other suits from "cognitive an unwillingness to li On still other occasion as a consequence of igr history — or, one mlg as a result of folly.

But then it may be dling Mrs. Tuchman's me try another approa What she is also tryi as closely as possible acts of folly in human are the Trol's decisio Greek horse within the city; the refusal of si Popes (or what Mr blithely refers to at on Renaissance six") to a

CBS Pa Vote So

By PETER K

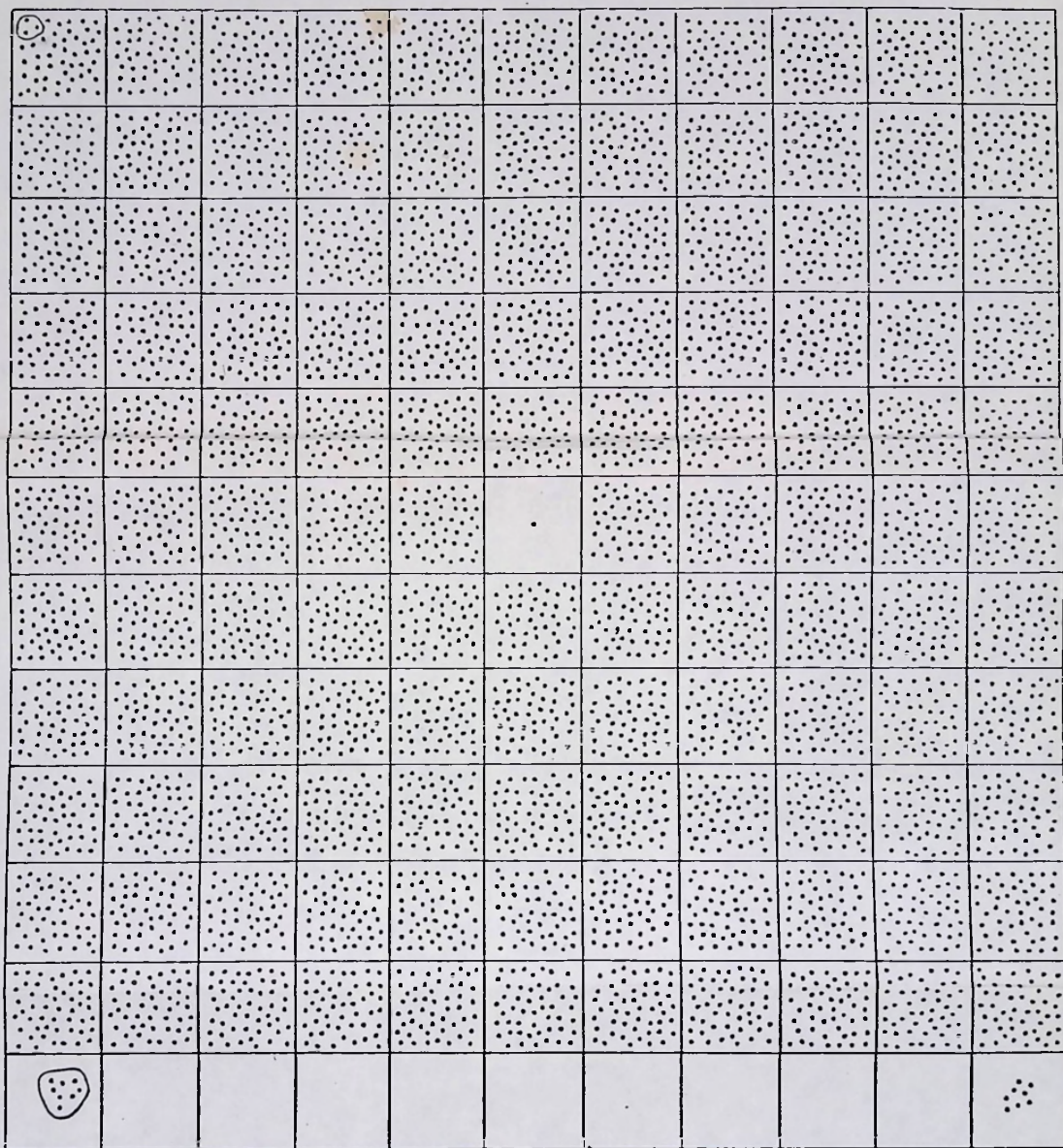
Negotiators for a un sents television news graphics artists reach settlement with CBS ya ing, averting a threat more than 300 worke news division and netw tions.

The settlement came 21 hours of talks and a the Writers Guild of cepted CBS offers on the CBS drew more of a from the union than d reached a tentative se same issues late Sunda "I guess we finally d likely to be the best w CBS before or after a Jay Pedinoff, a membe negotiating committe union spokesman, Lew that the negotiating c reluctantly accepted th offer."

The settlement must by a mail vote of the The guild represents researchers, clerks an ts at the network and

The British ~~Consul~~ ^{Consul General} who had obviously had ~~done~~
had such a good time in Moscow. They loved
time for at Customs for the fact - here was one
sport who had had a roaring good time in Moscow.

Russia with all its overloading of psyches,
More instructions than the nervous system can bear,



Nuclear Weapons Chart

The chart above shows the world's current firepower as opposed to the firepower of World War II. The dot in the center square represents all the firepower of World War II: 3 megatons. The other dots represent the world's present nuclear weaponry which equals 6,000 World War II's or 18,000 megatons. The United States and the Soviets share this firepower with approximately equal destructive capability.

The top left-hand circle enclosing 9 megatons represents the weapons on just one Poseidon submarine. This is equal to the firepower of three World

War II's and enough to destroy over 200 of the Soviet's largest cities. We have 31 such subs and 10 similar Polaris subs.

The circle in the lower left-hand square enclosing 24 megatons represents one new Trident sub with the firepower of eight World War II's. Enough to destroy every major city in the northern hemisphere.

The Soviets have similar levels of destructive power.

Just two squares on this chart (300 megatons) represent enough firepower to destroy all the large- and medium-size cities in the entire world. (U.S. Senate staff have reviewed this chart and found it to be an accurate representation of the nuclear weapons arsenal.)

March 29, 1984

Mr. Edward Cornish
World Future Society
President
Washington D.C., USA

Dear Dr. Cornish,

A vital element of Orwell's "1984" is an omnipresent Telescreen created to brainwash people. Now, the latest electronic technology offers a gigantic (up to 200 m²) high resolution Videoscreen for direct, live communication back and forth between large groups of people around the world.

I was able to help conceptualize this new Channel of Communication when⁷ applied for a grant from the Rollex Awards For Enterprise 1984 Contest, and my project entitled "Network Of Space - Bridge Terminals for Group Consciousness Transformation" was included into the list of "Selected Projects" where concepts will be distributed widely to different associations, universities and international organizations.

I have also taken the liberty to invite participants of the forthcoming World Future Society Congress in 1984 to make that next step into the Future, which Orwell did not envision: I see the possibility now existing to connect by satellite groups of people all over the world who are interested in accelerating contacts between many of the potential Futurists of the world.

This global experience by means of the experimentally tested "Mirror for Humanity" can give birth, it is my belief, to a new awareness of a "distant proximity", that may help to initiate a global shift away from nuclear war.

I enclose other papers I have written that expatiate on these extraordinarynew openings.

Joseph Goldin,
Moscow, USSR.

Yours sincerely
Joseph Goldin



Mr. Edward Cornish
World Future Society
President
Washington D.C.,
U.S.A.

April 25, 1984

Dear Mr. Cornish:

A few days ago I received a letter from Mrs. Nancy Graham, my friend in Washington. She talked to you by phone and has written to me that you are enthusiastic about hookup, but concerning about funding and timing. I trust that these problems can be solved if we'll better understand what kind of solutions we have in mind proposing such an Event to the unique gathering of world futurists.

Academician Vernadsky, who created a concept of Biosphere, believed that there are discoveries which affect the gradual growth of a scientific Worldview, in contrast to other achievements which have meaning only in the context of the history of specific disciplines.

The discovery of America, for example, had an immense impact on the scientific Worldview. At the same time, on-going attempts to reach the North and South Poles did not have much of an effect on the development of a scientific Worldview, although they were of great interest to geographical research. (we should note that personal qualities of people do not influence that development, and Columbus was no more "remarkable" than Amundsen).

We can use this as an analogy in the evaluation of a new Channel of Communication. Overlarge videoscreens together with communication satellites open possibilities of a creating a Network of Space-bridge Terminals for direct live contacts between large groups of people in all continents, (which echoes the times of great geographical discoveries). Meanwhile, the development of more and more sophisticated means of disseminating information to individual consumers remains an "informational service" which will be always limited by the general way of life in different societies.

When all participants of the Congress will share a new emotion of "distant proximity" with kids from different countries (who by the year 2010 will be in their 30s and 40s), and when millions of TV viewers simultaneously will witness this experience - it'll be quite an Event of meeting of potential Futurists with the possible Future.

Creative part of this Event can be easily performed, because there exist a Network of people who already know how to make it happen. If, like the naive wise men of Antiquity, we would believe that the best way to approach a dream is to test it immediately, then we would find solutions to funding and timing problems.

Yours sincerely,
Joseph Goldin

Moscow-USSR



FRIENDS COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL LEGISLATION

245 Second St. NE
Washington DC 20002
(202) 547-6000 Office
(202) 547-4343 Update Tape

To: Rolex Awards for Enterprise 1984
Attention: Miss Christian Ricou
Regarding: Application of Joseph Goldin
Project: Network of Space Bridge Terminals
From: Congressman George Brown

I am writing to you recommending the innovative work of Joseph Goldin in Moscow because I have had first hand experience with it and I see great potential in the possible uses of this new channel of communication.

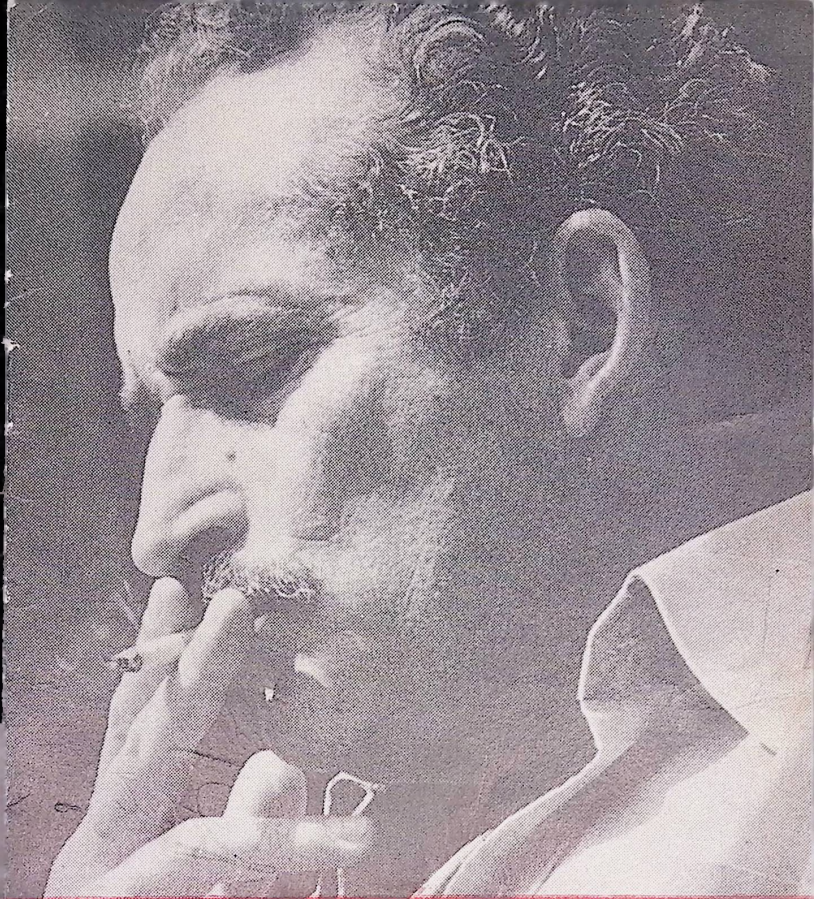
On May 28, 1983, I participated in a panel discussion from my Congressional district in California that was broadcast live to a panel of distinguished Soviet officials and scholars in a TV studio in Moscow. Working behind the scenes, Mr. Goldin played an instrumental role in making this possible. Via the simulcast TV satellite hook up, I was able to talk directly with Mr. Velekov, the Vice President of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Mr. Sevastionov, a Soviet Cosmonaut, and Vladimir Pozner, the Soviet host. It was quite an experience to see the expression on Mr. Velekov's face as I proposed an ongoing telecommunications hook up between our countries, and to hear his immediate response. Excerpts from our conversation were televised later on national networks in both the USSR and the USA.

I am convinced that there is enormous potential in this new form of telecommunications in which live interaction is possible between people on opposite sides of the globe. We in the United States Congress are exploring the implications of this communications breakthrough and how it could best be used. In the nuclear age, the ability for quick communication is particularly important. It could be used in crisis prevention and resolution and also as a way to humanize those who are often perceived as enemies. There are many constructive uses for these new forms of communication.

The man who has played a major role in this pioneering innovation in human communication in the USSR is Joseph Goldin, a free lance author, who would seem to be a creative genius. He has been involved on the Soviet side with three successful satellite hook ups. The first two on September 5, 1982, and May 28, 1983 were jointly sponsored by Gosteleradio in the USSR and the Unuson Corporation in the USA and were a part of the US Festival. The third satellite hook up that Mr. Goldin coordinated was between the Soviet Ministry of Cinematography and UCSD, the University of California in San Diego. They have proven to be an effective means of direct, live, spontaneous communication between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the United States.

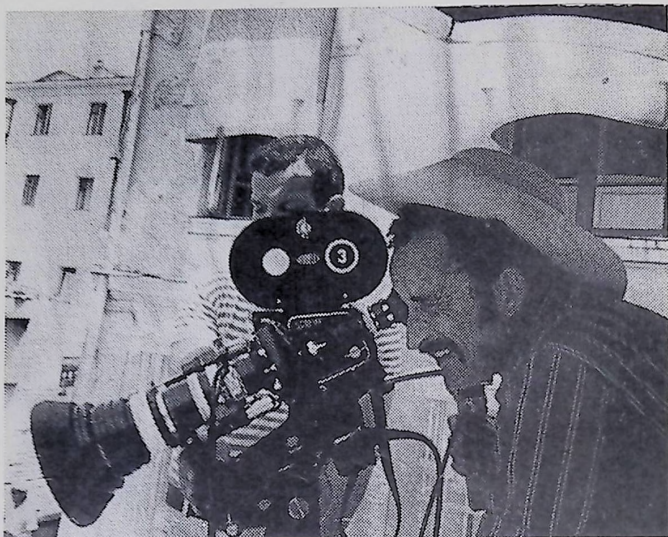
Mr. Goldin appears to have a vision of a global human community which is desperately needed in the nuclear age. He is a skillful man who knows how to get things done in his society, apparently he has quite a network of people with whom he works. He has the sincerity and the determination to build bonds of friendship and humanity across wide chasms of misunderstanding.

I applaud Mr. Goldin's efforts and encourage you to honor his work.



KINO DRAMATURGAS IR REŽISIERIUS

Vytautas ŽALAKEVIČIUS



FILMOGRAFIJA

„Skenduolis“ — 1 d., j. b., 1956 m.
 „Kol nevēlu“ — 9 d., j. b., 1957 m., režisieris drauge su J. Fogelmanu.
 „Adomas nori būti žmogumi“ — 9 d., j. b., 1959 m.
 „Gyvieji didvyriai“, kelvira novelė — 2 d., j. b., 1960 m.
 „Vienos dienos kronika“ — 9 d., j. b., 1963 m.
 „Niekas nenorėjo mirti“ — 10 d., j. b., 1965 m.
 „Ave, vital!“ — 9 d., j. b., 1969 m., scenaristas drauge su G. Kanovičiumi.
 „Jausmai“ — 9 d., j. b., 1968 m., scenaristas.
 „Visa feisibė apie Kolumba“ — 8 d., j. b., 1971 m.
 „Tas saldus žodis — laisvė“ — 14 d., sp., 1973 m.
 „Avarija“ — sp., 1974 m.
 „Sėdūto tūto“ — 2 d., sp., 1975 m., scenaristas.
 „Kentaurai“ — 14 d., sp., 1979 m.
 „Velnio sėkla“ — 7 d., sp., 1979 m., scenaristas.

*With pleasure
and good feels
Zaks-*

APDOVANOJIMAI

LTSR Respublikinė premija — 1962 m.
 LTSR Nusipelnusio meno veikėjo vardas — 1965 m.
 TSRS Valstybinė premija — 1966 m.
 TSRS Lenino Komjaunimo premija — 1966 m.
 Darbo Raudonosios Vėliavos ordinas — 1971 m.
 Spalio Revoliucijos ordinas — 1976 m.

Pasakyti, kad Vytauto Žalakevičiaus kūryboje sugyvena ir dramaturgas, ir režisierius, tiesiog banalu. Analogiškai banalu būtų svarstyti, kuris judviejų gezenis — dramaturgas ar režisierius. Daug svarbiau suvokti jo dramaturgijos ir režisūros sąlyčio harmoniją ar konfliktiskumą, kuris ir išreiškiamas konkrečių meninių rezultatų. Įdomiausia — pats kelias į šį rezultatą. „Mes — pasakotojai, vadinasi, mūsų pasakojimuose turi būti istorija, stuburas“, — šį V. Žalakevičiaus teiginį norėtusi akcentuoti kaip jo, dramaturgo, išieties poziciją. „Istorija“ dramaturgui — tai galimybė atskleisti ir paaiškinti reiškinio apibendrinančią galią, jo visuotinumą. Pasirodo, daugelis elementarių istorijų turi, iš pirmo žvilgsnio, nepastebimą, paslėptą užlaisą. Mes užčiuopiame tarsi antrąjį pasakotos istorijos matavimą, mes domina ne ji pati, o jos sukuriamą potekstę („Reikia tik mokėti papasakoti istoriją, ir mintis joje apsigyvena pati“, — prisiminkime šia praga A. Zido mintį).

Režisieriaus fanlajijos mechanizmas gali būti labai įvairus, tačiau kad jis pradėtų veikti, reikia tam tikro akstinio, dramaturgijoje slypinčios vidinės nervinės dinamikos, žadinančios konfliktą, nerimą, įtampą. Šiuo požiūriu V. Žalakevičiaus scenarijų „istorijos“ elementarios ir karli labai laipios: pasakodamas lyg ir niekuo neypatingą siužetą, dramaturgas geba kalbėti apie tikrąją žmogaus egzistencijos, jo būties prasmę. Kuo įdomios mums jo Adomo, Felikso Baužos, Kasparo ir Andriaus, Stepono ir Cezario, Petro ir Povilo, Vaikaus, Marciniaus, Jonio gyvenimų istorijos („Adomas nori būti žmogumi“, „Gali mit uns“, „Jausmai“, „Ave, vital“, „Sėdūto tūto“, „Niekas nenorėjo mirti“, „Velnio sėkla“). Mus domina už tų istorijų šmežuojantis autoriaus antrininkas, savotiškas lyrinis herojus, išreiškiantis kūrinio koncepcijos esmę. Ne veltui pats režisierius teigia: „Man egzistuoja tik vienas veikiantysis asmuo — autorius“.

Scenarijus, kaip ir kiekviena drama, turi konkrečius veiksmo rėmus, kuriuose kryžiuojasi personažų likimai, kunkuliuoja jų aistros, mezgasi ir išsiriša jų asmeninės dramos, tačiau svarbiausia — tarsi už tų rėmų, „Sėdūto tūto“ mes stebime dviejų draugų, dalininkų Petro ir Povilo santykius, pergyvenamą Marijos, Ulos dramos, senjojo girininko mirtį. Veiksmas vystosi idiliškai gamtos prieglobsty, grąsindamas susiklostyti vos ne į atvirą melodramą. Tačiau pati scenarijaus idėja anaiptol ne

melodramatiška. Kino dramaturgą jaudina talento ir pašaukimo, išistikimybės ir meilės, konformizmo ir principingumo problemos. Draminį konfliktą čia stimuliuoja ne pati fabulos eiga, o žmogaus, menininko vidinio gyvenimo prieštarų klotų sudūrimas, herojų dvasinių būsėnų ir minčių panorama.

„Vienos dienos kronikos“ veikėjų gyvenime dramaturgą domina tie momentai, kurie skatina plautis socialinių istorinių, moralinių etinių problemų svarstymus. Būtinės situacijos, nuosekli veiksmo, intrigos tėkmė čia neturi lemiamos reikšmės. Autoriui nepakanka atskleisti charakterį, galintis į jo psichologinių brožių visumą. Jam svarbu, kad ekrane polemizuotų priešiškos idėjos ir gyvenimo koncepcijos.

Veiksminį „Niekas nenorėjo mirti“ siužetą disciplinuoja ir įprasmina autoriaus apibendrinimų užmojis ir maksimalizmas, gebėjimas per konkrečius gyvenimo įvykius atverli ir tautos istorinės situacijos dramalizmą, ir žmogiškų aistrų gylį. „Velnio sėklos“ (literatūrinis scenarijus P. Cvirkos apsakymų motyvais) Jonio istorija — tai graudi pasaka apie savęs sunaikinimą. Jonis alkakliai ir nirtlingai griaua savo gyvenimą, tarlum vildamasis jį kuriąs. Ir tai jo tragedija. Siužeto veiksmas užgriebia istorinius procesus, vykčius Lietuvoje, Kauno ir Vilniaus gubernijose, per šešias dešimtis metų. Jų fone samdinio, savo gyvenimo kaina išsimušiojo ir gaspadorius, likimas atsisleidžia kaip savotiškas buržuazinio pasaulio dvasios ir gyvenimo būdo krachas, kaip autoriaus išsūkus ir siuolaikinio žmogaus sąmonėje dažnai tarpstančiam savininko instinktui.

Nėra galimybų čia suminėti visus scenarijus. Kalbame apie tendenciją, kuri akivaizdi. Istorija (siužetas) V. Žalakevičiaus scenarijuose — tai vaizdavimo objektas, meninės analizės turinys, esmė. Dramaturgas kuria savo „istorijas“, pakludamas pagrindiniams realistiškos psichologinės dramos įstatymams: charakterio vystymo dialektikai, slapies egzistencijai, dramatinės įtampos laipsniškam kilimui. Jo herojai dažniausia veikia ir atsisleidžia kraštutinio dramatinio situacijų, spręsdami savąjį „būti ar nebūti“ („Niekas nenorėjo mirti“, „Ave, vital“, „Jausmai“, „Velnio sėkla“, „Kentaurai“). Dramaturgui svetimas betarpiškas jausingumas, empiriškas, nuosirdi pagava. Jo kūryboj juntama intelektualinio prado persvara prieš jausingumą, vaizduotes — prieš stebėjimą. Likdamas be galo atidus tikrovei, meniniu vaizdu siekdamas dokumentalaus objektyvumo efekto, dramaturgas niekada nepa-

verčia gyvenimo realių esminių vaizdavimo objektu. Jos tėra prasmingos kaip herojaus likimo realusis fonas. Nesgi dramaturgo dėmesio centre pats charakteris, tiksliau — jo idėja. Zalakevičiaus dramaturgijoj herojus — prieštaringas, psichologiskai įtaigus, dramatiškas — vis dėlto yra medžiaga autoriaus idėjų projekcijoms. Tokiam herojui nepažįstama išpažinties gaida. Gal tik „Velnio sėklos“ Jonio tyli, retkarčiais pratrūkstanti kančia galėtų būti šokių tokių jos aidu.

Todėl toks rūslus, vyriškas, racionalus V. Zalakevičiaus — režisieriaus filmų pasaulis. Čia viršų ima konstruktyvus intelektualumas, kompozicinėje struktūroje akivaizdžiai dominuoja autorius — kūrinio filosofinės koncepcijos reikšmės, veiksmas dažniausia vyksta idėjų kovos plotmėj, neretai operuojama supoetintomis abstrakcijomis („Visa leisybė apie Kolumbą“, „Avarija“, „Tas saldus žodis — laisvė“, „Keniaurai“). Taip „Tame saldžiame žodyje...“ alegorija apie kareivį, kuris ėjo tiek, kiek galėjo, o paskui dar tiek, kiek reikėjo, išreiškia tarnavimo

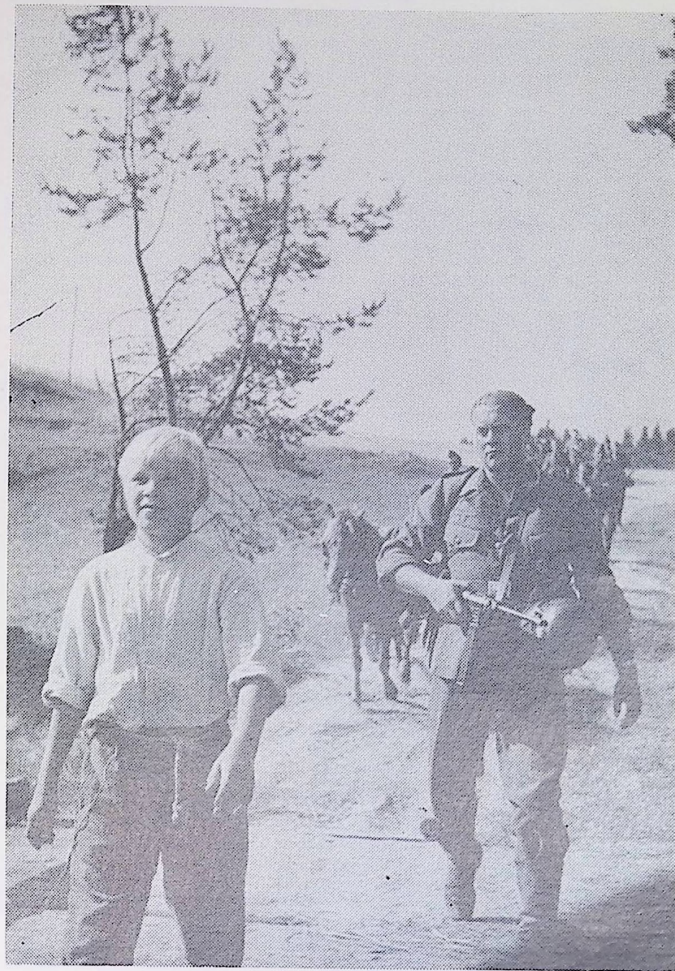
revoliucijai ir savo tautai idėja. Laisvė čia suprantama kaip pagrindinių herojų gyvenimo prasmė, jų kovos tikslas, karlu ji ir savotiškas pagrindinis filmo herojus, plati poetinė abstrakcija.

Dramatiška „Kentaurių“ situacija išryškina ne tiek kovojų už tautos laisvę asmeninių dramalizmą, o greičiau istorinį XX amžiaus prieštarumą, kai, pasak J. Lanckužio, tragizmas akcentuojamas kaip jo istorinio vystymosi forma. Prezidentas ir Orlandas — konkretūs, realūs žmonės, tačiau karlu jie — valdžios simboliai, jų klaidos ar toliaregiškumas — lėmtingi. Ir nors scenarijaus dramatiška situacija paremta konkrečių veiksminių siužetų, charakterių plėtole, režisierius drąsiai operuoja tokiomis sąvokomis kaip Tėvynė, Istorija, Asmenybė, Tauta. Pradėjęs „Kentaurius“ kaip filmą — rekonstrukciją, keliančią nedviprasmišką paralelę su Cilės tragedija, režisierius neapsiriboja konkrečios siužetinės situacijos analize, išsiveržia į daug platesnių filosofinių, idėjinių ir meninių apibendrinimų sritį. Dramatiško pagrindinių herojų likimo linijos kyla iki tra-

„ADOMAS NORI BŪTI ŽMOGUMI“



„GYVIEJI DIDVYRIA!“



giško apogėjaus finale ir siužetiškai užbaigiamas. Tačiau būtent jų baigtis pratęsia ir sustiprina autoriaus (ir žiūrovo) apmąstymus apie socialinius, etinius žmonių ir epochos idealus, tautos istorinio vystymosi skaudų prieštaravimą.

Kinematografa V. Zalakevičius suvokia kaip vaizduojamą, iš realaus gyvenimo kamieno išaugusios fantazijos stichiją, kurios įtikinamumo jėga lemia ne detalių tikrovismą, bet idėjų judėjimą, priešiškių koncepcijų diskusiją, įvairių žmogų likimų, mąstymo būdų priešpastatymą. Todėl režisierius taip lengvai manipuliuoja įvairia gyvenimo medžiaga — savo laisvę ginančios Lotynų Amerikos gyvenimo realijos jo filmuose atgyja ne mažiau įtaigiai kaip lietuvių kaimo iškalbinga, meniškai įprasminta buitis.

Rimsta Lukių gimtasis kaimas po lemtingo mūšio su „Ailvaro“ gauja. Dramatišką minutę ekrano tylą perplėšia juoko griausmas — tai nepamiršiamasis B. Babkauskas Marcinkus pasakoją kiemioniams, kaip patikimus, „lietuvišku“ būdu jam pavyko išsaugoti žmonos šlovę. Tas juokas tarytum nulido šūvius — tai jau naujo gyvenimo pažadas. Lengviau atsidusęs, žiūrovas gyvena kaimo rūpesčiais ir toliau. Finalinė siužeto baigtis iš esmės yra naujų, gilesnių žiūrovo apmąstymų pradžia.

Po lemtingo mūšio j nebūti ir į šventą tautos atminimą išieina paskutiniai respublikos, demokratijos ir teisingumo riteriai — Prezidentas (D. Banionis), Orlandas (R. Adomaitis). Jie sustingsta monochrominiu raudonam kadre, montažine sandūra pereinančiam į Sikeiros freską. Baigiasi filmas, tačiau nesibaigia diskusija apie demokratiją, patriotizmą, laisvę. Žiūrovas tebevaldo įsakančioji autoriaus logikos galia, stumianti į apibendrinimus.

Siuose tokiuose skirtinguose filmuose apliktume maždaug ir tuos pačius stilistinius ypatumus: abstraktumo ir konkretumo derinimą, pakilių autoriaus saviraiškos toną, loginį jo minties nuoseklumą. Gal todėl nelabai nustebina paradoksaliaus režisieriaus pareiškimas: „Prezidentas — tai šiek tiek Vaitkus“. Kaip ir „aulocifata“, finaliniame „Kentaurų“ epizode, kuri nors ir tiesmukai, bet vėlgi sieja filmą su „Niekas nenorėjo mirti“ veiksmo vystymo logika. Orlandas kojos spyriu suveda sąskaitas su išdaviku Andrešu, ir šis raičiojasi, gėdingo skausmo iškreiptu veidu — pažemintas ir paniekintas savo išdidaus priešo. Aktorius Galtas, regis, kartoją Babkauskos Marcinkaus „pasažą“,

nors pati scena norom-nenorom žiūrisi kaip dublikatas.

Siandien, lyginant filmus, kuriuos skiria vos ne dvi dešimtys metų, akivaizdai autoriaus išlikimybė savo temai — Žmogaus ir Istorijos santykio aiškinimui. Asmenybės tapsumo, individo moralinio ir socialinio aktyvumo, pilietinio maksimalizmo problemų piūvis skirtingų socialinių-istorinių sąlygų kontekste pareikalavo savito socialinės ir filosofinės realybės esmės apnuoginimo būdo, nors vėlgi sąlygojo gana pastovią, kad ir skirtingai atsiskleidusią, teminių žanrinčių polinkų kryptį, esminius herojų aktyvumo bruožus, išlikimybę atitinkamam aktoriams tipui. Žiūrėdamas filmą, tur būt nekartą pamanai — gal ir nevisiškai atsitiktinai Vaitkų ir Prezidentą vaidina tas pats Banionis! Beje, istorinio panašumo tarp jo herojų nėra ir būti negali: išvaizda, dvasinės aspiracijos, gyvenimo rilmas — visiškai kitas. Pagaliau visiškai kitokia filmo geografinė faktūra. Ir vis dėlto „Prezidentas“ tai šiek tiek Vaitkus“ skamba ne kaip dirbtinis paradoksas. Jis greičiau atspindi paradoksą, nevienareikšmį režisieriaus santykį su tikrove, gebėjimą derinti tradicinį pastovumą ir nelauktą, šviežią interpretaciją.

Visi V. Zalakevičiaus filmai išauga ant dramaturgijos realybės ir režisūrinės fantazijos sąlyčio ribos. Dažnai sąlytis būna konfliktiškas (režisierius diskutuoja su dramaturgu). Tad ir filmai turi „kenauriškumo“ bruožų: jų estetinėje struktūroje „sugyvena“ poezija ir proza, dokumentalumas ir metaforika, alegorijų, simbolių, potekstės kalba ir gilus psychologizmas. Autoriaus mintis lengvai atsiplešia nuo faktų ir kyla į filosofinių apibendrinimų, metaforų, simbolių sferą, sąlygiškos formos papildomos kitomis stilistinėmis išraiškos priemonėmis. Kartais jis pasuka į atviro sąlygiškumo ir meninių abstrakcijų sritį („Visa teisybė apie Kolumbą“, „Avarija“), tačiau pats prisipažįsta, kad žaidime, kurį pasiūlo išgrynintų abstrakcijų logika, jis pasigenda tikrumo.

Ir žanro, ir stiliaus požiūriu, V. Zalakevičiaus filmai daugiabalsiai: juose apliksi me ir psichologinio būtinio, ir konstruktyvaus intelektualinio, ir poetinio stiliaus bruožų (taip mes šiuo metu diferencijuojame ir lietuvių kino raidos kryptis). Jo kūryboje atsispindi šiuolaikinio tarybinio kino tendencija siekti meninio mąstymo išraiškos būdų naujumo ir įvairovės.

Taip jau susiklostė, kad V. Zalakevičius žinomas labiau kaip režisierius, nors jo parašytų scenarijų daugiau, nei sukurta

filmų, o jis pats beveik kiekvienam interviu sakosi norįs ilgesniam laikui sėsti už rašomojo stalo. Suprantama, svarbu ne kiekybė. Svarbu tai, kad Zalakevičiaus dramaturgijoje, ne tik režisūroje, aplinkame lietuvių kine nūnai išsikristalizavusių meninių tendencijų ištakas, svarbus principinis jo kūrybos naujumas lietuvių kino kontekste. Kaip reikšminga ir toji vieta bendroje tarybinio kinematografo panoramoje, kurioje štai jau ilgą laiką įsitvirtinęs Zalakevičius, savitai reprezentuodamas mūsų istorinę kultūrinę tradiciją.

Atrodo, būtų natūralu iš laiko perspektyvos (juk nuo „Adomo“, savotiškai simboliško ir pačiam autoriui, ir lietuvių kinui apskritai, praėjo pakankamai metų) susikirstyti visą kūrybos plotą į chronologinius, teminius ir probleminius, žanrinius tarpinius. Tai nebūtų peiktina vien dėlto, kad Zalakevičiaus įvairiaplanė (problemų, stiliaus, žanro požiūriu) kūryba tarsi provokuoja kritiką tai padaryti.

Dažnai taip ir daroma. Štai nacionalinės problematikos filmai, štai „grynųjų“ politinių filmų ciklas, ak, buvo pateikti įrodymai, kad linksama į sąlygiškų abstrakcijų

plotmę, štai pastarieji darbai „Mosfilme“, rodantys posūkį į kažką naują ir... O jau buvo bekylas noras drėbteleli lašką ant i. Belgij. Pasizvalgykime po praėjusius metus: šalia (tiksliau — karšu) „Mosfilme“ sukurty „Kenaurų“ — scenarijus „Velnio sėkla“, kuri Lietuvos kino studijoje režisuoja A. Puipa, filmas „Nežinomo žmogaus istorija“ (pagal A. Cechovą) „Mosfilme“ ir scenarijus „Byla nutraukiama dėl senaties“, kurį valstybiniu užsakymu stato A. Grikevičius; „Mosfilme“ baigiama R. Bredberio ekranizacija pagal V. Zalakevičiaus scenarijų „Moldova-film“ studija imasi dar vieno Zalakevičiaus scenarijaus istorinė tema. Ko atsiskaityti, į ką atsiremti? Darosi vis sunkiau klasifikuoti.

Dar. Buvo ištis neužmirštami V. Zalakevičiaus esė Aukštuosiuose režisierių ir scenarijų kursuose Maskvoje, atskleidę jo asmenybės magnetizmo galią. Galėjai tik stebėtis tuo dosnumu, su kuriuo buvo dalijamos idėjos, išmintis, sąmojus ir paradoksai tiems, iš kurių tik keletai bus lemta tapti režisieriais. Ir ta įtaigos jėga, kuri taip lengvai tave nugali, beveik nepaisydama, nori tu lo, ar ne.

„VIENOS DIENOS KRONIKA“



Lenkų režisierius J. Hofmanas savo filme „Iki paskutinio kraujo lašo“ parodys mums Zalakevičių — aktorį. Ir artistiška (tą plačiau ir gerą šio žodžio reikšmę) asmenybę atsiskleis dar vienu rakursu. Kuo labiau gilini, tai nei ir formaliai menininko kūryba įgyja daug platesnį kontekstą. Tada ir paaiškėja, kad toji klasifikacija, nors ir nepeiktina, bet visgi skurdoka. Ir joje gana ankšta audringam kūrybiniam temperamentui. „Kodėl A. Čechovas?“ — visiškai pagrįstai klausia kritikas viename interviu ir susilaukia įdomaus ir netikėto režisieriaus atsakymo. Taigi dar vienas šuolis. Turbūt kūrybinių galių veržlumas — tokių V. Zalakevičiaus šuolių priežastis. Man regis, tai talento brandos bruožas, rodantis gebėjimą. V. Zalakevičiaus žodžiais tariant, „pagalvoti — kur, kokia kryptimi, kodėl eiti, kiek nubėgti“. Pavydėtiną gebėjimą.

Grażina ARLIKAITE



ЗАСЛУЖЕННЫЙ ДЕЯТЕЛЬ ИСКУССТВ ЛИТОВСКОЙ ССР,
ЛАУРЕАТ ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОЙ, РЕСПУБЛИКАНСКОЙ ПРЕМИИ
И ПРЕМИИ ЛЕНИНСКОГО КОМСОМОЛА КИНОДРАМАТУРГ
И РЕЖИССЕР

ВИТАУТАС ЖАЛАКЯВИЧЮС

Сказать, что в творчестве Витаутаса Жалакявичюса уживается драматург и режиссер — просто банально. Также, как банально было бы рассуждать о том, в каком из двух творческих начал драматургии или режиссуры — он проявил себя лучше. Куда важнее уяснить, чем обуславливается гармоничность или конфликтность его драматургии и режиссуры, выражаемые в конкретном художественном результате. Особенно интересен сам путь к этому результату. «Мы — рассказчики, следовательно в наших рассказах должна присутствовать история, стержень», — это утверждение Жалакявичюса хотелось бы акцентировать как исходную позицию. «История», стержень для драматурга — это возможность раскрыть и объяснить обобщающую мощь явления, его всеобщность. Оказывается, многие элементарные истории содержат в себе незаметный, на первый взгляд скрытый заряд. Мы сталкиваемся как бы со вторым измерением рассказанной истории, нас интересует не она сама по себе, а ее подтекст. («Надо лишь правдиво рассказать историю и мысль в нее поселится сама», — писал А. Жид).

Механизм фантазии режиссера может быть устроен по-разному, но чтобы он начал действовать, нужен толчок, нужна внутренняя, заключенная в драматургии нервная динамика, обещающая конфликт, тревогу, напряжение. В этом смысле истории сценариев В. Жалакявичюса элементарны и вместе с тем очень емки: повествуя вроде бы ничем не примечательный сюжет, драматург всегда говорит об истинном смысле человеческого бытия. Чем, в самом деле, интересны нам истории жизни Адамаса, Феликса Баужы, Каспараса и Андриуса, Стяпонаса и Цезариса, Пятраса и Повиласа, Вайткуса. Марцинкуса, Йониса («Адамас хочет быть человеком», «С

нами бог», «Чувства», «Аве, вита!», «Садуту туту», «Никто не хотел умирать», «Чертова семья»)? Нас занимает маячащий за этими историями двойник автора, некий лирический герой, выражающий суть концепции произведения. Недаром сам режиссер утверждает: «Для меня существует лишь одно действующее лицо — это автор».

Сценарий, как и каждая драма, имеет конкретные рамки действия, в которых перекрещиваются судьбы персонажей, бурлят страсти, завязываются и разрываются их личные драмы, но главное — как бы за рамками. В «Садуту туту» мы наблюдаем взаимоотношения двух друзей художников Пятраса и Повиласа, переживаем драму Марии и Улы, смерть старого лесничего. Действие развивается на фоне идиллических картин природы, грозя сползти едва ли не в откровенную мелодраму. Однако сама идея сценария отнюдь не мелодраматична. Кинодраматург волнует проблемы таланта и призвания, верности и любви, конформизма и принципиальности. Драматический конфликт здесь стимулирует не развитие фабулы, а столкновение противоречивых плоскостей внутренней жизни человека, художника, состояния и мысли героев.

В жизни персонажей «Хроники одного дня» драматурга заботят моменты, которые дают основу для размышлений о важных социальных, исторических и морально-этических проблемах. Бытовые ситуации, последовательное течение действия не имеют здесь решающего значения. Художнику мало раскрыть характер, углубиться в психологию. Ему важно, чтобы на экране полемизировали противоположные идеи и концепции жизни.

Действенный сюжет «Никто не хотел умирать» дисциплинирует размах и максимализм обобщений автора, спо-

способность через конкретное событие из жизни персонажа раскрыть и драматизм исторической ситуации, и глубину страстей человеческих. История Йониса в «Чертовом семени» (литературный сценарий по мотивам рассказов П. Цвирики) — это грустная сказка о самоуничтожении. Йонис упорно и ожесточенно разрушает свою жизнь, словно надеясь создать ее заново. И в этом его трагедия. Действие захватывает исторические процессы, имевшие место в Литве, в Каунасской и Вильнюсской губерниях, на протяжении 60 лет. На этом фоне судьба батрака, ценою жизни пробиравшегося в хозяина, понимается как своеобразный крах духовного и жизненного уклада буржуазного мира, и как вызов автору частнособственническому инстинкту, обнаруживающемуся и в сознании современного человека.

Нет возможности перечислить тут все сценарии. Мы говорим о тенденции, вполне очевидной. «История» (сюжет) в сценариях Жалакявичюса — это объект изображения, содержание и сущность

художественного анализа. Драматург создает свои «истории», подчиняясь основным законам реалистической психологической драмы: диалектике развития характера, существованию тайны, постепенному наращиванию драматизма. Его герои чаще всего действуют и раскрываются в ситуациях крайне драматических, когда приходится решать свое «быть или не быть» («Никто не хотел умирать», «Аве, вито!», «Чувства», «Чертовое семя», «Кентавры»). Драматургу чужды непосредственное выражение чувств, эмпирическое восприятие. В его творчестве интеллектуальное начало давит над чувственным, воображение — над наблюдением. Оставаясь предельно верным действительности, достигая в художественном образе эффекта документальной объективности, драматург однако никогда не превращает жизненные реалии в основной объект изображения: они важны лишь как сочный, реальный фон судьбы героя. Ибо в центре внимания драматурга сам характер, точнее — идея этого

„TAS SALDUS ZODIS — LAISVE“



„TAS SALDUS ZODIS — LAISVE“



характера. В драматургии Жалакявичюса герой — противоречивый, психологически убедительный, драматичный — все же является материалом для проектирования идей самого автора. Такому герою неизменно нота исповеди. Быть может, только молчаливая, изредка прорывающаяся мука Иониса («Чертова семья») в какой-то мере отзывается ее эхом.

Потому так суров, мужествен, рационален мир фильмов Жалакявичюса — режиссера. В них верх берет конструктивный интеллектуализм, а композиционной структуре явственно доминирует автор — выразитель философских концепций произведения, действие чаще всего развивается в плоскости борьбы идей, нередко присутствуют опозитированные абстракции («Вся правда о Колумбе», «Авария», «Это сладкое слово — свобода», «Кентавры»). Так в фильме «Это сладкое слово — свобода» в аллюзии о солдате, который шел пока мог, а потом еще столько, сколько требовалось, выражается идея верности революции и народу.

Драматическая ситуация «Кентавров» вызывает не столько личный драматизм борцов за свободу народа, сколько противоречивость истории XX века, когда, по словам Й. Ланкутиса, трагизм акцентируется как форма исторического развития. Президент и Орландо — конкретные, реальные люди, но вместе с тем — символы власти, их ошибки или дальновидность играют решающую роль. И хотя драматическая ситуация основана на конкретном действенном сюжете, на психологически завершенных характерах, режиссер смело оперирует такими понятиями как Родина, История, Личность, Народ. Начав «Кентавры» как фильм-реконструкцию, выходящую нелегитимную параллель с трагедией Чили, режиссер не ограничивается анализом конкретной сюжетной ситуации, вырывается в более широкую область философских, идейно-художественных обобщений. Драматические «мини-суды» главных героев в финале поднимаются до трагического эпоса и имеют сюжетное завершение. Однако именно эта завершенность продолжает и усиливает размышления (автора и зрителя) о социальных и этических идеалах человечества и эпохи, о противоречивости исторического развития народа.

Кинематограф В. Жалакявичюс воспринимает как стихию фантазии, взра-

щенную реальной жизнью, силу убедительности которой определяют не достоверность деталей, а движение идей, столкновение противоположных концепций, человеческих судеб, разных образов мышления. Поэтому режиссер легко манипулирует разным жизненным материалом — реалии быта борющейся за свою свободу Латинской Америки в его фильмах оказывают не менее впечатляющее, чем художественно осмысленный, красочный быт литовской деревни.

Обретает покой родная деревня Лосиков после решительного боя с бандой «Айтвараса». Драматическую мину молчания на экране прерывает гром смеха — это незабываемый Марцинкус Б. Бабкаускаса рассказывает соседям, как проверенным «литовским» способом ему удалось защитить честь жены. Этот смех как бы заглушает выстрелы — он звучит как обещание новой жизни. Облегченно вздохнув, зритель и дальше продолжает жить заботами деревни. Финал сюжета, по сути, является началом новых, более глубоких размышлений.

После решающего боя в небытие и в святую память народа уходят последние рыцари республики, демократии и справедливости — Президент (Д. Банионис), Орландо (Р. Адомайтис). Они застывают в монохромном красном кадре, монтажным стыком переходящем в фреску Сикейроса. Заканчивается фильм, но продолжается дискуссия о демократии, патриотизме, свободе. Зрителем продолжает руководить указующая сила авторской логики.

Этим столь разным картинкам присущи примерно одинаковые стилистические особенности: сочетание абстрактного и конкретного, возвышенный тон самовыражения, логическая последовательность авторских мыслей. Может поэтому не очень-то удивляет несколько передоксальное высказывание режиссера: «Президент — это в какой-то мере Вайткус». Так же как «авторитата» в финальном эпизоде «Кентавров», которая, хоть и прямолинейно, но опять-таки вызывает параллель с фильмом «Никто не хотел умирать». Орландо пинком сводит счеты с предателем Андреем, и тот корчится, с перекошенным от стыда и боли лицом — униженный и оскорбленный своим гордым врагом. Актер Гафт, казалось бы, повторяет «пассаж» Бабкаускаса-Марцинкуса, хотя

сама сцена волей-неволей смотрится как дубликат.

Сегодня, сравнивая фильмы, которых друг от друга отделяет почти два десятилетия, со всей очевидностью убеждаешься в верности автора своей теме — выяснению взаимоотношений Человека и Истории. Проблемы становления личности, моральной и социальной активности, гражданского максимализма индивида в контексте различных социально-исторических условий, потребности своеобразного способа обозначения социальной и философской сущности реальности, хотя опять-таки обусловило довольно постоянное, хотя и по-разному раскрывающееся направление тематических и жанровых пристрастий, основные черты концепции героя, приверженностью к определенному типу актера. Смотришь фильм и, наверное, не раз задумываешься: очевидно, не случайно Вайткус и Президента играет тот же актер Д. Банионис. Право, внешнего сходства между ними нет и быть не может: облик, духовные уст-

ремления, ритм жизни — совершенно иные. Как совершенно другая и географическая фактура этих фильмов. Тем не менее заявление, что «Президент — это в чем-то Вайткус» звучит отнюдь не как искусственный парадокс. Оно скорее отражает парадоксальное, неоднозначное отношение режиссера к действительности, умение сочетать традиционное постоянство с изюмиданной, свежей интерпретацией.

Все фильмы В. Жалакявичюса вырастают на грани взаимодействия драматической реальности и режиссерской фантазии. Часто эта связь бывает конфликтной (режиссер спорит с драматургом). Так что и в фильмах есть черты «кентавров»: в их эстетической структуре «уживаются» поэзия и проза, документальность и метафоричность, язык аллюзии, символов, подтекст и глубокий психологизм. Авторская мысль легко отрывается от факта и устремляется к философским обобщениям, сфере метафор, символов, условные формы в его драмах дополняются другими

„AVE, VITA!“



стилистическими средствами выразительности. Порою он уходит в область открытых условностей и художественных абстракций («Вся правда о Колумбе», «Авария»), однако сам признается, что в игре, которую предлагает логика отшлифованных абстракций, ему не хватает подлинности.

В смысле жанра и стиля фильмы В. Жалакявичюса многоголосо: в них мы обнаружим черты и психологически — бытового, и конструктивно — интеллектуального, и поэтического стиля (так мы в настоящее время дифференцируем и стилистические направления в литовском кино). В творчестве В. Жалакявичюса отражается общая тенденция современного советского киноискусства — стремление к новизне и многообразию способов выражения художественного мышления.

Так уж сложилось, что В. Жалакявичюс больше известен как режиссер, хотя сценариев им написано больше, чем поставлено фильмов. Да и сам он почти в каждом интервью говорит, что хочет на долго засесть за письменный стол. Разумеется, важно не количество. Важно то, что в драматургии Жалакявичюса, не только в его режиссуре мы обнаруживаем истоки выкристаллизовавшихся ныне в нашем кино художественных тенденций. Так же, как важно и то место, которое в панораме всего советского кинематографа вот уже многие годы занимает В. Жалакявичюс, своеобразно представляющий нашу историко-культурную традицию.

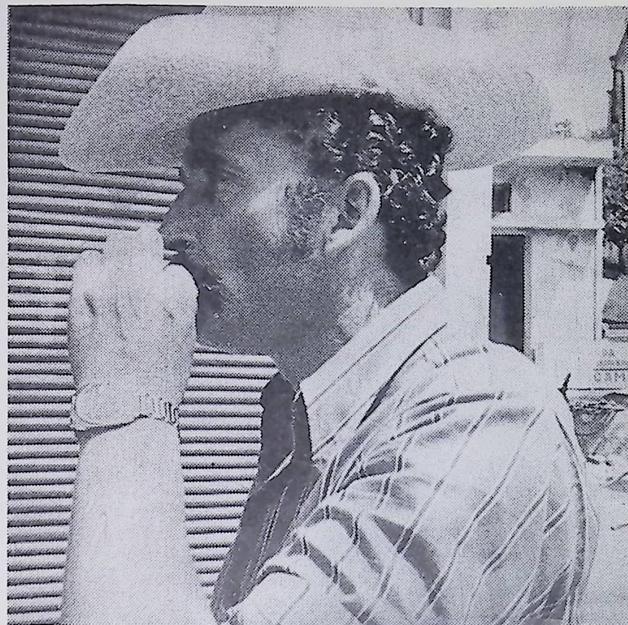
Казалось, было бы естественно с высоты пройденных лет (ведь с «Адамом», по своему символическому и для самого автора, и для литовского кино, прошло немало времени!) разделить всё творчество В. Жалакявичюса на хронологические, тематические, проблемные, жанровые подразделы. И это не было бы большим злом, тем более, что многоплановое, многомерное творчество В. Жалакявичюса (в жанровом, стилистическом, проблемном отношении) как бы само провоцирует критику на такой шаг.

Нередко так и поступают. Вот, дескать, фильмы национальной проблематики, вот циклы «чисто» политических лент, ах, даже были представлены доказательства того, буд-то намечается ук-

лон в сферу условных абстракций. Вот последние работы на «Мосфильме», свидетельствующие о повороте к чему-то новому и... Впрочем, уже хотелось поставить точку над «и». И все же. Попробуем взглянуть на прошлый год: наряду (точнее, одновременно) с созданными на «Мосфильме» «Кентаврами» — сценарий «Чертова семья», который на литовской киностудии поставил А. Пуйла, фильм «История неизвестного человека» (по А. Чехову) на «Мосфильме» — и сценарий ленты «Дело прекращается за истечением срока давности», которую по государственному заказу снимает А. Грикявичюс; на «Мосфильме» заканчивается работа над экранизацией Р. Бредбери по сценарию В. Жалакявичюса, в «Молдова-фильм» снимается еще один сценарий В. Жалакявичюса на историческую тематику. Где традиции? Где новации? Становится все труднее классифицировать. Еще. Было поистине незабываемое эссе В. Жалакявичюса на Высших курсах режиссеров и сценаристов в Москве. Можно было только поражаться той щедрости, с кокой раздвигались идеи тем, кому доведется стать режиссерами. И этой силой воздействия, которая захватывала тебя независимо от того, хотел ты этого или нет.

Польский режиссер Е. Хоффман в своем фильме «До последней капли крови» покажет нам Жалакявичюса — актера. И артистическая (в широком смысле этого слова) личность раскроется еще в одном ракурсе. Чем больше углубляешься, тем более широкий контекст обретает творчество В. Жалакявичюса. Тогда и становится ясным, что та классификация все же бедновата. И в ней тесно бурному творческому темпераменту. «Почему А. Чехов?» — совершенно обоснованно спрашивает критик в одном из интервью, и получает ответ интересный и неожиданный. Значит, еще один «скачок». Наверное, напористость таланта — истинная — причина таких «скачков». Мне думается, — это черта зрелости таланта, свидетельствующая, говоря словами В. Жалакявичюса, о способности «подумать — куда, в каком направлении, почему пройдено, сколько преодолено». Завидной способности!

Гражина АРЛИЦКАЙТЕ.



НАГРАДЫ

Республиканская премия ЛССР — 1962 г.
Звание Заслуженного деятеля искусств ЛССР — 1965 г.

Государственная премия СССР — 1963 г.
Премия Ленинского комсомола — 1966 г.
Орден Трудового Красного Знамени — 1971 г.

Орден Октябрьской Революции — 1976 г.

ФИЛЬМОГРАФИЯ

«Утопленник» — 1 ч., ч. б., 1956 г.
«Пока не поздно» — 9 ч., ч. б., 1957 г., режиссер вместе с И. Фогельманом.
«Адам хочет быть человеком» — 9 ч., ч. б., 1959 г.

«Живые герои», четвертая новелла — 2 ч., ч. б., 1960 г.
«Хроника одного дня» — 9 ч., ч. б., 1963 г.

«Никто не хотел умирать» — 10 ч., ч. б., 1965 г.

«Аве, витай!» — 9 ч., ч. б., 1969 г. сценарист вместе с Г. Казовичюсом.

«Чувства» — 9 ч., ч. б., 1968 г., сценарист.

«Вся правда о Колумбе» — 8 ч., ч. б., 1971 г.

«Это сладкое слово — свобода» — 14 ч., цв., 1973 г.

«Авария» — цв., 1974 г.

«Седую тую» — 8 ч., цв., 1975 г., сценарист.

«Кентавры» — 14 ч., цв., 1979 г.

«Чертова семья» — 7 ч., цв., 1979 г., сценарист.

„NIEKAS NENORĖJO MIRTI“



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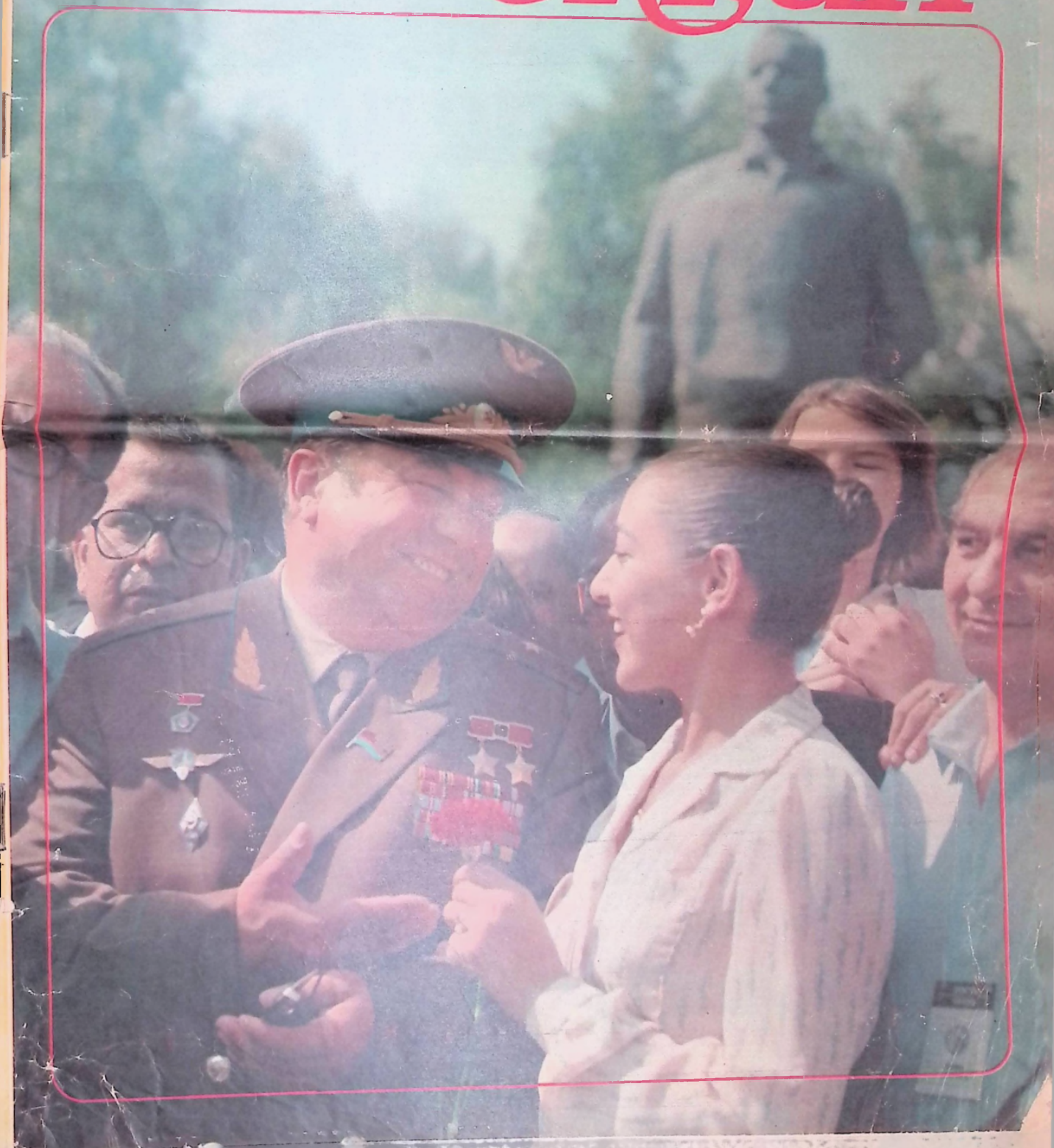
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ПУСТЬ ЖЕ НА ВСЕХ КОНТИНЕНТАХ ГОЛОС
ПРАВДЫ, ДОБРА, СОЦИАЛЬНОЙ СПРАВЕДЛИВОСТИ,

Из приветствия Генерального секретаря ЦК КПСС, Председателя Президиума Верховного

ОБРАЩЕНИЕ УЧАСТНИКОВ МЕЖДУНАРОДНОГО КИНОФЕСТИВАЛЯ

Уважаемые коллеги!

Люди всех континентов земли встревожены нынешней гонкой вооружений, драматическим нарастанием военной опасности. Основываясь на данных науки, каждый из нас, чей здравый смысл не затуманен иллюзиями, понимает, что война с применением ядерного оружия поставила бы под угрозу гибели все человечество, всю его цивилизацию.

В этих условиях мы с вами не можем оставаться пассивными и беспомощными наблюдателями. Кино с его многомиллионной аудиторией — могучая сила. И сейчас особенно важно, чтобы сила эта служила защите мира, развитию дружбы и взаимопониманию людей. Пусть там, где идет речь о мире, этому святому делу не помешают наши разногласия по тем или иным вопросам идеологии, философии, различия в религиозных убеждениях, эстетических позициях.

Поддерживая антивоенные инициативы миролюбивых государств, мы призываем все правительства, все общественные объединения людей доброй воли активнее выступать, эффективнее действовать во имя сохранения жизни на земле, во имя спасения человека и человечества.

Мы призываем вас, уважаемые коллеги, своими фильмами и личным участием в движениях миролюбивых сил укреплять в людях веру в победу разума и добра, непоколебимо противостоять всем тем, кто насаждает дух милитаризма и агрессии.

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С ВЕРОЙ В ЧЕЛОВЕКА, С ВЕРОЙ В БУДУЩЕЕ

Ел. БАУМАН

Конкурсная программа полнометражных художественных фильмов

Экран Московского фестиваля дает бесценную возможность явственно ощутить биение пульса планеты. Чем потрясает он больше всего?

Грохотом громов, напоминающим о том, что беспокойный наш век дважды взрывался мировыми войнами, свидетельствующим о военных действиях, которые не раз за последние годы вспыхивали в разных частях земного шара. Накалом страстей, отражающим борьбу народных масс за свободу, независимость, социальную справедливость. Азартом споров о долге, совести, правде, о выборе гражданской позиции. Тишиной раздумий о путях, какими идет человек и человечество. Уверенным утверждением идеалов добра, зажигающих в душе огонь надежды, вселяющих веру в будущее. Всем этим вместе — той грандиозной панорамой, что открывается нам в сопоставлении, сравнении времен, проблем, событий, стран. И лиц, среди которых — заметим это! — много детских.

Маленький деревенский мечтатель, одержимый желанием летать, как птица, а рядом — злобный «властелин неба», американский летчик, инструктор карателей, сеявший смерть в родной деревне мальчика («Альсино и Кондор», Никарагуа)... Вьетнамская девочка, дитя войны, тугим мучительным узлом связавшей судьбы персонажей фильма «В краю песков и ветров», — как ни руби теперь этот узел, удар не минует ребенка... Подростки, с ранних лет познавшие горечь социального неравенства, научившиеся убивать, обреченные гибнуть («Изгой», США)... Малыш, который последнее лето вместе с дедушкой удит рыбу в родной деревне — отчего краю предстоит навсегда исчезнуть под натиском наступающего строительства («Родина», Япония)... Мальчуган, прибывший в помощники к водителю грузовика («Мой приятель», Боливия)... Ребята, взявшие на себя ответственность за свою осиротевшую семью («Пять пальцев одной руки», Монголия)... Безмятежное розовое личико младенца в колыбели — ребенок, явившийся на свет в конце войны, когда смерть еще бродит рядом («Героическая пастораль», Польша)... Образ бегущей



«Амок!»

«Васса»

«Альсино и Кондор»



КИНЕМАТОГРАФИСТОВ ЗВУЧИТ ВО ИМЯ ТОРЖЕСТВА ДОВЕРИЯ И МИРА МЕЖДУ НАРОДАМИ.

Совета СССР Ю. В. АНДРОПОВА участникам и гостям XIII Московского международного кинофестиваля

девочки, противостоящий картинам зверств, чинимых в ЮАР расистами: маленькая фигурка в белом, стремительно прорезающая ночной мрак («Амок!», Марокко)...

Разные фильмы, разные страны. Различные проблемы, которых касаются авторы. Но почему, приобщая нас к сегодняшним тревогам и заботам мира, кинематограф упорно предлагает взглянуть в детские глаза? Почему так часто юное существо становится испытывающей наибольшее воздействие точкой силового поля, образованного столкновением политических, социальных, нравственных противоречий?

Потому, наверное, что детский взгляд обзывает к высшей честности. И потому, что из всех людских болей самая жгучая боль — страдание ребенка. И потому еще, что человечество видит в детях свое будущее, свой завтрашний день.

В приветствии Юрия Владимировича Андропова участникам и гостям XIII Московского кинофестиваля говорится: «Думается, подлинное искусство, пробуждая в людях добрые чувства, помогая взаимопониманию между народами, может достойно послужить той у, чтобы завтрашний день был благополучнее и спокойнее сегодняшнего».

Московский фестиваль собирает под знаменем гуманизма произведения художников, поднимающих свой голос в защиту правды, добра, священного права человека на свободу, мир. Гневом и страстью накален экран в фильме талантливого марокканского режиссера Сухейля

Этот образ явится нам и в картине «Альсино и Кондор»: выжженная земля, река, полная трупов, пятнистые комбинезоны карателей... Фильм поставлен замечательным чилийским режиссером Мигелем Литтином в Никарагуа при участии киностудий Кубы, Мексики и Коста-Рики. «Голосом Никарагуа» называют эту ленту — первую полнометражную художественную картину, созданную в стране. В ней — голос народа и гнев народа. И чистая народная душа, рвущаяся к полету.

Душа народа живет и в аллегориях кубинской картины «Роза ветров» (ее поставил другой известный чилийский мастер — Патрисио Гусман) — картины, герой которой выступает олицетворением свободного земледельца, преследуемого военными властями и их пособниками — иностранцами «специалистами». Голос несломленного народа звучит в «Амок!» в песнях выдающейся южноафриканской певицы Мириам Макеби, изгнанной расистами со своей родины.

Мысль о бессмертии народа утверждают кадры трагического тунисского фильма «Тень земли» (режиссер Тайеб Лухиши), где приметы сурового и скудного существования бедуинов наперекор страданиям перерастают в могучие символы неистребимости, вечности жизни — так много говорят нашему сердцу руки, разламывающие лепешку, колодец среди пустыни, рождение человека в бескрайности мертвенных песков! Отзвуки народного гнева слышатся в картинах «Смерть повстанца» (Мексика), «Большой во-

выражения классового самосознания, формой протеста. Песни протеста, сложенные девушкой из группы бунтующей молодежи, звучат с магнитофонной ленты, — и распрямляется, оттаивает ожесточившаяся душа Лу (Джуди Дэвис), героини австралийского фильма «Зима наших надежд», скатившейся на дно жизни.

Разными гранями возникает перед нами социальная проблематика в фильмах, посвященных жизни простых тружеников. О напряженных классовых столкновениях рассказывает бельгийская картина «Зима, 1960», построенная как хроника всеобщей забастовки, охватившей страну в ответ на принятие закона, ущемляющего права трудящихся. Бунтует против темных махинаций, на которых наживаются дельцы за счет обитателей небогатого поселка, герой аргентинской ленты «Сделка», борьбу рабочих цементного завода возглавляет герой индийского фильма «Седьмой». Быть может, этим произведениям порой не хватает художественной убедительности, но их гражданский пафос различим. Как различима горечь, окрашивающая картины, в которых говорится о тупиках безысходности, подстерегающих бедняка, «маленького» человека, аутсайдера, который бессилен преуспеть в мире наживы и обречен оставаться за бортом. Поиски работы гонят по свету финского парня («Йон»), пуля полицейского настывает молодого колумбийского безработного («Велосипедист»), в нищем квартале прозябает египетский футболист, которому изменила удача («Уличный игрок»). Изгой...

«Изгой» — назвал свой фильм Фрэнсис Форд Коппола, крупный американский режиссер, обрушивший на нас на одном из фестивалей громы своего «Апокалипсиса». Теперь он обратил свой взгляд туда, где принято искать покоя и тишины, — к жизни небольшого провинциального городка, и обнаружил у юных его обитателей, «тинзиджеров», испепеляющий жар социальной ненависти. Впрочем, история, начатая в жесткой интонации, к финалу окрасилась в розовые тона отдающей прекраснотой программ «исправления нравов».

Участь человека, вышвырнутого за порог, втоптанного в грязь, разделила и героиня фильма «Фрэнсис» (Великобритания), в основе которого подлинная судьба голливудской кинозвезды 30-х годов Фрэнсис Фармер (в этой роли — Джессика Ланж), горько поплатившейся за независимость убеждений.

Персонажи многих увиденных нами картин существуют в жестоком мире. Но часто драмы происходят за фасадом внешнего благополучия. Не хватает воздуха молодой женщине, запертой в тесном мирке своего уютного домика и ищущей освобождения в попытке самоубийства («Задыхаясь», Нидерланды). Подносит к виску пистолет глава итальянского respectable семейства, когда узнает о второй, тайной жизни своей жены и дочери, на которую их толкнуло его собственное эгоцентричное равнодушие (фильм «Я знаю, что ты знаешь, что я знаю», где популярный актер Альберто Сорди выступил в качестве постановщика и исполнителя главной роли).

Растлевающую фальшь буржуазной семьи, в которой все замешано на лжи, предательстве, противном рассудку искажении родственных привязанностей, развенчивает испанская картина «Демоны в саду» — ее действие относится к временам франкистского режима. Гибель ожидается дом, где близкие оказались по разные стороны баррикады в оккупированном гитлеровцами Сараево («Запах аивы», Югославия).

Так антибуржуазная тема пересекается с темой антифашистской, антивоенной. Художники разных стран единодушно говорят «нет!» войне.



Бен Барки «Амок!», с неистовой тревогой говорящем о бесчеловечной политике апартеида, о том аде, в какой превращена в ЮАР жизнь африканского большинства, белых инкомыслящих. Гул вертолетов, клубы черного дыма, полыхание огня, кошмарные люди-роботы в комбинезонах, с лицами, закрытыми противогазными масками, — нелюди, машины, созданные подавлять, уничтожать, истреблять. Страшный образ

прос» (Ирак). «Возмездие» (Новая Зеландия), обращенных к страницам национальной истории, адумываясь о том, какое место занимает искусство в современном мире, обильном социальными катаклизмами, мы найдем немало ответов на фестивальной экране. В том числе и прямых. Шведский фильм «Художник» говорит о рабочем-металлисте, художнике по призванию для которого творчество становится формой

слово участника фестиваля

Сергей ЮТКЕВИЧ.
Герой Социалистического Труда,
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Вспоминая праздничные и напряженные дни, я думаю о том, что действительно нат области, куда не проникло кино, и это, по точному замечанию руководителя нашей партии и главы Советского государства Ю. В. Андропова, «определяет его особое место в духовной жизни человека, его высокое назначение». Эта мысль находила свое выражение во всех проявлениях фестивальной жизни.

Открытие ретроспективы фильмов Рене Клема-на, моего друга и прогрессивного кинематографиче-

ста, и представление зрителям первой полнометражной художественной ленты «Дева и фотограф» моего ученика из Колумбии Луиса Альфредо Санчеса — даже эти два немаловажных события, выпавшие на мою долю, подтвердили, что на экране МКФ в Москве встречаются фильмы и люди, объединенные любовью к Человеку. Здесь, как объединенность поколений, чувствуется преемственность поколений, ни где, чувствуется служилость десятой музы, оставших под благородный девиз киносмотра. Необычайно приятно «наслаждаться» становление выпускников ВГИКа, а фестиваль дал эту возможность.

И еще одним радостным событием для меня лично был отмечен прошедший кинопраздник. Друзья из Греции привезли экземпляр моей книги «Модели политического кино», переведенной на греческий язык.

ЧХЕНГ ПХОНГ.
Министр информации,
печати и культуры
(Кампучия)

Девиз Московского кинофестиваля перекликается с основными положениями миролюбивой внешней политики Советского государства. По сути, приветствие Ю. В. Андропова обращено не только к участникам и гостям кинофестиваля, а к каждому человеку на планете, кому близки идеи борьбы за прекращение гонки вооружения, идеи добра, равенства, справедливости. Призыв к идеям добра, равенства, справедливости своим искусством кинематографистам способствовать своему укреплению дружбы и взаимопонимания между народами, отведению угрозы ядерного пожара заслуживает самого пристального внимания.

накладывающей свои страшные меты на судьбы людей, судьбы народов. Весной 1945-го погибает поляк Юзеф Лопух (Виргилиус Грынь), главный персонаж «Героической пасторали» Хенрика Бельского, крестьянин в солдатской шинели, идущий на смерть во имя того, чтобы счастье и мир воцарились наконец на земле. Неправдимо изломаны жизни героев румынского фильма «Возвращение из ада», повествующего о событиях первой мировой войны. «Стальная жатва» (так и называется картина) ждет алжирских крестьян, вышедших на поля, обильно заминированные осовцами, и начинающих строительство мирной жизни после победы в национально-освободительной борьбе.

Эхо войн, прокатившихся по планете, не умолкает, служа сегодня предостережением...

Извечно человеческое стремление к счастью. Им одушевляет повседневное существование людей, оно пронизывает суету будничных забот. Но пути к счастью не легки, на них приходится делать выбор между истинными и фальшивыми ценностями, порой мучительно пробиваться к осознанию собственных ошибок. Моральные искания, стремление к душевной гармонии — проблемы, занимающие наших современников, героев болгарского фильма «Равновесие» (режиссер Людмил Кирков). Хлопоты обитателей маленькой пекинской улочки — поиски работы, организация кооперативной столовой, устройство домашних дел, замужество, женитьба — предмет картины китайских кинематографистов «Улицы Заходящего солнца», сделанной в жанре бытовой комедии на современном материале. Точно показанные приметы сегодняшней повседневности щедро пронизывают монгольский фильм «Пять пальцев одной руки», чехословацкую картину «...На асфальте коней паста», где сюжеты подкупают своей безыскусной искренностью...

Среди тех источников, на которых основывается наш духовный опыт, немалая роль принадлежит классическому наследию. Обращение к творчеству великих писателей прошлого давно стало прочной кинематографической традицией, еще раз подтвержденной фестивальным экраном. Романтическая поэтика Виктора



Гюго, могучая сила правдолюбия, демократические идеалы, воплощенные в его творчестве, вдохновили французского режиссера Робера Оссейна на экранизацию любимого многими поколением читателя романа «Отверженные». Режиссер из ФРГ Франц Зайтц поставил фильм «Доктор Фаустус», положив в его основу одноименный роман Томаса Манна — сложное, многоплановое произведение, ставшее анализом духовной ответственности немецкой буржуазной интеллигенции за трагические события XX века, прежде всего — за сатанинские неистовства фашизма. Тема трагического саморазрушения личности, посвятившей себя служению ложным богам, пронизывающая «Доктора Фаустуса», в другом повороте является нам в картине «Васса», поставленной Глебом Панфиловым по мотивам горьковской пьесы.

Наверное, любое художественное произведение о прошлом неизбежно несет печать двух эпох — той, которая в нем изображена, и той, в которую оно создано. Эта двойная датировка отчетливо просматривается в «Вассе». Точны исторические и бытовые реалии российской предреволюционной действительности. Но на

«Равновесие»

«Отверженные»



«Я знаю, что ты знаешь, что я знаю»

далекие уже события как бы проецируются наши сегодняшние раздумья о нравственных основах человеческих связей, об осмысленности и духовности труда, о неизбежности крушения даже талантливой, неординарной натуры, отдавшей себя во власть своекорыстных интересов и индивидуалистических целей. И в этом сила талантливой, мастерски сделанной картины...

С особой актуальностью, с особым значением звучит сегодня девиз Московского фестиваля: «За гуманизм киноискусства, за мир и дружбу между народами!». Этот призыв не может не отозваться в сердце каждого честного художника. Фильмы, собранные под столь благородным девизом, отражают передовые, прогрессивные тенденции в развитии мирового кино.



Мы у себя в Кампучии знаем, что такое война. Знаем мы и истинную цену настоящей дружбы. Неценимую помощь, поддержку оказывают советские киноорганизации нашему кинематографу, который после кровавого правления Пол Пота находился в очень нелегком положении. Теперь даже в самых отдаленных районах страны работают киностанки, полученные из СССР. Советские фильмы пользуются популярностью у наших зрителей.

Мэрилин ЛАЙТСТОН.
Актриса (Канада)

Я впервые в Советском Союзе, впервые на Московском фестивале, но хорошо знаю, сколь высок международный авторитет этого крупнейшего киносмотра, проходящего в стране.

так настойчиво и целенаправленно борющейся за мир на планете. Я люблю свою профессию, считаю, что кино может сделать очень многое для установления добрососедства и взаимопонимания между народами. Вот почему с чувством особого удовлетворения я восприняла слова приветствия Юрия Владимировича Андропова участникам и гостям фестиваля, в котором высокое назначение киноискусства в борьбе за благополучный и спокойный завтрашний день планеты подтверждено с удивительной яркостью и пафосом.

Я много снималась в кино. Но из множества возможных ролей всегда старалась выбирать те, которые позволяли бы говорить со зрителем о проблемах общественно значимых, волнующих всех и каждого. Думаю, что одной из таких работ стала для меня и роль в картине «Счастье по случаю», представленной на конкурсе Московского кинофе-

стивала. И потому приз Комитета советских женщин, присужденный мне за эту роль, особо почетен и радостен — значит, то, что волновало меня во время работы, понятно и близко советским зрителям, нашло в их сердцах отклик.

Знаю, мир и счастье не приходят сами по себе — за них надо бороться, и борьба эта требует немалых моральных и материальных усилий. Вот почему гонорар за свои выступления на фестивале я решила передать в Фонд мира. Мне бы хотелось, чтобы эти средства пошли на оказание помощи детям тех стран, которые пострадали от агрессии. На встречах с советскими зрителями, гостями и участниками киносмотра, с легендарной Валентиной Терешковой — везде, где бы я ни была в дни Московского фестиваля, речь неизменно заходила о борьбе за мир. Ради мира надо работать — это сегодня самое главное.

НАГРАДЫ XIII МЕЖДУНАРОДНОГО КИНОФЕСТИВАЛЯ В МОСКВЕ

КОНКУРС ПОЛНОМЕТРАЖНЫХ ХУДОЖЕСТВЕННЫХ ФИЛЬМОВ

Золотой приз — фильму «Амок!» (режиссер Сухейль Бен Барка, Марокко, при участии Гвинеи и Сенегала).

Золотой приз — фильму «Альсино и Кондор» (режиссер Мигель Литтин, Никарагуа, при участии Кубы, Мексики и Коста-Рики).

Золотой приз — фильму «Васса» (режиссер Глеб Панфилов, СССР).

Специальный приз жюри актеру и кинорежиссеру Альберто Сорди (Италия) — за вклад в развитие мирового киноискусства.

Специальный приз жюри актеру и кинорежиссеру Роберу Оссейну (Франция) — за вклад в развитие мирового киноискусства.

Серебряный приз — фильму «Равновесие» (режиссер Людмил Кирков, Болгария).

Серебряный приз — фильму «Доктор Фаустус» (режиссер Франц Зайтц, ФРГ).

Серебряный приз — фильму «...На асфальте коней пасла» (режиссер Стефан Угер, Чехословакия).

Премия за лучшую женскую роль — актрисе Джуди Дэвис (фильм «Зима наших надежд», Австралия).

Премия за лучшую женскую роль — актрисе Джессике Ланж (фильм «Франсис», Великобритания).

Премия за лучшую мужскую роль — актеру Виргилиушу Грыню (фильм «Героическая пастораль», Польша).

Премия за лучшую мужскую роль — актеру Еси Като (фильм «Родина», Япония).

Приз жюри — фильму «Тень земли» (режиссер Таieb Лушии, Тунис).

Почетный диплом жюри — фильму «Сделка» (режиссер Фернандо Айяла, Аргентина).

Почетный диплом жюри — фильму «Пять пальцев одной руки» (режиссеры И. Намава и Б. Балжинням, Монголия).

Почетный диплом жюри — фильму «Возвращение из ада» (режиссер Николае Мерджиняну, Румыния).

КОНКУРС КОРОТКОМЕТРАЖНЫХ ФИЛЬМОВ

Золотой приз — фильму «Письмо из Морасана» (коллектив авторов, Сальвадорский фронт национального освобождения имени Фарабундо Марти).

Золотой приз — фильму «Над Бейрутом чужие облака» (автор сценария и режиссер Фадель Мутлак, ООП, ИДРИ, при участии СССР).

Серебряный приз — фильму «Солнце взойдет» (коллектив авторов, Африканский национальный конгресс).

Серебряный приз — фильму «Калило» (автор сценария и режиссер Фернандо Перес, Куба).

Серебряный приз — фильму «Канто генераль — всеобщая песнь» (автор сценария и режиссер Йоханн Чирнер, ГДР).

Специальный приз жюри — режиссеру Джоан Харви (США) — за последовательное отражение в документальном кинематографе антивоенной темы, за большой личный вклад в дело борьбы за мир.

Почетный диплом — мультфильму «Еще раз» (Нидерланды).

Почетный диплом — фильму «Свидетельство о бедности» (Сенегал).

Почетный диплом — фильму «Тринадцать» (Чехословакия).

КОНКУРС ФИЛЬМОВ ДЛЯ ДЕТЕЙ

Золотой приз — фильму «Мужское воспитание» (режиссеры Усман Сапаров, Язгельды Сейдов, СССР).

Серебряный приз — фильму «Идем дальше» (режиссер Здравко Шотра, Югославия).

Серебряный приз — фильму «Вверх ногами» (режиссер Станислав Ендрыка, Польша).

Серебряный приз — фильму «Гуттаперчевый Тарзан» (режиссер Серен Краг-Якобсен, Дания).

Специальный приз жюри за лучший мультипликационный фильм — «Колокольчик на олене» (режиссеры Тан Чан, Ву Цан, КНР).

ДЕТСКОЕ ЖЮРИ КОНКУРСА ТАКЖЕ НАЗВАЛО СВОИХ ПРИЗЕРОВ

За лучший фильм о борьбе за мир — фильму «Над Бейрутом чужие облака» (ООП, ИДРИ, при участии СССР).

За лучший фильм о единстве мира взрослых и детей — фильму «Идем дальше» (Югославия).

За лучший фильм о дружбе детей — фильму «Друзья» (Норвегия).

За лучший фильм о людях смелой и мужественной профессии — фильму «Клоуны» (Румыния).

За лучший фильм об эстетическом воспитании — фильму «Дети рисуют» (Вьетнам).

За лучший фильм в защиту детства — фильму «Вверх ногами» (Польша).

За лучший исторический фильм — фильму «Упрямец» (Испания).

За лучший фильм по мотивам классических произведений — фильму «Басни Эзопа» (Япония).

За лучший фильм-сказку — фильму «Король без сердца» (Финляндия).

За лучший приключенческий фильм — фильму «Маленькая банда» (Франция).

За лучший музыкальный фильм — фильму «Песня Хайди» (США).

За лучший спортивный фильм — фильму «Маленький хоккеист» (Чехословакия).

За самый веселый фильм — фильму «Дракончик» (Нидерланды).

За лучший мультфильм — фильму «Отважный жеребенок» (Аргентина).

Специальный приз детского жюри — фильму «Мужское воспитание» (СССР).

За лучшее исполнение роли девочки — главной исполнительнице в фильме «Сабина Клейст, 7 лет» (ГДР) — Петра Ламмель.

За лучшее исполнение роли мальчика — главному исполнителю в фильме «Мужское воспитание» (СССР) — Бегенчу Курбандурдыеву.

За лучшее исполнение роли няни — актрисе Селии Баннерман («Бидди», Англия).

ПРИЗЫ И ДИПЛОМЫ ОБЩЕСТВЕННЫХ ОРГАНИЗАЦИЙ

Союз кинематографистов СССР — режиссеру Франсису Форду Коллесе за программы фильмов, представленные на XI и XIII МКФ.

Союз писателей СССР — Францу Зайтцу, автору экранизации романа Томаса Манна «Доктор Фаустус» (ФРГ).

Союз композиторов СССР — композитору Микису Теодоракису (фильм «Канто генераль — всеобщая песнь», ГДР).

Союз художников СССР — фильму «Отверженные» (Франция).

Союз журналистов СССР — фильму «Дорога к свободе» (Сальвадорский фронт национального освобождения имени Фарабундо Марти).

Агентство печати «Новости» — фильму «Невеста и приданое» (Иордания), актеру Сэму Шеларду (фильм «Франсис», Великобритания).

Советский комитет защиты мира — фильмам «Героическая пастораль» (Польша), «Марш мира-82» (Норвегия), «В умах людей» (ООН), «Экоцид — стратегия войны» (США).

Советский комитет за европейскую безопасность и сотрудничество — фильму «Орбита голубя» (Чехословакия).

Союз советских обществ дружбы и культурной связи с зарубежными странами — фильму «Битва за Афины» (Греция).

Комитет молодежных организаций СССР — фильмам «Альсино и Кондор» (Никарагуа), «Солнце взойдет» (Африканский национальный конгресс).

Советский комитет солидарности стран Азии и Африки — фильмам «Седьмой» (Индия), «Пять пальцев одной руки» (Монголия), «Власть народу» (Гана).

Комитет советских женщин — актрисе Мэрилин Лайтстон, исполнительнице роли в художественном фильме «Счастье по случаю» (Канада).

Министерство просвещения СССР — фильмам «Упрямец» (Испания), «Дети рисуют» (Вьетнам).

Государственный комитет СССР по иностранному туризму — фильмам «Старая Гавана» (Куба), «Ночь огней» (Испания).

Комитет по физической культуре и спорту при Совете Министров СССР — фильму «Маленький хоккеист» (Чехословакия).

Федерация космонавтики СССР — диплом имени Юрия Гагарина фильму «Подъем» (СССР).

Союз обществ Красного Креста и Красного Полумесяца СССР — фильму «Почему?» (ООП).

Общество «Родина» — режиссеру Роберу Оссейну (Франция).

Газета «Пионерская правда» — программе фильмов для детей (Чехословакия).

Журнал «Искусство кино» — фильму «Демоны в саду» (Испания).

Журнал «Советский экран» — фильму «В краю песков и ветров» (Вьетнам).

Журнал «Техника кино и телевидения» — фильму «Ион» (Финляндия).

Журнал «Кинемеханик» — фильму «Басни Эзопа» (Япония).

Призы ФИПРЕССИ присуждены фильмам «Демоны в саду» (Испания), «Без свидетелей» (СССР).

ИСКУССТВО, ОБРАЩЕННОЕ К МИЛЛИОНАМ



Репортаж

Фестиваль... Конкурсные, информационные, внеконкурсные, ретроспективные просмотры, поездки, творческие встречи, официальные приемы — все это складывается в пеструю, на первый взгляд разнородную, а по сути своей в единую красочную и радостную фреску, в две недели подлинного кинопраздника. Масштабы его впечатляют: на кинофорум прибыли 1224 кинематографиста, представляющие 102 страны, 6 международных и национальных организаций и Западный Берлин; в общей сложности демонстрировалось более пятисот картин.

Значительной и разнообразной была советская кинопрограмма. Художественные фильмы «Васса», «Мужское воспитание», «Без свидетелей», «Пацаны», «Юность гения», «Жаркое лето в Кабуле» (совместно с кинематографистами Афганистана), документальные «Репортаж о Марше мира», «Союз республик и сердец», «Подъем», «...Свои совсем особые стихи», «Налет», мультфильм «Последняя охота» привлекли широкое внимание гостей и участников фестиваля.

Вспоминается день открытия кинофорума и тот горячий отклик, который нашло в сердцах мастеров экрана планеты, собравшихся в Государственном Центральном концертном зале, приветствие Генерального секретаря ЦК КПСС, Председателя Президиума Верховного Совета СССР Ю. В. Андропова: «Пусть же на всех континентах голос кинематографистов звучит во имя торжества правды, добра, социальной справедливости, доверия и мира между народами». Этот призыв к объединению кинематографистов планеты под знаменем высоких идеалов гуманизма и мира наполнил высоким содержанием все, что происходило в дни фестиваля.

— Обращение Юрия Владимировича Андропова меня глубоко взволновало. Политика вашей страны — пример последовательного миролюбия, — говорит Ибрагим Абу Наб, режиссер из Иордании.

— Приветствие главы Советского государства нашло живой отклик во многих сердцах. Оно знаменательно признанием той исключительной роли, которая отводится искусству кино в вашей стране, — считает кинооператор с Кипра Эвангелос Хаджикирьяку.

— Приветствие Юрия Владимировича Андропова — боевая программа для прогрессивных кинематографистов планеты, — заявил корреспондентам румынский кинорежиссер Николае Марджияну.

А кинорежиссер из США Джон Харви сказал:

— Я полностью разделяю мнение Ю. В. Андропова о том, что кинематограф должен помогать взаимопониманию между народами, может достойно служить миру.

ДЕТИ РАЗНЫХ НАРОДОВ

На Красной площади произошел символический эпизод: одновременно с кинематографистами сюда пришла Саманта Смит. Американская школьница, мечтающая о мире на Земле и гостившая в нашей стране по приглашению Ю. В. Андропова, встретилась с людьми, которые в своих произведениях стремятся утвер-

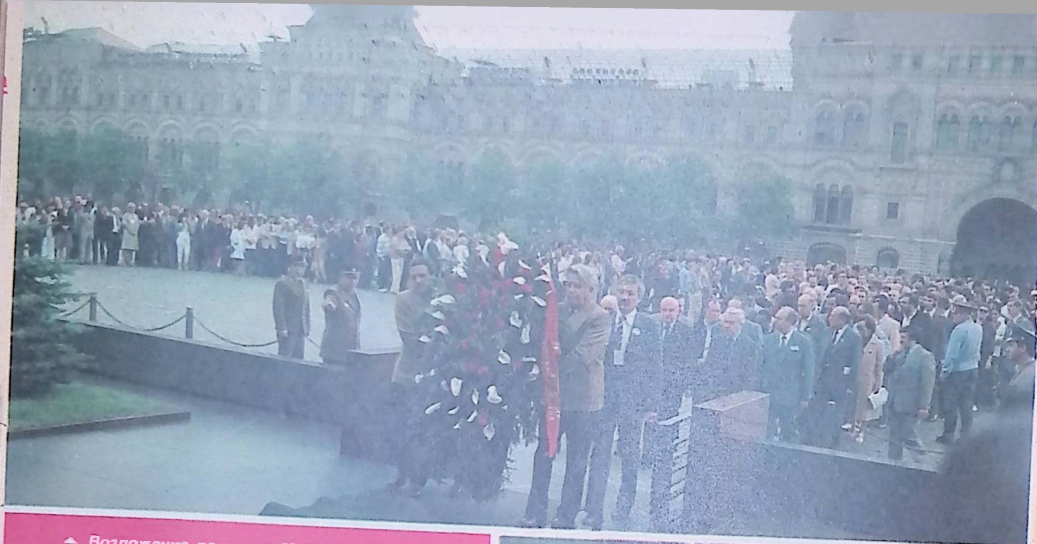
дить идеи, созвучные благородному девизу московских киносмотров.

Конкурс детских фильмов. 12 дней во Дворце пионеров на Ленинских горах шел этот смотр. Многоцветная интернациональная кинолента (54 фильма из 32 стран!) вобрала в себя чаяния миллионов ребят планеты, их веру в торжество дружбы, справедливости, светлых идеалов мира.

Торжественное открытие XIII Международного кинофестиваля в Москве. Приветствие Ю. В. Андропова оглашает председатель Госкино СССР Ф. Т. Ермаш

Флаг фестиваля поднят!





▲ Возложение венков к Мавзолею В. И. Ленина

Олег Янковский (в центре) и гости из Франции — актриса Кандис Пату, актер и режиссер Робер Оссейн



Кубинская актриса Миранда Линда Клаусе и чилийский режиссер Патрисио Гусман

Румынский режиссер Ион Попеску-Гопо и композитор Евгений Дога



На вопросы журналистов отвечает режиссер-документалист из США Джоан Харви

Гостья из Афганистана Зухра Рахгузар



Альберто Сорди (Италия) ▲ Остановись, мгновенье!



▲ Автограф на память Актрисы Ирен Кривошиева (Болгария) и Ю. Оуунцэцэг (Монголия)

Доверительный разговор. С юными зрителями беседует председатель жюри конкурса фильмов для детей писатель Анатолий Алексин



— Сюжеты фильмов для детей включали в себя большие социальные, нравственные проблемы, волнующие всех людей. — говорил председатель жюри конкурса фильмов для детей писатель А. Алексин. — Остро, с публицистической силой прозвучал призыв защитить детство от угрозы фашизма, варварских агрессий. И эта идея, воплощенная во многих лентах, воспринимается с большим пониманием нашими зрителями.

ПУТИ-ДОРОГИ КИНОСМОТРА

Стремлением к миру, к воплощению в жизнь светлых идеалов человечества были наполнены многие страницы кинофестиваля: это и посещение Музея-квартиры В. И. Ленина в Кремле, и встречи в Союзе советских обществ дружбы и культурной связи с зарубежными странами, в Советском комитете защиты мира, в Советском комитете солидарности стран Азии и Африки...

Из аэропортов и с вокзалов, из залов конкурсных просмотров и с кинорынка сбегаются фестивальные пути-дорожки к гостинице «Россия». Композитор Микис Теодоракис приехал в Москву, где показывался документальный фильм «Канто

генераль — всеобщая песнь», снятый режиссером из ГДР Йозефом Чирнером. В нем рассказывается о творческой дружбе Микиса Теодоракиса с великим чилийским поэтом Пабло Нерудой.

В здании аэропорта — первое короткое интервью Теодоракиса для «Советского экрана»:

— Рад, что смог вновь посетить Советский Союз. В Москве бывал не раз, здесь у меня друзья: Тихон Хренников, Дмитрий Кабалевский... Советская музыка очень популярна в Греции... А вот на Московском кинофестивале я впервые. Люблю кинематограф, много работаю для кино. Разумеется, я постоянный зритель советских фильмов. Особенно ценю киноклассику...

Из Рима приехали Альберто Сорди и Нино Манфреди. Улыбаясь нацеленным на них объективам, направляются в зал регистрации.

— На международных кинофестивалях в Москве я бывал и как актер и как

Продолжение на стр. 10

**Константин
СЛАВИН.**
Заслуженный
деятель искусств РСФСР,
лауреат
Ленинской премии

ДОКУМЕНТАЛЬНАЯ

Не ошибусь, если скажу, что для многих миллионов людей на земле слово «кинофестиваль» ассоциируется с прекрасным и радостным праздником самого массового, самого интернационального и демократичного искусства, доступного и близкого любой живой душе. Калейдоскоп разноязычных лент, парад имен, состязание — хочется верить! — лучших новинок мирового экрана. Что может быть красочней, зрелищней международного кинематографа!

Но это все же его наряд, привычное ритуальное обрамление. Главное в другом — в том, насколько этот всеобщий зрелищный киноидея, кинопроблем человечества отвечает его сегодняшним чаяниям, тревогам, надеждам. Ведь сейчас, на старте 80-х годов XX столетия, киноленты, как никогда раньше, ставят вопросы о том, что не праздного и совсем не парадного смысла и толка.

Достаточно окинуть пытливым взором, ощутить одну из острых, режущих граней Московского кинофестиваля-83. Я имею в виду документальную летопись времени, раздумья и свидетельства самой непримиримой жизни в ее важнейших событиях, фактах, формах.

Сразу встает вопрос: куда идет наш век — яростный и грозный, столь всемогущий и столь еще не устроенный, опасный и противоречивый? Его беспрецедентные открытия и небывалые триумфы могли бы сделать жизнь человека полной, долгой, счастливой, а они угрожают ему и самой планете всеобщей и страшной гибелью. Его исторический и социальный опыт не снял с повестки дня жгучие проблемы классового, национального, расового антагонизмов. Его культурное и технологическое вторжение в сферу живой природы все чаще приводит к тяжелым экологическим последствиям. Его громадные материальные ресурсы и накопленные знания не могут еще избавить людей от голода, болезней, нищеты, первобытного варварства во многих регионах мира.

Такса неупрекная правда о буднях нашего века, и такой она предстает с экрана в разных по проблематике и исполнительскому классу киноработах.

Собственно, этими чувствами проникнута и небольшая полутюдная лента эквадорца К. Гонсалеса Меса «Мы не одни», и антивоенный, антибуржуазный памфлет прогрессивных западногерманских документалистов Х. Карника и В. Рихтера «Бодрящий газ», и неординарное по творческому вдохновению и силе кинематографической выразительности полотно американских мастеров Г. Реддико и Р. Фрика «Суматошная жизнь», создающее глобальную киносимволику громадного, необузданного разворота НТР. Ее вышедшая из-под контроля инфраструктура начисто порывает со всем духовным, человеческим, нравственным, что есть в природе.

Волнующая, как воспоминание об издревле вечном и первозданном, красота земли вытесняется кнопочно-электронно-компьютерными видениями чудовищных мегаполисов. Безудное, доведенное до полного автоматизма движение бескровных и бесплотных людских толп поглощается сонмом столь же бездушных, недобрых машин и аппаратов, сливаясь в зловещую круговорот супермодерного дантова ада, который вот-вот взлетит в воздух со всеми своими небоскребами, эскалаторами, сверхзвуковыми лайнерами, ракетами.

Все это впечатляет необыкновенно, поражая воображение даже испытанных профессионалов, хотя речь вообще-то идет о хорошо знакомых нам неотъемлемых признаках и стереотипах современной западной цивилизации. А вывод? Хаос. Неотвратимость глобальной катастрофы. Незащищенность планеты, над которой витает призрак ракетно-ядерного пожара. Это легко прочитывается, особенно в последних кадрах «Суматошной жизни». Его создатели не вскрывают причин, не ищут истоков зла. А ведь, если хорошенько задуматься, НТР, современная техника и технология сами по себе ни в чем не виноваты. Важно другое: в чьих руках они находят, кому и чему служат.

На это один из ответов дает другой американский фильм — «Экоцид — стратегия войны». В отличие от изощренной, эстетизированной «Суматошной жизни», «Экоцид» протоколен и прост. Это суровая, беспристрастная документация химической смерти, обрешенной пентагоновскими «экспериментаторами» на



мирные просторы и селения Вьетнама. Выжжены, уничтожены некогда цветущие поля и леса, погублены целые зоны плодородной прекрасной земли, отравлены реки. И до наших дней несут на себе следы вопиющих преступлений американской военщины люди, попавшие в зоны химической смерти, их дети и внуки да и сами американцы, оказавшиеся в этих зловещих зонах. Создатели обличительного документа — известные ученые, доктора А. Уэстинг и Э. Пфайфер вовсе не ищут кинематографических лавров. Они преследуют другую цель. Аргументируя непреложными, научно обоснованными фактами и выводами, они предупреждают человечество о еще одной грозной ему смертельной опасности.

В том же гражданственном, гуманистичном ключе решен и фильм, по-своему отражающий то, что один из почетнейших гостей нашего кинофестиваля, знаменитый итальянский писатель и кинематографист Ч. Дзаваттини нарек «криком действительности», — американская лента «Миллион Хиросим» (сценарист и режиссер М. Андерсон), созданная при содействии Второго конгресса врачей мира за предотвращение ядерной войны, в форме диспута самых что ни на есть крупнейших представителей современного здравоохранения

**Андрей
ЗОРКИЙ**

В ЗАЩИТУ ДЕТСТВА

**Конкурсная
программа
фильмов
для детей**

Наверное, в каждом из мастеров детского кино есть нечто от гофмановского Тиса Перегринуса, которого знаменитый сказочник представил читателям бесстрашно скачущим на деревянной лошадке посреди комнат, заставленной детскими игрушками. Что с того, что Перегринусу уже исполнилось 36 лет, что давно закончил он курс университетских наук в Йене! Как прекрасно, если детство не покидает вас, если сохраняется редкостное созвучие взрослого опыта и души ребенка! Тогда-то и появляются на необъятном, продуваемом всеми ветрами жизни киноэкране обетованная ДЕТСКАЯ, мир детства, высвеченный трепетным лучом кинопроектора.

Итак, Москва. Год 1983-й. Фестивальный экран Дворца пионеров.

Вот маленький белокурый лорд Фаунтлерой — его историй зачитывались еще наши бабушки и дедушки. Вот ожившие на экране персонажи Астрид Линдгрен — «Расмус и бродяга». Вот презабавная спящая принцесса, праправнучка той андерсеновской, — гром, пушечный шквал ее не разбудит, разве что горошина под периню. Сказочная, милая ДЕТСКАЯ! Как не узнать тебя в этом зрительском зале! Вы можете вцепиться в гриву аргентинского «Жеребенка» и пронестись по сверкающему миру. Изыдцы, как сказочные игрушки, мультипликационные ленты. Японская — про музыкальную лисичку и хитрую старушку. Китайская — про добрую девочку и олененка. Голландская — про веселого и смешного дракончика... Этот мир светел, непреложен и, казалось бы, постоянен в торжестве добра... Но тот же фестивальный



«Гуттаперчевый Тарзан» «Идем дальше»

кинозал, заполненный детворой, буквально цепенеет замолкает в ужасе, когда на экране возникают документальные кадры горящего Бейрута, развалин, искалеченных детей...

Да, слишком многое на сегодняшней земле противоречит не только сказке, но и самой жизни — нашим привычным представлениям о ней. Наверное, потому даже на этом киносмотре (примета времени!) вышли на первый план не детские фильмы, а фильмы о детях, содержащие более сложную смысловую и образную программу.



«Мужское воспитание» «Вверх ногами»



ИСПОВЕДЬ ЭПОХИ

Конкурсная программа
короткометражных фильмов



«Письмо
из Морсана»

«Над Бейрутом
чужие облака»

рассматривает последствия возможной ядерной катастрофы. И выводы, сделанные авторитетными специалистами, беспрекословны: в случае возникновения ядерной войны род человеческий как биологический вид исчезнет с лица Земли. Перестанет существовать и сама наша планета Земля.

Вот вам и «крик действительности». И может ли не услышать его совесть мира? Может ли она мириться с пылающими уже сейчас, в наши дни, очагами агрессии и геноцида, создавших в различных регионах земли новые зоны смерти — и вакуумной, и химической, и какой-то более страшной... При помощи новейших смертоносных видов оружия, запрещенных ООН, но поставляемых США израильским агрессорам в Ливане. Об этом оповестили мир волнующие ленты ООП «Почему?» и Иордании «Невеста и ее приданое» и фильм «Над Бейрутом чужие облака», созданный кинодокументалистами ООП, Народной Демократической Республики Йемен (при участии СССР).

Фестивальный парад фильмов?

О нет! Скорее всего документальная исповедь эпохи — всеобщая песня во имя мира и жизни на Земле. «Канто генераль» — всеобщая песня» назвали свою яркую антифашистскую ленту кинематографисты из ГДР.

В польской картине «Вверх ногами» нет волшебства, приключений, нет детства — есть дети, проживающие свой возраст. Здесь улица, тряпичный мяч, латанная-перелатанная покрывала, которую всякий норвег пропороет ножом. Вся-то забава ребятшек — сделать стойку на руках и увидеть опрокинутым тот же самый пейзаж унылых карьеров, барачков, нищеты. Здесь детство шагает в ногу с тяжелой взрослой жизнью. Такой предстает перед нами польская Силезия в канун войны, увиденная через судьбы мальчишек рабочей окрестности. Сорос с лишним лет назад. Но мы слышим, как бьются сердца юных героев. Приходит война, оккупация. Мальчишек, намалеванных на стенке дома Гитлера, подвешенного вверх ногами, арестовывают как государственных преступников. И вдруг в финале — опрокинутый мир, кадры — возникает нестерпимым видением всеобщий (сколько мальчишек там — раз, два, три!). Меня пора-

сделав ее героями передовых борцов за мир и свободу чилийского поэта Пабло Неруду и греческого композитора Микиса Теодоракиса.

Московский смотр прогрессивного публицистического киноискусства привлек к себе немало мужественных, стойких поборников честной, выстраданной правды разящего, сражающегося кинодокумента. Но как нелегко, тернист к ней путь человека за кинокамерой, кажется, самой историей обличенного на миссию исследователя, свидетеля, обвинителя. Для того чтобы добыть крупички истины, сказать о ней во весь голос, да так, чтобы его услышали как можно больше людей, приходится идти на риск и жертвы.

Документалисты снимают под бомбами и снарядами, поднимаются в атаку вместе с бойцами, как это делали сальвадорские операторы, создавшие фильм «Решимость победить». Суровая и сильная лента, она вместе с другим фильмом Фронта национального освобождения имени Фарабуно Марти — «Письмо из Морсана» продолжает летопись народной борьбы за национальную независимость и свободу, и сам народ создает эту бесценную летопись. Бойцы прикрывают операторов при съемках боевых действий, крестьяне доставляют снятую пленку за границу, где монтируются фильмы.

Бесстрашную и благородную борьбу с расистским режимом ЮАР ведут прогрессивные южноафриканские кинематографисты. Один из них, известный поэт, художник и документалист, член Африканского национального конгресса Барри Файнберг, привез в Москву страстный, вдохновенный фильм-протест «Солнце взойдет». Авторы фильма верят в братское содружество людей с разным цветом кожи, они убеждены — солнце встанет над их поруганной родиной и это будет солнце свободы.

Не мог не запомниться зрителям другой столь же чистый и гуманный фильм, «Бастион Пойнт: день 507», созданный новозеландскими документалистами М. Мита и Л. Нарби. Люди маленького племени маори поселились на своих исконных землях в построенном ими небольшом и скоромном поселке. Но просуществовал он лишь 506 дней. На 507-й день власти приступили к разрушению деревушки и изгнанию маорийцев с земли их предков. Трогательный, человечный репортаж этого

зила точность формулировки детского жюри, присудившего приз польскому фильму под девизом «В защиту детства». Ведь именно к ответственности государства, времени, истории перед детьми взывает эта талантливая картина.

Если идти дальше по столь знакомой нам дороге времени и истории, то закономерной будет встреча с ребятами из маленького югославского городка в 1944-м. Проживе войну, собрались они под сводами школы, став питомцами учителя-партизана. Тот молод, необуздан, яростен и нежен в своих порывах к истине. Необычные уроки преподает он детям. Не азбуку, не счеты, не «педагогические штаны», это само собой, «за кадром». Но мы слышим, как он рассказывает детям о гибели всех своих близких, и мы плачем вместе с ним и учениками: видим, как вводит учителя в класс пленного немца (с ученой фамилией Шоленгауэр), спрашивает: «Ты зачем пришел в эту страну?», а потом ставит его под ребячий расстрел — кошками грязь, а уж потом, после экзекуции, помогает ему умыться... Очищение страданием? Да. Причем взятое в кристаллически ясных, доступных детскому сердцу решениях. Через весь югославский фильм «Идем дальше» проходит эта тема преодоления горьких уроков войны и тема светлых уроков доброго, нового. «Идем дальше!» — это и любимая присказка учителя и оптимизм жизни, одухотворяющий этот фильм. И вновь очень точной была формулировка детского жюри, присудившего югославской картине свой приз: «За лучший фильм о единстве мира взрослых и детей».

Я вовсе не противопоставляю мнение детей суду взрослых. Напротив, констатирую их единство. Детский фестиваль предоставил ребятам: весьма серьезный жизненный и художественный материал. Такие фильмы, как «Вверх ногами» и «Идем дальше», вполне, мне кажется, могли бы соревноваться и во взрослом конкурсе, побеждать и там. Но они были по-настоящему необходимы и в детском зрительном зале.

Здесь ребенок вершит сложную нравственную работу своего возраста. Нет проблемы, к которой он оказался бы непричастен. И как мало ему помогают назидания, прописи-рецепты «на все случаи жизни». Есть, скажем, «педагогическое» табу, по которому не погибают добрые герои мультфильма, но ведь умирает в японском фильме личиска, и это надо пережить. В югославской киноленте симпатяга-поросенок, любящий всей школы, подрастает в упитанного хрюка, все,

печального дня взволнованно передает перипетию нелегкой, молчаливой и упорной борьбы людей за право жить на родной земле, за свое достоинство.

Афос Московского фестиваля при всем многообразии тем, сюжетов, средств кинематографического показа прежде всего активно выражает острейшую проблематику, связанную с осуждением войны и пропаганды империалистической агрессии.

На этом пути заметным явлением стала мужественная, бескомпромиссная работа нью-йоркской театральной деятельности и документалистики Джона Харви — «Америка от Гитлера до ракет МХ».

Харви сделала отважную попытку проследить зловещую политику США за последние полвека. На убедительных фактах, на глубоких свидетельствах и суждениях очень разных по своим политическим и религиозным взглядам людей она показала, что те силы США, которые выкормили и выпестовали чудовищную военную машину третьего рейха, держат сегодня в своих руках военную промышленность Америки и преследуют те же цели, что и Гитлер.

В картине Джон Харви предстает Америка, осуждающая ограниченные и затяжные ядерные войны, отвергающая человеконенавистнические планы военно-промышленных монополий, не принимающая антисоветскую историю, развязанную нынешней администрацией США. К этой Америке относится и сама Харви — талантливая, целеустремленная художница театра и кино, мать семерых детей.

Светлой доброй тональностью отмечена наша программа. В фильмах «...Свои совсем особые стихи» (режиссер Л. Станукинас), «Подъем» (режиссер В. Семенов), «Союз республик и сердец» (режиссеры И. Венерович, В. Королев, И. Шишов) нашли яркое отражение интересные человеческие характеры, советский образ жизни.

О многом поведал документальный экран. О светлом и добром. О подлом и страшном. О том, куда идет человек и вся наша планета. И о том, чем живут ее летописцы, творцы экранной истории мира. Многие верные и насущное сказано, снято, увидено. Осмыслено и пережито.

Во имя жизни и во имя будущего!

пришла его пора, сверкает отточенный нож в руках бравого Шоленгауэра, и гомострате, какую гамму переживаний разворачивают кинематографисты: тут и скорбь маленьких киногероев, и сочувствие учителя, миготом перекликающего ребят на разговор о мытарствах диких зверей, и аппетитнейший фарш, прыгающий из мясорубки, и щедрое пиришество голодных ребятшек и взрослых... Сложно все! Но когда же, как не в детстве, учиться постигать все это? Позже будет некогда. Или поздно.

Уроки нравственности, добра, мужества. Думается, что и радужный успех советского фильма «Мужское воспитание» объясним тем, что нравственная работа, создающая человека, вершится здесь в самой сердцевине рассказа, в душе его главного героя. Жизненные дороги туркменского мальчика Чанана, быть может, менее драматичны, чем судьбы его польских или югославских сверстников. Да, здесь не война и не ее тяжкий след... Но разве не труднее всего в искусстве раскрывать сложное в обыкновенном? А маленький Чанан — ни много ни мало — занят на наших глазах постижением жизни. Ее мудрости и суровой, подчас беспощадной правды.

Фильмы, которые оказались в центре детского фестивального смотра, имеют четкие социальные, временные и эстетические параметры. Это реальность. Это рассказ, необходимый сегодня. Это прямой разговор о судьбах детей, в котором главное — становление настоящего человека.

Можно вспомнить немало кинолент, создавших необходимую широту и разнообразие этому лентивному фестивальному зрелищу. Здесь и датский фильм «Гуттаперчевый Тарзан», и романтическая картина «Клоуны» (Румыния), и норвежские «Друзья», и колоритная испанская лента «Упрямцы»... В каждой из них — свой неповторимый срез жизни, но родственная задача художников: защитить юного героя, вместе с ним преодолеть социальные невзгоды, предрассудки.

Мы начали этот разговор, заглянув в заветную ДЕТСКУЮ кинематографию. Да, в ней по-прежнему торжествует красота и добро, вершатся удивительные истории, сказки, переливаясь национальными узорами многих стран. Детский кинематограф планеты утверждает счастье. И на всех рубежах этого светлого и неистребимого мира стоят сегодня фильмы, которые особенно нужны и детям и взрослым. Фильмы, которые защищают детство.



Инна МАКАРОВА.
Народная артистка РСФСР

Каждый день работы фестиваля был проникнут деловым спокойствием, хорошим творческим волнением участников и гостей. Меня радует единодушное стремление кинематографистов мира к познанию и утверждению духовного начала в человеке. В картинах главное место занимает тема беспокойства за будущее планеты, тема острой необходимости поисков контакта между людьми. И если вдуматься, то действительно нет ничего важнее этого.

БАБИТА.
Актриса (Бангладеш)

На Московском кинофестивале я не новичок — вот уже в шестой раз вхожу в состав делегации, представляющей на таком крупном и ответственном киносмотре молодую кинематографию Бангладеш.

Здесь, в Москве, где у меня много добрых друзей, я встречаюсь с мастерами кино из разных стран мира, многому учусь у них. И, конечно же,

кино — зеркало жизни. Наш фестиваль еще раз подтвердил это. Я рада была встретиться со своими коллегами из разных стран и почувствовать их волнение за судьбы мира. Оно понятно и нам, работникам искусства кино, и зрителям, для которых мы создаем свои произведения. В этом смысле слова Генерального секретаря ЦК КПСС, Председателя Президиума Верховного Совета СССР товарища Ю. В. Андропова, обращенные к участникам и гостям XIII МКФ, очень точно отразили наши стремления и чаяния: «Пусть же на всех континентах голос кинематографистов звучит за имя торжества правды, добра, социальной справедливости, мира и мира между народами».

главные уроки мастерства я получаю у своих советских коллег. Вот и на этот раз фильмы «Васса», «Юность гения» и «Влюблен по собственному желанию», которые мне довелось увидеть, произвели неизгладимое впечатление высочайшим мастерством и, главное, ясностью и определенностью гражданской позиции авторов.

Мне показалось чрезвычайно актуальным по своему содержанию приветствие Юрия Владимировича Андропова участникам и гостям XIII МКФ. Мы, кинематографисты, должны уложить усилия ради пробуждения в людях добрых чувств, ради предотвращения войны.

ЭРМАНО ПЕННА.
Режиссер (Бразилия)

Рад, что присутствие на Московском фестивале позволило мне вочию познакомиться с вашей страной. С радостью отметил, какое значительное место занимает кинематограф в культурной жизни Советского Союза, какое внимание уделяется ему здесь. И что особенно важно: кинематографисты СССР всей своей творческой деятельностью способствуют укреплению дела мира, устранению угрозы ядерной катастрофы. Одним из самых волнующих впечатлений от фестиваля стало

приветствие советского руководителя Юрия Андропова участникам и гостям московского киносмотра.

Мне очень близок и понятен смысл этого обращения, призывающего к гуманным отношениям между людьми, к торжеству правды и справедливости. Это взволнованный призыв к художникам отдавать все силы борьбе за мир, спокойное и благополучное будущее человечества.

В формировании моих взглядов на искусство большую роль сыграли фильмы Эйзенштейна, Пудовкина, Чухрая. В своих картинах я старюсь поднимать острые проблемы действительности, выступать против насилия и унижения человека человеком. Да, искусство должно пробуждать в людях добрые чувства!

МЕЖДУНАРОДНАЯ ТЕЛЕГРАММА.
ГОСКИНО СССР
ЕРМАШУ Ф. Т.

Покидая гостеприимную великую Страну Советов, мы, выпускники ВГИКа из 24 стран мира, выражаем Вам свою искреннюю благодарность за возможность участия в самом гуманном кинофестивале мира. Убедительная победа фильмов на фестивале, снятых выпускниками ВГИКа, — свидетельство высокого профессионализма и интернационального воспитания, которое может дать только советская киношкола. Заверяю Вас, что и впредь мы будем утверждать

своими фильмами высокие идеалы мира, прогресса, социализма.

Ц. Зандраа, Б. Балжинням (Монголия), Серхио Ольхович, Гонсало Мартинес (Мексика), Хенрик Бельский (Польша), Луис Альфредо Санчес (Колумбия), Фам Нгюк Чьюнг (Вьетнам), Йоко Курода (Япония), Турелай Гештолай, Вали Латифи (Афганистан), Сулейман Сиссе (Мали), Самир Захра (Сирия), Мустафа Мохамед Али (Египет), Фадель Мутлак (ИДР), Самир Нимр, Абу Засиф, Ахдар Шади (ООП), Румей Иквоб (Сомали), Ханан Абу Алекс (Иордания), Саджадиян Сасанпур (Иран), Оршая Секей (Венгрия), Нафаль Фархат (Ливан), Иоанну Янкакис (Кипр), Азиз Аль-Хаддад (Ирак), Авал Узхара (Индонезия), Себастьян Аларкон (ПС Чили), Нарендра Натх (Индия), Саад Ульд (Мавритания).

Традиционная встреча выпускников ВГИКа



ГЛАВНАЯ ЗАДАЧА — СОХРАНЕНИЕ МИРА

Чезаре Дзаваттини — крупнейший итальянский кинодраматург и видный общественный деятель, лауреат Международной премии мира, кавалер ордена Дружбы народов, — входил в жюри конкурса полнометражных художественных фильмов XIII МКФ. Во время фестиваля он обратился с письмом к председателю жюри, народному артисту СССР, лауреату Ленинской и Государственных премий Станиславу Ростоцкому. Ниже мы публикуем строки из этого письма.

...Хочу выразить на бумаге мысль, которая, как мне показалось, нашла у тебя сердечный отклик.

Это идея организации Всемирного съезда кинематографистов (я не назвал бы это фестивалем), посвященного проблеме Мира...

Я полагаю, что все мы разделяем уверенность в том, что эта великая задача потребует от каждого из нас и от всего общества в целом еще больших раздумий, более полного понимания...

Все сильнее возрастает тревога за дальнейшее развитие искусства в мире, где существует военно-техническое противоборство.

К счастью, многие убеждены в том, что решать эту великую задачу нужно с использованием новых ресурсов, новых методов и нового опыта.

В этой связи КИНО со всеми своими новыми и старыми средствами могло бы стать важнейшим организационным и инициативным началом.

Все кино, независимо от его многочисленных жанров, могло бы стать универсальной лабораторией, в которой будут сделаны удивительные, глубокие открытия, но при условии, я повторяю, если каждый осознает, сколь конкретна, грандиозна и трагична эта тема, определяющая нашу действительность.

Но все это, по моему скромному мнению, имеет смысл и может оправдать наши надежды только в том случае, если начать действовать сразу...

Диктую это письмо в Москве...

Что касается существа моей идеи, то теперь оно всем известно, и я надеюсь, что мои коллеги из жюри эту идею смогут усовершенствовать, если они ее разделяют, и распространить.



ЭТА НЕПОКОРНАЯ ДЖЕССИКА

Детские годы Джессика Ланж провела в городке Клокет, что на севере штата Миннесота. Театров, концертных залов и прочих очагов культуры здесь совсем не было, потому, наверное, ее единственной отрадой стал «ящик», телевизор. Старые голливудские мелодрамы бередили душу девочки, романтические герои Ли Гейбла. Оливье волновали воображение. Она непременно должна стать актрисой! В 17 лет Джессика приезжает в Нью-Йорк, устраивает-

ся актрисой в экспериментальный, сугубо авангардистский театр. Здесь она усердно постигает премудрости актерского искусства и в теории и на практике. Меняет сцены, педагогов, «системы». Ищет свое... Когда Джессика Ланж получила роль в фильме «Кинг-Конг», судьба ее казалась многим наперед ясной. Участие в шумно разрекламированном «Фильме ужасов», да еще подкрепленном миллионными киномагнатами Дино де Лаурентиса, казалось, гарантировало ей будущее звезды коммерческого, развлекательного экрана. Играть? Вживаться в роль? Боже упаси! Ничего этого не требовалось. Крупный план: миловидная блондинка визжит от неописуемого страха, сидя на лапе у умиоточившей всю нашу цивилизацию. Словом, статистка. Манекен, старательно изображающий предписанные примитивные эмоции. «Большой бизнес» Америки под стать обезьяноподобной кинокукле бесцеремонно наложил лапу на яркую актерскую индивидуальность. Так и мыкается актриса по задворкам «индустрии развлечений», если бы не острый глаз режиссера Боба Фосса, увидевшего в Джессике идеальную исполнительницу для своего бравурного и одновременно горького фильма «Вся эта суета». Она предстала на экране загадочной, ирреальной, облаченной в прозрачно-дымчатые одеяния, воплощение, быть может, смерти или некоей прекрасной дамы, являющейся герою фильма. Драматического таланта роль явно не требо-

вала, но главное было сделано: с Джессикой перестали ассоциировать блондинку из «Кинг-Конга». «Звездный час» для Джессики Ланж наступил в процессе работы над образом голливудской звезды 30-х годов Фрэнсис Фармер. Фильм «Фрэнсис» режиссера Грэма Киффорда развернул перед зрителем трагическую по сути и звучанию историю, судьбу реальную, строго документированную. С экрана предстали перипетии острого противоборства вольнолюбивой актрисы с миром кинобизнеса. «Сильные мира сего» не брезгают ничем, чтобы растоптать — и физически и морально — бунтарку-актрису. Так, как сыграла человеческую и творческую трагедию Ф. Фармер Джессика Ланж, могла сыграть актриса, переживавшая драму героини как свою личную, ее соратница, единомышленница. То была не единственная картина на московском экране с участием талантливой исполнительницы. Смешной фарс Сиднея Поллака «Милашка» («Тутси») познакомил нас с совсем другой Джессикой, обозначив тем самым внушительный диапазон ее дарования. Скромно и изящно играет она партнершу великопленного Дастина Хоффмана, «девушку его мечты», ведя свою линию на сугубо лирических полтонах. За это фильм Ланж недавно получила первого «Оскара». Ее взлет ошеломителен и потому, что актриса располагалась своим талантом не так, как «программировали» дельцы от кино, а как подсказывает ей ее гражданская совесть. Анатолий ГЛАЗКОВ



ХАРАКТЕР ИСТИННО НАРОДНЫЙ

В центре польского фильма «Героическая пастораль» режиссера Хенрика Бельского — простая и трагичная судьба солдата Юзефа Лопуха. Актёр Виргилиуш Грынь, исполняющий эту роль,

создает убедительный, полнокровный образ человека, по-крестьянски основательного и сильного, с хитрецой и лукавинкой, но и способного в критический момент пожертвовать жизнью ради счастья других. — Для меня, пережившего войну — рассказывал В Грынь — этот фильм особенно близок и дорог. Четырнадцатилетним мальчишкой фашисты угнали меня на работу в Германию. Там, в концлагерях я познакомился с такими же пацанами из России, Украины, Белоруссии. Они мне рассказывали о вашей стране. После освобождения боролся с врагами народной власти. Кстати сказать, от рук таких вот подлых убийц в картине погибает мой герой Юзеф. Как стал актером? Начинал с армейского самодеятельного театра. Понравилось. А потом последовали предложения сниматься в кино. Актерская деятельность в В. Грынь тесно связана с творчеством режиссера Х. Бельского. — Так получились — вспоминал Х. Бельский, — что именно Виргилиуш Грынь я пригласил на главную роль

в моем первом художественном фильме «Пароль». Это было в 1976 году. И яв знаете, он блистательно сыграл простого крестьянского парня, создал сильный, своеобразный характер. Это была, по существу, его первая значительная роль как киноактера. До этого Грынь работал в основном в драматическом театре в Лодзи, а снимался редко. Вынашивая замысел новой картины, я, понятно, «пробирал» главную роль исключительно на Виргилиуша Грыня. Он охотно принял мое предложение, и началась напряженная работа. Не скажу, что с ним всегда бывает легко, он — натура одавленная, сильная, и, конечно, у него всегда есть своя точка зрения на то, как надо играть. Но в результате мы всегда приходили к соглашению. И мне кажется, что актер передал главное — подлинную народность своего персонажа — солдата, вернувшегося с войны. Премия Московского МКФ за лучшее исполнение мужской роли, присужденная Виргилиушу Грыню, — это огромная радость и для меня. Ю. ПАВЛЕНКО

Несмотря на свою молодость, Джуди Давис сегодня — одна из ведущих актрис австралийского театра и кино. Она получила солидную профессиональную подготовку: в 1977 году окончила Австралийский государственный институт драматического искусства. Работала в театральных труппах Аделаиды, Перта, Сиднея. Ей, по всеобщему признанию, удаются сложнейшие драматические роли. Так, критика отмечала удачное исполнение ею роли Эдит Пиаф в сценической постановке, повествующей о жизни великой певицы.

В кинематографе Джуди Давис дебютировала в 1979 году. В фильме режиссера Джиллиан Армстронг «Моя блестящая карьера», экранизации давнего, начала века, автобиографического романа шестнадцатилетней Майлс Франклин, она сыграла Сибиллу, девушку из австралийской «глубинки». Дерзкая, независимая Сибилла бросает вызов обществу и мнению провинциального городка, отказываясь от уготованной ей, девице на выданье, привычной модели семейного счастья. И ради чего? Подумать только, она хочет стать писательницей, мечтает о карьере литератора. Давис так сочно и темпераментно запечатлела бунт своей эмансипированной героини, что дала повод одному критику даже сравнить ее с

ЕЕ БЛЕСТЯЩАЯ КАРЬЕРА



«брыкающимся ребенком». Фильм «Моя блестящая карьера» с успехом прошел по экранам Австралии и других стран мира, самобытная дебютантка, исполнившая главную роль, запомнилась. Эта предельная, подчас избыточная натуральность бросается в глаза при первом же знакомстве с Лу, героиней ленты «Зима наших надежд» режиссера Джона Дуигана. Остывшаяся, одурманенная героиней, разувверившаяся во всем и вся обитательница

сиднейского «дна», вынужденная ради заработка торговать собой. Лу ожесточилась, сердце заковав в броню. Цинизм и напускное равнодушие — щит от насмешливого презрения «чистой публики». Но за броско вульгарным гримом у Лу, как и у незабвенной феллиниевской Кабири, — больная, страдавшаяся от безверия и одиночества душа, душа, страстно взыскующая участия и нежности, доброты и понимания. Как выкарабкается из тягучего кошмара повседневности? Кто поможет бедняжке Лу обрести свет и любовь? Быть может, симпатичный парень Роб, интеллигентный владелец книжной лавки, приятель ее покойной подруги Лизы? Но нет... Одинокая, бредет Лу в зыбком предутреннем мареве. Останавливается у группы пикетчиков-демонстрантов с антивоенными лозунгами. В глазах ее — надежда... Впервые актриса из Австралии стала лауреатом Московского кинофестиваля. В факте присуждения Джуди Давис награды отразилось признание незаурядного таланта актрисы, сумевшей создать запоминающийся образ активного социального звучания, образ человека, чья жизнь исковеркана буржуазным обществом, но нашедшего в себе силы сохранить надежду на лучшее будущее. Олег СУЛЬКИН



ТРИСТА ПЯТЬДЕСЯТ ПЕРВАЯ РОЛЬ

В кадре двое — старик и мальчик. Старик дряхл. Иссохшая прямая фигура, легкие белые волосы, пергаментно-желтое лицо, палка в руках. Дед и внук отправляются ловить рыбу, и для старика эта прогулка окажется последней.

Когда на экране возникает раздольный пейзаж — синева высокого неба, зеленые горы, проросшие кудрявыми дубравами, стремительный поток бегущий в ущелье. — Приотвешиваясь в долине деревушка, которую сейчас покинули эти двое, кажется особенно маленькой и беззащитной. Уже шумят неподалеку от нее бульдозеры, девопито снуют рабочие — строится плотина, деревня подлежит затоплению. Молодежь предвкушает радость перемен, ждет переезда на новые места, а вот людям постарше нелегко смириться с мыслью, что кусок земли, где прожита жизнь, который зовется родиной, никогда больше не будет существовать. Японский фильм, рассказывающий эту историю, так и называется — «Родина». Роль дедушки Маруямы играет Еси Като, старейшина актерского цеха Японии. На его счету сейчас триста пятьдесят ролей. Театральный актер, он пришел в кинематограф в 1948 году и с той поры завоевал у себя в стране широкую популярность. Особую любовь зрителей принесло ему участие в телевизионных сериалах. Теперь в фильме «Родина» он создал образ человека.

который уже во многом утратил четкие представления о реальности, потерял контакты с сыном и невесткой и лишь подолгу разговаривает с умершей женой. Он оживает только со своим маленьким дружком Сантаро, трогательно привязанным к дедушке. В фильме есть школьный учитель, он говорит детям верные и нужные слова о том, что им следует навсегда покинуть деревню, в которой они родились, что папая об отчем крае они должны пронести через всю жизнь. Старый крестьянин, которого играет Еси Като, наверное, не сумел бы найти таких складных и красивых фраз. Но всем своим обликом, взглядом, улыбкой он говорит и внуку и нам о том же. «Очень долго я мечтал снять фильм «Родина», — говорит режиссер Сейдзиро Кояма. — На пути к его реализации стояло много проблем, но с самого начала мне было ясно, что главную роль должен сыграть именно он — Еси Като. По-моему, это замечательный актер. Во время съемок меня поразило, с какой отдачей и энергией работает он, несмотря на свой преклонный возраст». Е. ВЛАДИМИРОВА



На снимках слева: председатель жюри конкурса полнометражных художественных фильмов Станислав Ростоцкий и актриса Ирина Мирошниченко вручают приз актрисе Марте Лорене Перес (Никарагуа); режиссер Сухейль Бен Барка (Марокко); режиссер Глеб Панфилов и актриса Инна Чурикова (СССР)

Председатель жюри конкурса короткометражных фильмов писатель Генрих Боровик

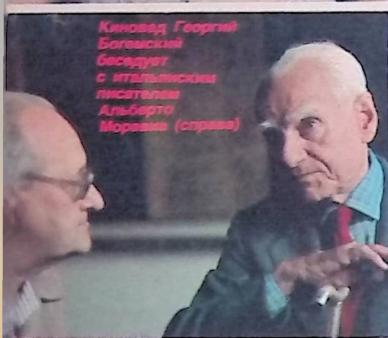


Член «большого» жюри мексиканская актриса Бланка Герра

Слева направо: режиссер Мринал Сен (Индия), секретарь правления Союза кинематографистов СССР Александр Караганов, актер Вячеслав Тихонов, режиссер и сценарист Чезаре Дзаваттини (Италия), актер Николай Крючков



«Мосфильм». Идут съемки. Актриса Наталья Андрейченко в роли Мэри Поппинс



Киновед Георгий Богачев беседует с итальянским писателем Альберто Моравиа (справа)

Продолжение. Начало на стр. 4

член жюри. Теперь представляю свой режиссерский дебют — фильм «Я знаю, что ты знаешь, что я знаю». Надеюсь, что советскому зрителю он будет интересен, — говорит Альберто Сорти. — Проблемы, поднятые в картине, достаточно серьезные для моей страны: разобщенность людей, разобщенность не только в обществе в целом, но даже в семье. И все же говорю о них я самым близким мне языком в кинематографе — языком комедии.

ЭКСКУРСИИ, ВСТРЕЧИ, БЕСЕДЫ

Если из фойе подняться на второй этаж гостиницы «Россия», попадаешь на своеобразный островок фестивальных служб. Каких только надписей, порой неожиданных, не увидишь на дверях по обе стороны бесконечного коридора! «Билеты по СССР», «Детский конкурс», «Бытовое обслуживание», «Цветы»... На этом же эта-

же — владения журналистов. Там находятся комнаты пресс-центра, а также редакции пресс-бюллетеня «Новости», «Спутника кинофестиваля», расположились корреспонденты телевидения, журналов «Советский экран» и «Искусство кино». Нескончаемые споры, беседы, деловитый стрекот пишущих машинок. На открытой веранде все того же второго этажа ярко светят диги, работают телекамеры. На встречу с «Кинопанорамой» пришел знаменитый американский режиссер Стэнли Креймер.

А вот длинная вереница автобусов медленно «отчаливает» от восточного фасада гостиницы. Курс — Выставка достижений народного хозяйства. В Главном павильоне ВДНХ сконцентрировано все, чем живет сегодня наша страна. Огромная, во всю стену, светящаяся карта-схема развития народного хозяйства СССР. Кинематографисты из Нигеры внимательно слушают рассказ экскурсовода Мастера экрана из ФРГ просят снабдить их необходимой справочной литературой на немецком языке. Оживленно беседует с пере-



Крупным планом



Фоторепортаж Николая Гнисяюка и Сергея Иванова



Ленинградские зори



Прогулка по Каналу имени Москвы.
Актриса из Чехословакии
Дангмар Вешкрмова и итальянский
актер Нино Манфредо



▲ Американский актер
Роберт Де Ниро с сыном
на Станкостроительном заводе
имени С. Орджоникидзе ▼



водчиком кампунийский режиссер. Он живо интересуется размахом ирригационных работ в Средней Азии.

Конечно, осмотреть за одну экскурсию всю выставку — целый город, раскинувшийся на площади более 300 гектаров и насчитывающий около 100 тысяч экспонатов, невозможно. И тут на помощь пришли открытие автобуса. Гости фестиваля посетили павильоны «Радио-электроника», «Мека», «Охота и охотничье хозяйство» и другие, прошли так называемой «охотничьей тропой». В клетках и вольерах здесь обитают промысловые животные и птицы: песцы, лисы, фазаны....

В фестивальные дни были и другие интересные экскурсии — на Станкостроительный завод имени С. Орджоникидзе и Электрохимический завод имени Владимира Ильича, в колхоз имени М. Горького, на Московский конный завод.

Но разве можно для кинематографистов побывать в Москве и не посетить киностудии!.. И вот колонна автобусов отправляется на «Мосфильм».

Конечно, приятно выпить горячего чая из огромного самовара прямо на зеленой лужайке, послушать концерт русского фольклорного ансамбля под руководством Д. Покровского, а то и самому принять участие в захватывающей пляске, как, например, кинорежиссер из Судана Гадала Губара. И все же самое привлекающее для детей кино — павильоны.

В декорациях, воспроизводящих небольшой английский городок на рубеже прошлого и нынешнего веков, режиссер Леона Кайнхизе снял один из эпизодов музыкальной картины «Мэри Поппинс» — о веселом, неистовом на виду, душке превращает побитые свои воспитанников. Актриса Наталья Андреевнко танцевала на площади перед кафе и пела песенку о красоте и мужественности своей героини. Разумеется, многие из гостей были рады возможности понаб-

миться с известной актрисой и другими участниками работы над этой лентой. Советские кинематографисты охотно отвечали на вопросы своих зарубежных коллег.

А потом участники фестиваля пригласили в зал, где перед ними выступил генеральный директор «Мосфильма» Н. Т. Сизов. Они увидели фрагменты из фильмов, снятых на студии: «Красные колокола», «Вокзал для двоих», «Тре вожное воскресенье», «Мы из джаза».

Центральная студия документальных фильмов. Каждый ее день насыщен неотложными делами и заданиями. Среди многих картин самых разнообразных тем и жанров здесь сейчас снимается репортаж о XIII Московском международном киносмотре. И дорогих гостей — прогрессивных документалистов мира, приехавших к своим советским коллегам, тоже встретили ярко вспыхнувшие юпитеры — еще одно примечательное событие запечатлено в кинотеатонах фестиваля.

Встречи соратников и единомышленников по искусству соргеты особым вниманием, теплом, им сопутствует атмосфера творчества, товарищеской заиспытательности. Иначе и быть не может. Поиск новых тем, форм, средств выразительности невозможен без профессиональных диалогов, дискуссий, просмотров. Именно поэтому первое слово было отдано экрану. Хозяева показали зарубежным друзьям свои новые работы — «Последний десант» режиссера В. Трошкина, волнующий рассказ о трудных буднях и счастливых праздниках БАМа, и только-только смонтированный его коллегой И. Гелеином острый, волнующий репортаж о бандитском налете бомбардировщиков ЮАР на мирный Мозамбик.

Да, дороги человека с кинокамерой неизменно проходят через «горячие» точки планеты. И сегодня, когда человечеству грозит пожар войны, на долю кинопублицистов ложится особая ответственность. Об этом говорили на встрече английский режиссер С. Форман, документалисты — американка Д. Харви, оператор из НДРГ Д. Мохаммед Али. Л. Махнач (СССР).

Посещение ВГИКа всегда особенно волнует кинематографистов. Для многих из них поездка сюда — возвращение в студенческие годы. Эту встречу, как и многие другие на фестивале, снимал для телевидения Ирак, Иордании и Сирии оператор, стажер ВГИКа Ахмед Фаттах (АРЕ).

— Я учился у Анатолия Голови. — говорит он. — И эти встречи мне особенно дороги. Викиское братство — это гораздо больше, чем просто дружба, общение с коллегами. Это — единая семья, это солидарность, это общие идеалы.

Гости осмотрели учебную студию, художественный факультет института.

— Студентам ВГИКа повезло, — сказал американский режиссер Годфри Реджо. — Они имеют то, что доступно в других странах не каждому профессионалу.

Слушен флаг авторитетного киносмотр. Впереди следующий, XIV Международный кинофестиваль в Москве, который состоится в 1985 году. Наверное, уже сейчас находятся в производстве ленты, которые будут представлены на его экране.

Да здравствует Московский фестиваль!

А. ВАСИЛЬЕВ, Л. АЛЕШИНА, Б. ПИНСКИЙ.
Специальные корреспонденты «СЭ»

ТРОПОЙ КОСМОНАВТОВ

Незабываемая поездка в Звездный городок, к космонавтам. В памяти остались красочные, будто снятые на цветную пленку эпизоды.

...Шумная толпа гостей, окружившая встретивших их космонавтов П. Р. Половнича, А. В. Филиппенко и Ю. В. Малыхина.

...Мы идем с вами по той тропе, по которой проходят космонавты, возвращаясь из полета. — говорит П. Р. Половнич, направляясь с участниками фестиваля к Дому космонавтов.

...На сцене — начальники Центра подготовки космонавтов Г. Т. Береговой. Рассказывает о космических буднях о долгой и кропотливой учебе, о кинофильме в космосе. А потом — вопросы гостей. «Какие изменения в организме человека происходят во время полета?», «Как осуществляется в СССР международное сотрудничество в космосе?», «Берете ли вы в сверхъестественные силы?», «Что думаете о милитаризации космоса?».

Встает продюсер и режиссер из Индии Арабинд Сен Рой.

— Предлагаю совместную работу над фильмом о предстоящем в будущем году полете советских и индийских космонавтов.

ДОМА, В МОСКВЕ

А на обратном пути, как всегда, обмен впечатлениями, общие беседы. И, как всегда, среди иностранных кинозвезд — знакомые всем нам советские кинематографисты, добрые хозяева этого праздника: Ирина Мирошниченко, Софико Чиаурели, Наталия Белохвостикова, Валентина Теличкина. Более сорока представителей советской делегации, так же как и гости, участвуют во всех мероприятиях фестиваля.

— Нам выпала очень приятная, почетная и ответственная задача — встречать своих давних друзей, а также и тех, кто впервые приехал на Московский кинофестиваль, — сказал в интервью корреспонденту «Советского экрана» руководитель советской делегации, первый секретарь правления Союза кинематографистов СССР Л. А. Кулиджанов. — Мы служим как бы связующим звеном между нашими гостями и теми, с кем они встречаются в своих поездках: космонавтами, рабочими, колхозниками, пионерами. И как все добрые хозяева мы должны заботиться о гостях, стараться, чтобы они чувствовали себя в Москве, как дома.

Широким и разнообразным было участие в кинофестивале советских мастеров экрана. Это и фильмы, представленные на конкурсы, и дружеские встречи на трассах культурной программы, и дискуссии. В дни фестиваля в рамках информационного показа демонстрировались новые советские фильмы «Без свидетелей», «Юность гения», «Пацаны», а в то же время в кинотеатрах столицы состоялась премьера музыкальной ленты «Мы из джаза», были организованы тематические показы лучших отечественных картин прошлых лет.

Николай СУМЕНОВ

Война и мир

Многомиллионной аудитории зрителей в нашей стране хорошо известны лучшие кинопроизведения социалистических стран — благодаря прокату, традиционным Неделям зарубежного кино, проводимым на регулярной основе во многих городах СССР. И тем не менее трудно переоценить значение Московского фестиваля, предлагающего редкую возможность охватить сразу широкую панораму кинопроцесса, позволяющего ощутить главные тенденции в развитии кинематографии братских стран.

Начну с двух картин о минувшей войне. Действие польского фильма «Героическая пастораль» (режиссер Х. Бельский) происходит весной 1945 года, когда Советская Армия вместе с польскими солдатами форсировала Одер. Впереди — Берлин, позади — освобожденная земля, на которой начала налаживаться новая жизнь. Получив отпуск, ротный парикмахер и санитар Юзеф Лопух (В. Грынь) отправился домой, к жене, которую не видел несколько лет. Однако ни дома, ни жены ему обрести не суждено: уверенная, что муж погиб, Сабина вышла замуж за его приятеля Виктора, родила сына. Впрочем, авторы не стали эксплуатировать испытанную



«Возвращение из ада» (Румыния)

мелодраматическую ситуацию и умело перевели действие в другой регистр. В освобожденных районах продолжается классовая борьба, реакционное подполье старается помешать утверждению новой власти. На глазах односторонне зверски расправляются с комиссаром, приехавшим распределять землю, а затем ищут коммуниста Виктора, чтобы расправиться с ним. И тогда Юзеф Лопух выходит навстречу бандитам, принимая на себя пули, отлитые для другого, — в решающий момент он сделал свой выбор. Балагур и жизнелюб, искренне верящий в то, что он в огне не горит и в воде не тонет, Юзеф обретает бессмертие, погибая, как солдат.

Один из персонажей югославского фильма «Запах айвы» (режиссер М. Идризович), Мустафа, тоже гибнет в финале картины, но его смерть — это скорее искупление вины, предательства. Во время оккупации Сараева в 1941 году Мустафа (М. Надаревич) стал прислушником немцев, занялся спекуляцией, перепродавая дома и ценности арестованных, наживался на страданиях соотечественников. Лишенный нравственных принципов, этот молодой человек неизбежно скатывался в пропасть, в конечном счете став невольным пособником гибели своей семьи. Война проводит невидимую пограничную линию в

фильмы социалистических стран

ГОСТИ О «ВАССЕ»

Покоряет цельность этой картины, сильный почерк режиссера и, конечно же, мастерское исполнение главной роли Инной Чуриковой. Я рад, что, присутствуя на XIII Московском кинофестивале, смог лично поздравить авторов ленты с победой.

Георгий ГЕОРГИЕВ-ГЕЦ,
актер (Болгария)

«Васса» Г. Панфилова произвела самое сильное впечатление. Здесь ярко раскрываются социальные и нравственные конфликты той эпохи. Неординарный

противоречивый образ Вассы не оставляет равнодушным. Дамы М. Горького в трактовке режиссера звучат злободневно.

Родольфо ИСАГИРРЕ,
критик, директор Национальной
синаматыки (Венесуэла)

Картина пришла мне по душе, над ней веет дух классики. Хочется отметить полное слияние устремлений постановщика и актеров. «Васса» — бесспорное событие фестиваля.

Рута САДУЛЬ, киновед (Франция)

На мой взгляд, «Васса» — лучший фильм, снятый в 80-е годы. Своим настроением он напоминает некоторые картины Бергмана. Да, материал, лежащий в основе, театрален, но прочтение его Г. Панфиловым доказывает, что горьковская драматургия вполне сегодня актуальна и для кино. Образ Вассы, по моему мнению, — один из самых полемических женских образов мирового кино.

Микаэль ФЯНТИ,
критик, журналист (Финляндия)

мусульманском доме старого Хасан-бека: его зять уходит в горы к партизанам, младший сын Ибрагим помогает людям, скрывающимся от фашистов, старший, Мустафа, становится коллаборационистом. Война обнажает понятия добра и зла, расставляет людей по обе стороны баррикад, требуя от каждого четкого выбора позиции. Оба фильма о войне — и польский и югославский — своим пафосом обращены к современнику, ибо нравственные императивы, которые ставятся перед человеком в экстремальных условиях военного времени, не отменяются и в мирные дни.

Проблема выбора пути — одна из главных в социалистическом искусстве: человек отвечает за свои поступки и перед обществом, в котором живет, и перед самим собой. Монгольский фильм «Пять пальцев одной руки» (режиссеры И. Нямгав и Б. Балжинням) снят в жанре семейно-бытовой драмы. Это история о том, как инженер Шагдар, отец пятерых детей, полюбил другую женщину, ушел из дома. После смерти матери роль хозяйки дома взяла на себя старшая дочь. Было нелегко, но в трудную минуту дети сплотились вместе, как пальцы, сжатые в кулак. Однако внешний сюжетный пласт не исчерпывает

«Равновесие» (режиссер Л. Кирков). В этой картине две сюжетные линии. Одна — внешняя — связана со съемкой фильма на берегу моря. Другая — история трех молодых людей, двух женщин и мужчины, каждый из которых испытывает чувство неудовлетворенности своей судьбой, не может найти нравственного равновесия, испытывая разлад и с самим собой и с окружающим миром. Авторы ясно и недвусмысленно осуждают безответственность и бездуховность, склонность к компромиссам, которые мешают личности реализовать себя.

Героиня чехословацкого фильма режиссера Ш. Угера «...На закате коней паса» — личность по-своему артистическая. Это видно по тому, как свободно она держится на сцене, как умеет донести до зрителя образ, который создает. Но Иолана (М. Зимкова) не профессиональная актриса, она с упоением играет на самодеятельной сцене в небольшом словацком селе. Занятия в самодеятельности — это не только потребность быть среди людей и естественная тяга Иоланы к прекрасному — в этом настойчивом желании прожить чужую жизнь угадывается неуверенность, несовершенство ее собственной. Иолана — мать-одиночка, и вот теперь новая беда — ее незамуж-

Берлин в конце XIX — начале XX века и удивенных ироничным и острым взглядом замечательного графика Цилле. Используя условные элементы мюзикла с танцами и куплетами, авторы стремятся сочетать их с реалиями подлинной жизни.

В прошлое возвращает и чехословацкий фильм «Сумасшедший канкан» (режиссер Я. Балик).

История авантюры и обогащения офицера и его денщика после первой мировой войны раскрывает неприглядные стороны буржуазного общества. Социальные мотивы обозначены и в болгарском фильме «Отель «Централь» (режиссер В. Бранев), действие которого разворачивается в маленьком провинциальном городке в 1934 году. В этой картине авторы рассматривают истоки «обыкновенного фашизма», находящего питательную почву в духовном вакууме мелкобуржуазной среды, в обществе, где насилие над личностью становится обыденной формой существования.

Действие венгерского фильма «Виадук» (режиссер Ш. Шимо) переносит зрителя в начало 30-х годов, когда в стране был развязан кровавый террор против подпольщиков-коммунистов.



«Лавина» (Болгария)

содержания ленты. Сжигая за собой мосты и бросая вызов общественному мнению, Шагдар пренебрегает нравственными ценностями, завоевание которых неизбежно оборачивается против него. «Проблемы морально-нравственных исканий, о которых повествует фильм, на наш взгляд, общечеловечны», — говорил на пресс-конференции во время фестиваля режиссер Б. Балжинням, — но нам было важно рассмотреть их применительно к монгольской действительности».

Об ответственности личности перед обществом, перед своими товарищами повествует болгарский фильм «Лавина» (режиссеры Х. Писков и И. Акташева). Это рассказ о группе альпинистов, идущей на восхождение без опытного руководителя (он в последнюю минуту смалодушничал, дезертировал) и попадающей под обвал гигантской лавины. Для авторов фильма лавина — метафора, символ критического момента, когда каждый человек должен выявить свою сущность. К сожалению, в этой интересно задуманной и талантливо снятой картине непомерно большое место заняли натуралистические подробности и детали, на мой взгляд, нарушающие стилистическое единство ленты.

Важные нравственные проблемы приходится решать и героям другого болгарского фильма,



«Запах айвы» (Югославия)

няя дочь Павлина ждет ребенка. Мать не хочет, чтобы дочь повторяла ее судьбу, и всеми правдами и неправдами ищет для дочери мужа... Подкупает неистовое желание героини установить в жизни гармонию, быть и самой счастливой и дать счастье другим.

Кстати сказать, размышляя о вечных, передаваемых от поколения к поколению нравственных ценностях, авторы ряда фильмов призывают современников к язычности и требовательности к самим себе, к своим поступкам, всей своей жизни. Эта мысль пронизывает румынскую картину «В конце пути» (режиссер Д. Тэнэсе), чехословацкую «Матей, почему тебя не любят девушки?» (режиссер М. Мухна) и другие.

Кубинскую картину «Роза ветров» можно назвать фильмом-аллегорией. Это дебют в игровом кино известного чилийского документалиста Патрисия Гусмана. По своему языку и стилю «Роза ветров» продолжает традиции латиноамериканской культуры, с ее тяготением к обобщенным, символическим, притчевым формам. В свою очередь, истоки стилистики фильма кинематографистов ГДР «Цилле и я» (режиссер В. Валлрот) лежат в традициях народных представлений и эпического театра Бертольта Брехта. Авторы фильма выводят на экран людей, населявших



«Пять пальцев одной руки» (Монголия)

Заслуживает внимания обращение к «дефицитным» жанрам, пользующимся неизменным зрительским вниманием, особенно у молодежи. Так, например, кинематографисты ГДР в сотрудничестве с «Монголкино» выпустили фильм «Следопыт» («Проводник», режиссеры К. Петцольд и Ж. Бунтар), успешно продолжающий так называемую «индейскую» серию киностудии ДЕФА. Московский экран познакомил нас с рядом детективов — «Цепь» (ЧССР), «Без улики» (ВНР). Среди них выделяется польская криминальная комедия «Ва-банк» (режиссер Ю. Махульский) с участием популярного актера Яна Махульского.

В коротком обзоре удалось назвать только часть конкурсных и внеконкурсных лент социалистических стран, увиденных на XIII МКФ в Москве. Конечно, в представленной программе были ленты разного художественного достоинства и содержательного наполнения. Кинематографам социалистических стран в своем движении, развитии предстоит решить еще немало проблем, поднимая искусство экрана до уровня задач, которые ставит перед ними время. Однако то, что было показано, свидетельствует о разнообразии тематических и стилистических поисков кинематографистов, об их творческом потенциале, о реальности достижения новых рубежей.

Четкостью мысли и органичностью соединения всех компонентов картина Г. Панфилова выделяется среди других лент фестиваля. Ей по праву присужден Золотой приз.

Цэвээний ЗАНДРАА,
режиссер
(Монголия)

Экранизировать пьесу всегда трудно, но попытку Г. Панфилова можно смело назвать состоявшейся. Фильм держит в напряжении, точно передает атмосферу тревоги и зыбкости, характерную для

царской России начала века. «Вассу Железнову» я несколько раз видел на сцене и потому отчетливо ощущаю самобытность трактовки центрального образа И. Чуриковой.

Стэнли ФОРМАН,
режиссер,
вице-председатель общества
культурных связей с СССР
(Великобритания)

Могу сказать о «Вассе» только хорошее, так как вижу здесь великолепную режиссуру, отличную операторскую ра-

боту, четкий монтаж, блестящую игру актеров.

Мустафа Мохамед АЛИ,
заместитель министра культуры
(Египет)

В фильме затронута вечная тема — трагедия человека, потерявшего в погоне за мнимыми ценностями свои прекрасные качества и талант. Фильм интересен как пример синтеза кино и театра, сопряжение этих двух видов искусств усиливает значение каждого из них. «Васса» представляется мне

одной из самых значительных работ Г. Панфилова. **Кристиан ЗЕНДЕР,**
режиссер, критик (Швейцария)

Замечательный, фантастически интересный фильм! С какой математической точностью разработаны мизансцены, как выверены интонации актеров! Лента Глеба Панфилова — это настоящее кино, кино с большой буквы.

Миленко СТАНКОВИЧ,
заместитель директора студии
«Сентар-Фильм» (Югославия)

ЕДИНСТВО ВЗГЛЯДОВ И ЦЕЛЕЙ

С международного
симпозиума XIII ММКФ:
«Роль киноискусства
в борьбе за гуманизм, мир
и дружбу между народами»

«Сегодняшний тревожный мир знает много нелегких забот, но самая главная, самая неотложная из них — ответить от нашей планеты угрозу ядерного пожара» — эти слова из приветствия Генерального секретаря ЦК КПСС, Председателя Президиума Верховного Совета СССР товарища Юрия Владимировича Андропова участникам и гостям XIII ММКФ стали основной темой международного симпозиума «Роль киноискусства в борьбе за гуманизм, мир, дружбу между народами», проведенного в рамках фестиваля Союзом кинематографистов СССР и ВНИИК Госкино СССР.

Как и в предыдущие годы, в нем приняли участие известные мастера и теоретики кино — представители социалистических, капиталистических и развивающихся стран. Девиз фестиваля объединил людей разных мировоззрений, кинематографистов ма-

ститых и начинающих, представителей художественного, документального, мультипликационного кино.

«В современном тревожном мире особенно возросла роль кинематографа как оружия огромной силы, воздействующего на умы и сердца людей», — сказал, открывая симпозиум, первый секретарь правления Союза кинематографистов СССР Л. А. Кулиджанов. Передовой линией борьбы за мир считают кино знаменитый итальянский писатель Альберто Моравиа, профессор Антонин Броусил (ЧССР), президент ФИПРЕССИ венгерский критик Эрвин Дьердя, главный редактор польского журнала «Кино» Станислав Кушевский, вьетнамский режиссер Ву Фам Ту.

«Только искусство социального прогресса может противостоять разлагающему влиянию порнографических, жестоких, антигуманных ком-

мерческих западных лент», — сказал лауреат фестиваля режиссер марокканского фильма «Амок!» Сухейль Бен Барка.

О благотворном влиянии советского кино говорили Джим Кола Мамаду из Верхней Вольты, Йеу Паннакар — начальник Управления кампунчской кинематографии, писатель и сценарист из Болгарии Любен Станев, другие участники симпозиума.

ГОВОРЯТ УЧАСТНИКИ ДИСКУССИИ

Хуан Антонио БАРДЕМ, режиссер (Испания):

— Какова роль кино в борьбе за мир? Кино — это идеологическое оружие и в то же время — средство взаимопонимания между людьми. Но ни та, ни

Из 250 фильмов, показанных вне конкурса на Московском кинофестивале, около ста приходилось на долю капиталистических стран.

В дни фестиваля экраны столицы были своего рода зеркалом нынешнего состояния не только кинематографии, но и духовной культуры Запада. Но в отличие от обыкновенного зеркала, которое лишь холодно отражает окружающий мир, киноэкран с болью и страстью служил выражением горя и радости, любви и ненависти художника, показывая его место и роль в современной конфликтной и противоречивой действительности.

Первое, что поражает при знакомстве с внеконкурсным показом, это разноплановость и разнообразие самих фильмов — по типу мышления, стилистике, отношению к традиции и к аудито-

ландский фильм «Вкус воды» режиссера О. Зенке — патетическое повествование о том, как сослуживцы конторы социального обеспечения, казалось бы, ставший безразличным к чужим страданиям, наперекор всем окружающим пытается вернуть человеческий облик ненормальной девушке — жертве не столько собственной неполноценности, сколько окружающей нищеты и ненависти.

Маргарете фон Тротта из ФРГ в жестком ключе документальной хроники рассказывает историю двух сестер, избравших разные пути борьбы с господством буржуазии: одна — Марианна — стала террористкой, другая — Юлия — предпочла повседневную политическую работу.

Не принимая терроризма, режиссер и главная героиня — и в этом глубина и историческая точ-



«Свинцовые времена» (ФРГ)

ПРИСТРАСТНОЕ ЗЕРКАЛО

К. РАЗЛГОВ

Заметки о внеконкурсной программе

рии. Рядом с игривой обезьяной — Челентано в «Бинго-Бонго» оказывается деловой французский «Неукротимый», мелодраматический надрыв французской ленты «Я вышла замуж за тень» сменяется холодом исторической реконструкции в шведском «Полете орла», блестящая оперная постановочность «Травитаты» сталкивается с жестким социальным анализом фильма «Отстранен от дел» (Западный Берлин). И даже когда в программе в одном сеансе случайно оказываются ленты, действие которых почти полностью происходит в наши дни на лайнере, совершающем дальний рейс — так в кинотеатре «Мир» столкнулись в последний день фестиваля швейцарский «Трансатлантический рейс» и американский «Стол для пятерых», — принцип социологического анкетирования в первом фильме резко контрастирует со слезоточивым пафосом второго. Разнообразие жанров и стилей соответствуют и различия художественного уровня. Произведения глубокие и безусловно выдающиеся возвышаются редкими вершинами над картинками достойными, но не открывающими новых горизонтов в искусстве, а далее следует более чем обильный поток лент средних, иногда просто плохих, отражающих кризисное состояние буржуазных кинематографий. И без этих последних картин представление московских зрителей о мировом кинопроцессе было бы неполным, и они заслуживают нашего критического внимания, а порой и сочувствия к художнику, которому не удалось преодолеть инерцию потока посредственной продукции.

Трагедия человечности в бесчеловечном мире — такова глубинная тема многих западных картин. Одним из наиболее ярких свидетельств этого специфического взгляда на жизнь явился нидер-

ландский фильм «Вкус воды» режиссера О. Зенке — патетическое повествование о том, как сослуживцы конторы социального обеспечения, казалось бы, ставший безразличным к чужим страданиям, наперекор всем окружающим пытается вернуть человеческий облик ненормальной девушке — жертве не столько собственной неполноценности, сколько окружающей нищеты и ненависти.

Политический анализ той же проблемы значительно менее точен во французской картине Лорана Эйнемана «Надо убить Биргит Хаас». Но и здесь история романтической страсти безработного, которого пытались использовать для убийства неугодной властью террористки, и его потенциальной жертвы содержит в себе призыв к победе искренних человеческих чувств над безжалостными преступными махинациями.

Далеко не всегда авторы фильмов соотносят экранные конфликты с социально-политическими столь последовательно и четко. Призыв к человечности, к сочувствию униженным и оскорбленным в «Парнях из бара» американца Ричарда Доннера сочетается с верностью голливудским канонам — идее человека, который всегда способен «сделать самого себя» и добиться успеха, несмотря ни на что, при этом не теряя человечности.

Попытка реставрации традиций на новой основе видеотехники характеризует картину Фрэнсиса Колпопы «От всего сердца». Сочетание банально-слезоточивого сюжета с изысканным формализмом электронных спецэффектов и на-



«Жара и пыль» (Великобритания — Индия)

другая цель не достигаются, если создатели фильмов забывают о том, что благие идеи увлекают зрителя лишь тогда, когда облечены в интересную, доходчивую, понятную форму. Именно этого я стремился достичь в своем фильме о Георгии Димитрове, сделанном в Болгарии. Его пламенный призыв к консолидации прогрессивных сил против реакции и фашизма, прозвучавший с трибуны VII конгресса Коминтерна, крайне актуален и сегодня. Наш фильм «Предупреждение» в Испании не показали, ссылаясь на то, что он «некоммерческий». Поэтому необходимо не только ставить хорошие фильмы, но и добиваться того, чтобы люди получили возможность их смотреть. Только при соблюдении всех условий кинематограф действительно станет мощным идеологическим оружием и выполнит свою главную задачу: бороться против войны, служить миру и процветанию.

Альберто МОРАВИА, писатель (Италия):

— В искусстве бывает так: смотришь низкопробную комедию, смеешься, а потом выходишь удрученным. И наоборот: смотришь хороший трагедийный фильм, плачешь и выходишь просветленным. Подлинное искусство несовместимо ни с каким неправым делом, и прежде всего с призывом к уничтожению людей. Поэтому хорошие фильмы о войне всегда направлены против нее.

Луисо ЛЬЕРАС, кинематографист (Патриотические силы Сальвадора):

— Я приехал из страны, где идет война. И революционный кинематограф Сальвадора родился из желания помочь народу в его борьбе. Наши фильмы — это голос Фронта национального освобождения имени Фарабундо Марти, и показываются они в районах, контролируемых патриотическими силами. Лучшие из них завоевали награды

Московского и Лейпцигского фестивалей.

Наша освободительная борьба тесно связана с борьбой за мир. США превратили Центральную Америку в очаг международной напряженности, осуществляя в нашей стране самую кровавую в истории Латинской Америки расправу. И борьба за мирную жизнь для нас — это прежде всего борьба против агрессивной внешней политики Соединенных Штатов.

Джон ХАРВИ, режиссер (США):

— Политический кризис в стране обостряется. США усиливают гонку вооружений, разрабатывают новые виды оружия. Так будет и дальше, если зачинщиков этих черных дел никто не остановит. Кино как раз та сила, которая может объединить борцов против войны. Нам необходимо выступить против ядерного шантажа рейгановской администрации. Нашим оружием обязан стать художе-

ственный и документальный кинематограф. С его помощью миф о возможности ограниченной ядерной войны может быть развеян.

Герман ХЕРЛИНГХАУЗ, кинокритик, вице-президент Союза работников кино и телевидения ГДР:

— После окончания второй мировой войны проблема жизни или смерти человечества в ядерной катастрофе впервые встала так остро. Прогрессивный кинематограф показывает сложность прихода людей к борьбе против этой эффективной угрозы. Отвергая пути коммерческого кино, он стремится стать эффективным средством массового общественного воздействия. В отличие от многих фильмов западных стран, показывающих деформацию человека, его картины выводят на экран подлинных героев — простых тружеников планеты. Отсюда, что мы видели их и во многих лентах XIII ММКФ.

меренно архаичными павильонными съемками привело к появлению картины странной, эстетически по-своему интересной, но по существу мертворожденной.

Жизнеспособные реалистические традиции киноскула США развивают две ленты Сиднея Поллака — «Без злого умысла» и «Тутси». В первой, блестяще разыгранной Полом Ньюманом и Салли Филд, обнажается механизм действия буржуазной прессы, распространения фальсификаций, рождающихся (зачастую помимо воли самих журналистов, как о том свидетельствует и название фильма) под видом «правдивой информации». Вторая картина в трагикомическом ключе рассказывает о безработном актере, который достигает успеха, лишь переодевшись женщиной и захватив первенство в очередной «мыльной опере». Актуальность темы «женской эмансипации» и ее крайностей, мастерство Дастина Хоффмана и его партнерши Джессики Ланж, острое диалоговое и едкая сатира на нравы буржуазного «шоу-бизнеса» безусловно способствовали популярности этой картины как в Москве, так и на экранах мира.

Еще более заострен сатирический прицел в картине Мартина Скорсезе «Король комедии», где героя к славе ведет если еще не гора трупов, то уже похищение и нейтрализация популярной «звезды». И здесь актерский поединок Роберта Де Ниро и некогда знаменитого комика Джерри Льюиса (в фильме он играет, по существу, самого себя как «падающую звезду») придает этой гротескной истории правдивость и глубину.

Стилизация, но совсем иного плана, характеризует фильм крупнейшего представителя так называемого «нового западногерманского кино» — рано ушедшего из жизни Райнера Вернера Фассбиндера. Его «Лола» — злая пародия на экономический «бум» в ФРГ в 50-е годы и вызванную им тотальную коррупцию.

Для московской программы характерно, что и драматические произведения, построенные, казалось бы, на сугубо личных коллизиях, были проникнуты глубоким социальным смыслом. Эта особенность в полной мере проявилась, к примеру, в английской ленте Джеймса Бриджеса «Возвращение солдата». В результате контузии на фронтах первой мировой войны ее герой, которого тонко играет Алан Бейтс, страдает частичной потерей памяти. Забыв великоветскую жену, он помнит только юношескую любовь. Нравственная победа Маргарет — женщины из народа (ее играет Гленда Джексон), сохранившей тонкость чувств и способность понимать людей, над холерной Китти (Джули Кристи), имеющей богатство и успех, но обделенной все той же человечностью, — в сердцах зрителей не оставляет сомнений. И вот та же Джули Кристи появляется на экране в совершенно ином окружении — в Индии, где она настойчиво разыскивает следы давней любви ее тети Оливии и индийского принца. Сопоставление колониального периода и современности, двух разных культур — Индии и Европы, разных психологических складов придает картине крупного американского режиссера Джеймса Айвори «Жара и пыль», созданной совместно индийскими и английскими кинематографистами, характер размышления о взаимодействии культур, о людях, открытых общению с представителями иной цивилизации.

Сходная проблематика, но в противоположном ракурсе, с точки зрения одного из наиболее ярких выразителей национального сознания Индии — Махатмы Ганди, — является средоточием его экранной биографии, поставленной англий-

ским режиссером Ричардом Аттенборо и удостоенной нескольких американских премий «Оскар». Глубокое уважение к своему герою, роль которого с блеском и глубиной играет актер Бен Кингсли, причудливо сочетается в этом сильном постановочном фильме с элементами поверхностной экзотики и архаичными неточно расставленными идеологическими акцентами.

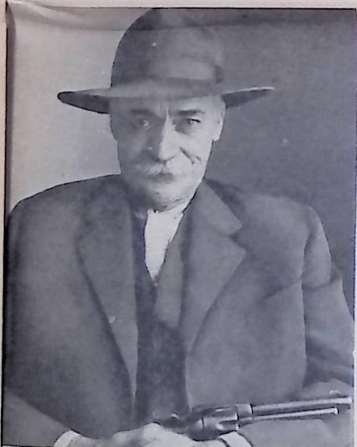
Среди реальных исторических событий особое внимание художников экрана закономерно вызывают темы и сюжеты, связанные с общественной ролью искусства, его облагораживающей, гуманистической миссией. Герой фильма западногерманского режиссера Вернера Херцога «Фитцкаральдо» одержим идеей построить в латиноамериканских джунглях настоящий оперный театр. Характерно, что божественный глосс Энрико Карузо местным жителям более близок и понятен, чем зажиточным буржуа.

Идея жестокой действительности, порождающей жестокое искусство, пронизывает фильм «Хэмметт» — биографию крупнейшего мастера американского «черного романа» Дэшила Хэмметта, поставленную в США другим видным западногерманским режиссером, Вимом Вендерсом. Признаки утонченной — и сюжетной и изобразительной — стилизации под «черный фильм» характеризуют английскую картину «Неподходящая работа для женщины». Ее героиня — частный детектив — излюбленный герой Д. Хэмметта и Хамфри Богарта, распутывая денежные махинации, обнажает гниль под лоском власти имущих.

И еще одна стилизация — канадский «Старый лис» — подлинная история грабителя поездов начала века, ставшего своеобразным народным героем типа Робин Гуда. Режиссер Филип Боррос с огромной и не утраченной еще любовью к кино — это его первый самостоятельный фильм — воспроизводит на экране не только и не столько атмосферу начала века, сколько ностальгическое воспоминание о кинематографе тех далеких лет.

Столкновение кино и истории в судьбах двух кинематографов, путешествовавших по дорогам фашистской Италии в довоенные годы, раскрывает в картине «Волшебный парус» итальянец Джанфранко Минноцци. Выбор героями своего места в социальных конфликтах — один солидаризуется с трудящимися и своими документальными фотографиями предвещает пришествие неореализма — по-своему символизирует и разные пути развития искусства экрана в капиталистическом обществе.

В противовес псевдополитическим картинам, трактующим актуальные проблемы не столько в социальном, сколько в авантюрном ключе (как во французском «Профессионале»), лучшие ленты вневекурсной программы свидетельствовали об укреплении прогрессивных демократических тенденций, протестующих против насилия над человеческой личностью, безжалостной нивелировки и манипуляции массовым сознанием, одним из могущественных орудий которого был и остается буржуазный кинематограф. И хотя мы могли видеть в дни фестивалей и редкие образцы «буржуазной массовой культуры», в фокусе внимания его участников, в том числе кинематографистов капиталистических стран, безусловно, были проблемы гуманизма — главного столбового пути к взаимопониманию между людьми — этой эффективной преграде на пути поджигателей все новых и новых вооруженных конфликтов.



«Старый лис» (Канада)

«Король комедии» (США)

«Бинго-Бонго» (Италия)

На XIII Международном кинофестивале в Москве состоялись ретроспективные показы фильмов, созданных выдающимися мастерами мирового киноискусства: С.Креймером (США), Р.Клеманом (Франция), Р.Капуром (Индия) и Ф.Феллини (Италия). Фильмы, включенные в программы ретроспектив, были поставлены этими художниками в разные годы. Они содержат в себе самый широкий и разнообразный круг размышлений мастеров экрана о жизни современного общества, о путях его дальнейшего развития, о прошлом и будущем человечества. Различны, глубоко индивидуальны

и художественные манеры, в которых они сделаны. Но объединяет их главное — стремление кинематографистов говорить прежде всего о важных и насущных проблемах человеческого бытия, о важных и насущных проблемах человеческого бытия, о важных и насущных проблемах человеческого бытия, о важных и насущных проблемах человеческого бытия. Все четыре ретроспективы были встречены московскими зрителями, гостями и участниками фестиваля с огромным интересом, они стали яркой, незабываемой чертой киносмотра. В этом номере журнала мы рассказываем о творчестве Стэнли Креймера, Раджа Капура и Рене Клемана. Фильмам Федерико Феллини была посвящена статья киноведа О. Бобровой «Мазетро Федерико» («СЗ» № 3, 1983 г.).



Стэнли Креймер в Москве среди зрителей XIII МКФ

НЕ СКЛОНИВШИЙ ГОЛОВЫ

«Мой девятилетний сын учится в школе — это в Калифорнии. В один прекрасный день приносят мне из этой самой школы письмо с вопросом: «Как, по вашему мнению, будет лучше в случае атомного нападения — чтобы ваш сын оставался в школе? Или вы предпочитаете забрать его сразу после объявления тревоги домой?» Когда получаешь письмо вроде этого, то остается только одно: снять такую картину, как «На берегу».

Встреча со Стэнли КРЕЙМЕРОМ, его фильмами





▲ «Нюрнбергский процесс»

▼ «На берегу»



▼ «Благослови зверей и детей»



▼ «Скованные одной цепью»



Так Стэнли Креймер объяснял впоследствии побудительные мотивы создания этого фильма, показанного на торжественном закрытии XIII Международного кинофестиваля в Москве.

О фильме «На берегу», поставленном почти четверть века назад, много написано и в советской и в зарубежной прессе. Даны развернутые оценки игры таких прославленных актеров, как Энтони Перкинс, Грегори Пек, Ава Гарднер, Фред Астер. Они под руководством уже в те годы добившегося мировой известности режиссера создали трагические образы современников, попавших в страшную, неоправимую беду. Им суждено стать свидетелями гибели цивилизации на такой, в сущности, маленькой, но прекрасной планете Земля. Свидетелями и последними представителями человечества, уцелевшими после ядерной войны. Но все они и здесь, на последнем австралийском берегу, обречены на смерть. Неуклонно повышается уровень радиации. Ведь в северном полушарии были взорваны тысячи термоядерных зарядов.

— Их накоплено сейчас столько, что можно многократно уничтожить все живое на Земле, — говорит сегодня, обращаясь к журналистам, Стэнли Креймер.

Он в канун своего семидесятилетия еще раз призвал к здравому смыслу нынешнюю американскую администрацию, к прекращению бессмысленной, чреватой ужасными последствиями гонки ядерно-ракетных вооружений.

Стэнли Креймер выражает уверенность, что этот его призыв будет услышан. Чувство уверенности, как заявляет он, поддерживает созна-

ятий стран мира, были вновь показаны в специальной ретроспективной программе XIII МКФ в Москве.

Стэнли Креймер, в четвертый раз посещающий нашу столицу, нашу страну, выразил глубокую благодарность и признательность за этот акт высокого уважения к его творчеству.

А творчество выдающегося мастера всегда пронизывали и пронизывают прогрессивные идеи гуманизма, неприятия жестокости, насилия, унижения человеческого достоинства.

Случалось слышать злобное шипение в его адрес: опять этот перекрашенный коммунист стряпает очередное блюдо, угодное Кремлю.

Я мог бы назвать пигмеем-злопыхателем, но не хочется тиражировать рядом с именем большого художника имя ничтожества, обреченного на законное забвение.

Нет, Стэнли Креймер никогда не был коммунистом, организационно не состоял ни в одной из левых группировок. Но он всегда был и остается порядочным человеком и честным кинематографистом, сознающим свою ответственность перед людьми, перед современным ему обществом. За это его в самом начале пути травили «охотники за ведьмами» — маккартисты в пресловутой комиссии по расследованию антиамериканской деятельности. Потому-то его талантливые фильмы, проникнутые передовыми демократическими тенденциями, пользуются непреходящим успехом в нашей стране, в США, у зрителей многих других государств.

Честный художник не может пройти мимо таких уродливых явле-

линого художественного и философского обобщения.

Найдутся наверняка и такие, кто за этот фильм обвинит режиссера в безбожии, в попытках подорвать влияние католической церкви, а то и в стремлении выполнить социальный заказ врагов религии. Клеветников и завистников вокруг Стэнли Креймера всегда бывало предостаточно. «Виною» тому его умение очень точно нащупать общественные «болевые точки», создать кинопроизведение, в какое бы время ни разворачивалось его действие, остротворенное, связанное тысячами нитей с днем сегодняшним.

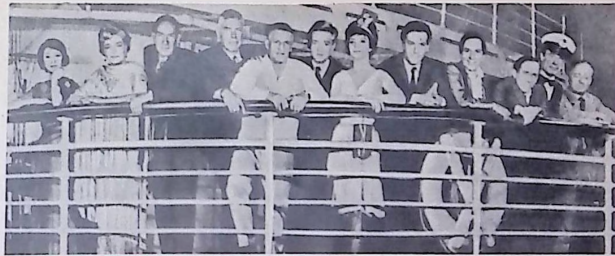
Вот и главного героя «Спотыкающегося бегуна» католического папстера — отца Риворда, помещенного создателями фильма в американскую «глухомань» конца двадцатых, начала тридцатых годов, мучают противоречия официальных религиозных установлений с простыми и вечными человеческими чувствами, с долгом перед близкими, которых положено возлюбить, как самое себя. А ученый богослов, мягкий и гуманный человек, отец Риворд убеждается на собственном чрезвычайно трагическом опыте, что слепая вера, фанатичное следование религиозным догмам неизбежно оборачивается изверством, приводит к возрождению в душе человека всего самого косного, темного, зверского.

Эта тема по-толстовски мощно и страстно прозвучала в последнем фильме Стэнли Креймера, «Спотыкающийся бегун».

А на очереди новая работа. На сей раз она, по словам режиссера, позволит нам связать нынешнее время с серединой шестидесятых



▲ «Этот безумный, безумный, безумный, безумный мир»



«Корабль дураков»

ние того, что его собственные сограждане все активнее выступают против политики «с позиции силы», за сокращение и последующее уничтожение смертоносных ядерных арсеналов.

Стэнли Креймер полагает, что сейчас половина всего населения Соединенных Штатов Америки остро ощущает все значение слов на транспаранте, появившемся в финале фильма «На берегу»:

«Еще есть время, брат...»

— У героев той моей давнишней картины его уже не осталось. У нас оно еще есть, — говорит, четко чеканя каждое слово, замечательный американский кинематографист.

Его проникнутые мужественным оптимизмом талантливые кинопроизведения, обошедшие экраны де-

ний современности, как пережитки средневекового мракобесия, как фашизм, расизм, социальная несправедливость. И Стэнли Креймер создает всемирно известные кинополотна «Корабль дураков», «Нюрнбергский процесс», «Не склонившие головы» (в нашем прокате «Скованные одной цепью»), «Угадай, кто придет к обеду», «Пожнешь бурю», «Этот безумный, безумный, безумный мир», «Благослови зверей и детей», другие ленты.

И в самой последней своей работе, «Спотыкающийся бегун», обращаясь вроде бы к локальному конфликту, к сюжету, казалось бы, в наши дни не имеющему универсального звучания, Стэнли Креймер вновь поднимается до высот под-

гов. Именно для тех лет в США был характерен подъем движения против «грязной войны» во Вьетнаме. Стэнли Креймер намеревается проследить судьбы активистов антивоенного движения, рассказать о том, чем заняты они сейчас, двадцать лет спустя, в сегодняшней Америке.

О своих планах мастер рассказывает уверенно, в обычной для него ясной и лаконичной манере. Гордо поднятая поседевшая голова, ясный, пронзительный взгляд светлых глаз, спокойная уверенность в собственных силах — таким надолго останется в памяти почетный гость XIII Международного фестиваля, талантливый американский кинорежиссер Стэнли Креймер.

Феликс АНДРЕЕВ



МУЗА РЕНЕ КЛЕМАНА

Зтому человеку недавно исполнилось 70, но он по-прежнему полон идей и готов задать собеседнику самый неожиданный вопрос. Когда я дозволился до его квартиры в Монте-Карло, мне ответили, что у него заседание: Рене Клеман обсуждал проекты новых фильмов.

«Битва на рельсах», «Запрещенные игры», «Жервеза», «Дом под деревьями», «День и час», «У стен Малапаги», «Горит ли Париж?» — на счету режиссера 17 художественных и 30 документальных лент. В каждом произведении, говорит режиссер, есть какая-то часть, отрывок, которые особенно дороги, где удалось выразить то, что хотелось. Иногда ему даже кажется, что целый фильм снят ради вот такого «главного» куса...

По образованию архитектор, он строит не дома — кинофильмы. А начинал с мультипликации, с

операторской работы. В 1937 году он едет оператором вместе с французским ученым-этнографом снимать скрытой камерой документальную ленту «Прешенная Аравия». Среди клемановских короткометражек должен был быть и учебный фильм о тактике танкового боя. Мобилизованный в армию в начавшейся мировой войны, он получает задание снять такой фильм по настоянию де Голля...

Подготовка документалиста помогла Рене Клеману, когда он занялся игровым художественным кино. Сюжет о жизни железнодорожников лег в основу художественного фильма «Битва на рельсах», первого большого кинопроизведения о движении Сопротивления. Постановщик не только воспользовался помощью патриотов для реставрации в ленте реальных событий и привлек непрофессиональных исполнителей, но и приблизился к подлинности в восприятии среды и событий. «Битва на рельсах» стала не только своеобразной трилогией о войне, которую режиссер продолжил лентами «Проклятые» и «Запрещенные игры».

О его работе говорили: в ней видится удивительное сочетание стиля итальянского неореализма с достижениями, что привнесли в искусство экранизации мастера из Советской России. Чт Клеману в самом деле близка Италия, где он не снимал свои картины. Что же касается советских фильмов, он рассказывает, что смотрел, изучал издало до войны, как правило, на частных квартирах, ибо большинство наших лент тогда не появилось на французских экранах.

«О, с каким интересом, удовольствием, даже благоговением ходили на них!» — вспоминает он.

почта актера

*to the readers of Soviet Screen
Best wish
Rajad Kapur
18.7.88
Moscow*

«Читателям «Советского экрана» с наилучшими пожеланиями»

Радж КАПУР

За последние несколько лет Раджа Капура с сыновьями в Москве было почти невозможно. Поэтому и это интервью получилось «с продолжениями». Менялись и места встречи — то гостиница «Россия», палуба теплохода, то музыкальная гостиная, был разговор и по дороге к Центральному концертному залу, куда индийская делегация спешила на просмотр конкурсных фильмов XIII международного кинофестиваля.

Надо было видеть очереди мечтающих попасть на ретроспективу картин Р. Капура и объемистые пачки писем с вопросами к индийским актерам, приходящие в редакцию «Советского экрана»!

На основе вопросов читателей мы и проводили это экспресс-интервью с Капурами: Раджем — актером и режиссером, которого называют «индийским Чарлином», и его сыновьями — Рандиром, Риши и Радживом.

Итак, слово главе семейства...

— Мистер Капура, ваши ленты «Бродяга», «Господин 420», «Под покровом ночи», «Сангам» и другие любимы зрителями разных поколений. А какой из фильмов более дорог вам самому? (П. Савельева, Архангельская обл., С. Сазонов, Днепрпетровск)

— Для художника трудно выделить какое-то одно произведение. Фильмов у меня около семидесяти, почти все пользовались успехом, по крайней мере у нас на родине, в каждый вложен кусочек сердца. А то, чему отдашь любовь и силы, всегда дорого. Наверное, трудно ответить на вопрос, кого из собственных детей ты любишь больше. С фильмами точно так же.

— Как вы определяете основную тему своего творчества? (Н. Говорова, Брянск, студенты МГУ, Москва)

— В разные периоды жизни я разрабатывал и образ «маленького человека», интересовали меня и житейские истории и социальные драмы. Но каждый раз, выбирая сюжет, я опираюсь на свои критерии жизненных ценностей, стараюсь выразить презрение к жадности, самовлюбленности, нежеланию сострадать, сочувствовать ближнему. И, пожалуй, в каждой ленте ратую за справедливость, правду, за высокую, чистую любовь.

— Когда вы впервые снялись в кино, и увидели ли вы нас в новых фильмах? (Ученики 9-й «В» класса, Нарва, О. Зайцева, Богородск)

ЗДРАВСТВУЙТЕ МЫ КАПУРЫ

— Первый раз я встал перед камерой в 1946 году, сыграв сразу ведущую роль в картине «Цветок лотоса». Актерская профессия составляет суть моей жизни, она часть меня самого и порвать с ней, разумеется, не собираюсь. Одну из моих последних актерских работ советские зрители могут увидеть в фильме «Абдулла», там я играю доброго старика, жителя пустыни.

— Как вы понимаете счастье? (З. Кудряшова, Москва)

— Счастье — когда окружающие любят и уважают тебя, и значит, не зря ты прожил свою жизнь, когда твои работы оценивают по достоинству, понимая, что ты хотел сказать, когда дома у тебя все здорово и счастливы, когда в мире царит мир.

— Ваши творческие планы? (Алевтина и Татьяна, Крым, семья Лифантьевых, Йошкар-Ола)

— Вернувшись из Москвы, возобновлю прерванную работу над фильмом с рабочим пока названием «Человек, воды Ганга мутнеют!». Это фильм-предостережение о распаде личности в буржуазном обществе, о потере нравственных ориентиров. Индийцы считали, что вода Ганга может смыть с человека грехи, но сейчас кругом столько несправедливости, так упал уровень морали, что и Ганг как бы утратил прежнюю силу. Главную героиню — девочку — зовут Ганг, и в этом заложена аллегория, определенный символ. Душа человека не должна уставать бороться со злом — вот что я намерен утверждать этой лентой.

— Что бы вы могли пожелать молодежи, решившей посвятить себя искусству? (Т. Портнова, Краснодар, Г. Желандинова, Самарканд)

— Не жалей сил для дела совершенствования рода человеческого. Надо знать, ради чего ты идешь в искусство, что нового хочешь поведать миру, и быть убежденным в этом до конца, несмотря на трудности и неудачи, которые неизбежны. Люди искусства, на мой взгляд, должны стремиться к совершенствованию мира. Их надо — бороться с социальными пороками. Велика их ответственность перед своим народом, перед обществом. В их руках могучее оружие. Желаю молодым творческим дерзаний в поисках главного, существенного, что они хотят сказать людям.

А теперь вопросы Капурам-сыновьям!

— Сколько у каждого из вас на счету фильмов? (Д. Мамедова, Дашкесан, Светлана П., Каунас)

Рандир. Как актер снялся в двадцати фильмах, главным образом комедиях. Два фильма поставил самостоятельно.

Риши. У меня сорок два фильма. На картине «Бобби» и «Любовный недуг» был помощником режиссера у отца.

Раджив. Я самый молодой в семье, мне 21 год, снимаясь четыре года. И пока в моем акте только девять картин. Как и братья, часто помогал в качестве ассистента.

— Ваш любимый жанр, самая удачная роль? (А. Барабанова, Комсомольск-на-Амуре, с. Рыжков, Ленинградская обл.)

Рандир. Мой жанр — комедия, хотя в жизни, ну, совсем не похож на своих комических героев наших актеров самим оценивать свои роли не приходится — любимыми становятся те, что имеют успех у публики.

Риши. В основном приходится работать в лирических драмах, и я не страдаю от этого. В Индии жесткая система актерского аншла, потому никому не дано от моей фактуры лирического героя. Но люблю эти светлые, добрые ленты. Роль? Раз в стране популярны «Мстителю», «Бобби», «Бовь — это жизнь», «Ритмы песен», значит, и восторге от этих работ.

Раджив. Многие видят во мне отражение отца, мне действительно близки по духу его роли, построенные на переплетении социальных проблем, шлем лирики и ироничных нот. Наиболее памятная недавняя работа в фильме «Небеса», где сыграл сразу две роли.

— В чем, на ваш взгляд, суть актерской профессии? (Алена С., Житомирская обл., О. И. Л. Макеева, Петропавловск-Камчатский)

Рандир. Это трудная работа, надо отдать много энергии, чтобы добиться цели. Настоящий артист должен стремиться не «показать себя», а проследить за зрителем, создавать образы жизненные, узнаваемые, близкие людям в зрительном зале.

Риши. Актерским делом я занимаюсь с трехлетнего возраста (еще дед — известный театральный актер Притхвирадх Капура — занимал меня в своих постановках) и понял, что этой профессии надо отдавать с целиком. Актер должен постоянно наблюдать жизнь, впитывать впечатления, чтобы воссоздавать на экране реальность, а не абстрактные символы.

вая «Праздник святого Йоргана», «Октябрь», «Чапаяв»... Будущий режиссер мечтал освоить такую же выразительность стиля, силу мысли, гражданский пафос. В разговоре он с восторгом упоминает также «Великую Отечественную», созданную под руководством Романа Кармена.

Характер всегда звал Клемана на творческий поиск. Совершенства? Не только, уточняет он. — Поиск самого себя, точнее: полного выражения собственного отношения к сложному миру, в котором за добро и правду надо бороться. Свой последний фильм Клеман выпустил в 1976 году. С тех пор все время работал, выдвинул не менее пяти разных творческих проектов, но им так и не суждено было осуществиться. Каждый требовал немалых средств, приходилось идти на поклон к тем в разных странах Западной Европы и за океаном, кто ими располагает. Но поддержку так и не получил.

Видимо, не было в этих замыслах безусловной коммерческой гарантии, а без нее не заставишь расширяться продюсеров, порожденных обществом потребления и это общество обслуживающих.

Но Рене Клеман верит в свою удачу. Кинематограф, грустно улыбается он, нынче так велик и сложен, что требуется целая серия удач. Бывает, все получается, когда успеха уже и не ждешь. А уж с неудачей, если тебе не отказал той ум и не изменило здоровье.

О здоровье. Врачи запретили Клеману летать на самолетах, и поезд он сейчас переносит плохо. Потому что и довелось приехать в Москву на кинофестиваль. Он гордится тем, что в Москве состоялась ретроспектива его фильмов. Он много раз был в СССР, в том числе и как член жюри Московского международного кинофе-

стивала. Хорошо помнит, как привозил «Горит ли Париж?» и какой великолепный прием ему был устроен. Такое не забывается.

«Что я хотел бы снять, так это прекрасную историю любви», — говорит режиссер. — Кино — колоссальная трибуна. И очень важно, чтобы с этой трибуны читали лекции не о насилии и сексе, а о проблемах мира и общения людей. Может, это романтика и идеализм, но я не понимаю, как можно радоваться уничтожению человека человеком и смаковать это».

По словам Клемана, механизм такого кинематографа известен. Лично он всегда выступал против коммерческого духа в искусстве, против снижения нравственных требований.

Готовясь к интервью, я просмотрел статьи, посвященные Клеману. Их авторы единодушно отмечают новаторский дух режиссера: умение, скажем, своеобразно вводить будущее в повествование о настоящем, настоящее — в сюжет о прошлом, роль в структуре его фильмов фигуры рассказчика, опыт создания антигероя с помощью актера, до того известного в качестве представителя «положительного» ампула, например, Жерара Филипа. Созданное мастером изучается. Признание верность его девизу — всегда искать новый подход, констатируется его неизменная горечь по поводу морального разложения окружающего художника мира, засилья в нем зла и глупости. Зрители знают и критики свидетельствуют, что «ни один из его фильмов не оставляет равнодушным».

Александр ИГНАТОВ,
Соб. корр. АПН —

специально для «Советского экрана»

Париж



Раджив. Традиции артистической семьи, «домашняя школа» — очень помогли мне, от отца и дяди — Шаши Капура — я узнал азы актерской техники. Но одной техники мало, актер должен уметь вдохновляться, быть эмоциональным, равнодушным к своему делу.

— Какой фильм отца вы любите больше всего? (И. Федурлова, Игарка, Е. Сармысова, г. Чарджоу)

Рандир. «Бобби».

Риши. «Бродяга».

Раджив. «Мое имя — клоун».

— Есть ли у вас дети и хотите ли вы, чтобы они пошли по вашему стопам? (Р. Вайстере, Первоуральск, Л. Сметанина, Свердловская обл.)

Рандир. Пока не знаю, кто выберет в жизни две мои маленькие дочки. Если их привлечет кино, я возражать не буду.

Риши. У меня девятилетний сын и дочь двух с половиной лет. Мне будет приятно, если мои дети захотят посвятить себя киноискусству. Лично для себя я другой дороги не представляю.

Раджив. У меня детей еще нет, я не женат. Но мои дети обязательно продолжат традицию династии Капуров.

— Какие качества цените в людях? (С. Белякова, г. Камышин, группа 10-го класса, г. Джетыгара)

Рандир. Честность, добрые намерения.

Риши. Искренность, умение быть самим собой.

Раджив. Умение дружить, держать свое слово.

— Какие человеческие недостатки у вас вызывают неприязнь? (О. Лисовенко, г. Череповец, Е. и В. Закировы, Москва)

Рандир. Непорядочность, жестокость.

Риши. Поверхность, заносчивость.

Раджив. Лицемерие, назойливость.

— Занимаетесь ли вы спортом? (Г. Федосенко, г. Кохтла-Ярве, Н. Сивых, Омск)

Рандир. Сейчас нет, а в школе очень любил хоккей на траве.

Риши. Играю в крикет, бильярд, занимался футболом и хоккеем.

Раджив. Люблю плавание, бег, бадминтон.

— Какой музыки отдаете предпочтение? (И. Панченко, Черниговская обл.)

Рандир. Той, где четко выражена мелодия. Музыка

Слева направо: Риши Капур, Рандир Капур, Раджив Капур с письмами читателей «Советского экрана»

помогает мне приободриться, войти в творческое состояние.

Риши. Не люблю шумную музыку и нервные ритмы. Музыка должна ласкать слух, к этому приучила нас сестра, которая окончила консерваторию и часто играет дома на фортепьяно. На экране мне приходилось бывать в роли певцов, но сам я, увы, не пою.

Раджив. А я обожаю всякую музыку. Меня в семье называют танцором, потому что, как только слышу ритмичные звуки, начинаю «приплясывать». В кино я тоже пою и танцую.

— Ваш любимый советский фильм? (Сестры Козоровы, Тула, Л. Алексеева, Караганда)

Рандир. Фильмы Сергея Бондарчука и «Дерево Джамал» Ходжакули Нарлиева.

Риши. «Война и мир», грандиозный и в то же время очень личный фильм.

Раджив. «Москва слезам не верит», видел эту ленту на Неделе советского кино в Дели.

— И последний вопрос — о чем вы мечтаете? (девочки 10 «А» класса, г. Ульяновск, Г. и Л. Балтрушайтите, Литва)

Рандир. Хочу, чтобы удался фильм, над которым я сейчас работаю. Это будет история двух детей-сирот, которые решили найти себе родителей и «усыновили» двух взрослых одиноких людей. Здесь много и смешного и грустного.

Риши. Мечтаю заняться режиссурой, делать фильмы для своего поколения и о нем. Чтобы эти ленты помогали исправлять недостатки, давали бы людям силы и оптимизм.

Раджив. Мечтаю добиться такого же уважения в Советском Союзе, каким пользуется отец! Хочется поддерживать самые лучшие отношения с вашей страной, сделать все возможное, чтобы отношение зрителей к семье Капуров и в будущем оставалось таким же теплым. Спасибо! (Это слово по-русски произносил на прощание каждый из Капуров.)

Мы ждем ваших новых фильмов, индийские друзья!

Интервью вел П. ЧЕРНЯЕВ

Надым — «Советский экран»

ДРУЖБА КРЕПНЕТ

Уже минуло два года, как был заключен договор о сотрудничестве между коллективами ордена Трудового Красного Знамени производственного объединения «Надымгазпром» и редакции журнала «Советский экран». На надымской земле побывали известные мастера кино — П. Глебов, З. Кирикено, И. Саввина, Ж. Прохоренко, В. Теличкина, Н. Гвоздикова, Л. Нильская, Е. Герасимов, Б. Дурманов, Е. Жариков, Г. Корольков, кинокритики, журналисты.

С успехом прошли премьеры фильмов «Мужики!..», «Не могу сказать «прощай», «Частная жизнь», «Все наоборот», «Формула света». Упрочившиеся связи с киноискусством заметно оживили культурную жизнь нашего города и явились новым стимулом для роста производственных успехов газозаводов.

Объединение «Надымгазпром», недавно отметившее свое десятилетие, продолжает оставаться в авангарде газовой индустрии страны. В преддверии знаменитых дней наш коллектив успешно завершил почетную вахту по добыче первого триллиона ямалского газа. Среди передовиков — операторы по добыче газа лауреаты премии Ленинского комсомола Николай Межевич, Владимир Кравцов, слесарь-ремонтник Николай Кеда.

Сегодня перед объединением стоит сложная задача — начать разработку нового гиганта Севера, Ямбургского месторождения, где уже бурение на первая эксплуатационная скважина, идет строительство жилья и производственных объектов. Не менее сложно вести опытно-промышленные работы по освоению Ново-Портковского месторождения. Хотелось бы вновь подчеркнуть, что все мы на собственном опыте прекрасно ощутили прямую связь производственных успехов надымчан с уровнем их культурной жизни.

По приглашению журнала представители «Надымгазпрома» побывали в прошлом году на VII Международном кинофестивале стран Азии, Африки и Латинской Америки в Ташкенте. Ныне я стал гостем XIII Московского международного фестиваля. Посмотрев множество кинолент, могу с уверенностью утверждать, что представленные произведения в полной мере отвечали девизу «За гуманизм киноискусства, за мир и дружбу между народами!».

Надымчане любят кино. И как искусство и как средство общения с людьми творческими, постоянно приезжающими к нам на Север. Это настраивает на хороший лад и когда отдыхаешь и когда работаешь.

В речи Генерального секретаря ЦК КПСС, Председателя Президиума Верховного Совета СССР Ю. В. Андропова на июньском (1983 года) Пленуме ЦК КПСС говорилось:

«Все мы знаем, как по мере роста культурного уровня народа усиливается воздействие искусства на умы людей. Тем самым растут и возможности его активного вмешательства в общественную жизнь. А значит, в огромной мере увеличивается ответственность деятелей искусства за то, чтобы находясь в их руках мощное оружие служило делу народа, делу коммунизма». Надымчане ждут встреч с кинематографистами, новых кинопремьер.

Напомним, что по инициативе «Советского экрана» у нас уже собрана большая кинопилотека — более 300 книг видных советских киноведов, кинокритиков, литераторов, каждая из них имеет дарственную надпись автора.

Культурная жизнь в Надыме в последние годы заметно оживилась: действует народный университет культуры «Кино и время», радует нас театральный коллектив, скоро завершится строительство нового кинотеатра и спортивного комплекса. Молодежь (а средний возраст наших жителей — 25 лет) имеет возможность проявить себя и в работе, и в искусстве, и в спорте.

Словом, кипит жизнь в Надыме. И не без помощи, как мы говорим, Большой земли.

Виктор ТУГОЛУКОВ.
Главный геолог производственного объединения «Надымгазпром», заслуженный работник нефтяной и газовой промышленности РСФСР

Что такое кинорынок Московского фестиваля? Это взаимовыгодные коммерческие сделки по купле-продаже фильмов. Это и возможность его участникам ближе узнать друг друга в атмосфере доверия и взаимопонимания людей, представляющих прогрессивное киноискусство различных стран мира.

Кинорынок-83 разместился в Центре международной торговли В/О «Совинцентр». Гостей из-за рубежа прибыло почти в два раза больше, чем ожидалось, — более 250 представителей кино- и телекомпаний из 77 стран.

Традиционные участники кинорынка — внешнеторговые киноорганизации социалистических стран. Со многими из них у «Совэкспортфильма» долгосрочные соглашения о сотрудничестве.

— Каждый год, — рассказал Антонио Родригес, начальник управления международного проката ИКАИК (Куба), — мы приобретаем для показа на Кубе более двадцати советских картин. Они пользуются неизменным успехом у нашего зрителя, позволяют знакомиться с образом жизни и мышления советских людей, с богатой культурой и историей вашей страны.

Как рассказал директор «Монголфильма» Т. Сарантуяа, ежегодно для проката в МНР приобретается более 50 советских фильмов. Не исключение и год нынешний.

Неизменно высока коммерческая активность киноорганизаций и других братских стран социализма. Она отражает живой, расширяющийся



ИНТЕРЕС ВЗАИМНЫЙ

интерес к многонациональному киноискусству Советского Союза. Так, начиная с января 1983 года закуплено для показа в кинотеатрах и по телевидению ГДР—26, Венгрии—33, Болгарии—53 советских фильма.

Растущий авторитет советского кино в мире подтвердил и выросший масштаб сделок с крупнейшими кинокомпаниями Запада.

Кроме того, установлены деловые контакты с рядом зарубежных фирм: американскими «Интернейшнл Филм Иксчейндж» и «Файв Стар Интернейшнл Филм», итальянской «Чидифи», бельгийской «Прогресс фильм», английскими «Рэнк», «И-Эм-Ай» и «Контемпорари», бразильской «Эмбрафильме», австралийской «Куолити филмз», испанской «Альба фильм», японской «Тоэй» и многими другими. Впервые участвовали в кинорынке представители американских компаний «Коламбия Пикчерз», «Санди Франк Продакшн» и «Синема Дивелопмент», бразильской «Ренато Арагао», австралийской «Пэн Америкэн», а также фирмы и компании из других стран мира. Кроме кинопрокатных и кинопроизводящих фирм, были также, как, скажем, французская «СГПС», занимающаяся дублированием и ежегодно переводящая на французский, английский и испанский языки более 20 советских фильмов.

Говорит Ж. Бурдариас, один из директоров фирмы «Фильм Космос» (Франция):

— Как частый гость московских кинофестивалей, я могу сказать, что кинорынок-83 отличается от предыдущих более широким представительством и лучшей организацией.

А вот мнение Ханьи Элли Келсон, представителя канадской национальной киноорганизации:

— В Москве были созданы прекрасные условия для плодотворной работы.

За две недели в «Совинцентре» было показано более пятисот полнометражных и более семисот короткометражных и мультипликационных фильмов. Вызвали, например, интерес ленты, созданные С. Бондарчуком, Н. Михалковым, Э. Рязановым, Г. Панфиловым и Э. Лотяну. Фильмы «Красные колокола», «Анна Павлова», «Без свидетелей», «Васса», «Вокзал для двоих». Привлекла внимание гостей работа молодого режиссера К. Шахназарова «Мы из джаза».

Большой интерес проявили кинопрокатчики зарубежных стран к произведениям классиков советского кинематографа — С. Эйзенштейна, В. Пудовкина, да вообще работы прошлых лет пользовались большой популярностью. Так, японская фирма «Интернейшнл синема лайбронри», помимо «Пяти вечеров», «Без свидетелей» и «Мужского воспитания», купила фильмы «Путевка в жизнь» и «Летят журавли».

Нигерийская фирма «Вест Эфрикан Пикчерз» купила такие советские фильмы, как «Ищи ветра», «Хлеб, золото, наган», «Падение Кондора», и другие. Две картины приобрела индийская фирма «Кунал Оверсиз», три — суринамская компания «Голдлайн Синема», пять — государственная киноорганизация Шри Ланки, шесть — нигерийская фирма «Бендель тизтр драматист», целую программу — канадская фирма «Кесов».

Особенно привлекает гуманистическая направленность советского кино, — говорит Малати Т. Вайдия, директор национальной кинокорпорации Индии. — Благодаря этому аудитория ваших фильмов необычайно широка. А такие картины, как, скажем, «26 дней из жизни Достоевского», позволяют лучше осознать величие русской духовной культуры.

— Только за последние два года, — рассказывает Эдмунд Эллисон, директор фирмы «Куолити филмз» (Австралия), — по австралийскому телевидению было показано 40 советских фильмов. На мой взгляд, это — красноречивое свидетельство растущего интереса к советскому кинематографу. Ваше киноискусство служит делу взаимопонимания народов, а его язык — это язык мира и дружбы.

— В этом году нами куплено более двухсот советских фильмов, — сказал президент американской компании «Файв Стар Интернейшнл Инк» Роберт Эстес. — Среди них художественные, документальные, научно-популярные, мультипликационные. Однако показать советские фильмы в США не так просто. Есть барьеры политического характера, сильны еще стереотипы предубежденности у кинопрокатчиков и руководителей телекомпаний. Это надо преодолевать. У нашей фирмы есть контракт с компанией «Уолт Дисней Продакшнз» на показ советских мультфильмов по ее телевизионному каналу. Замечу, что эта фирма иностранной мультипликации, как правило, не покупает. Однако профессиональный уровень советских мультфильмов настолько высок и они так прилипли по душе нашему зрителю, что, как видите, из правила сделано исключение.

Деловые переговоры осуществлялись в атмосфере взаимного интереса. «Совэкспортфильм», в свою очередь, рассмотрел предложения зарубежных фирм на приобретение фильмов для проката в СССР. Среди них прежде всего все конкурсные фильмы со стран, а также США, Испании, Франции, Индии, Италии, Мексики и ряда других стран.

Кинорынок Московского фестиваля подтвердил девиз фестиваля: киноомен служит делу мира и укреплению взаимного доверия.

Григорий МАЙЗУС

НАШ ПРИЗ

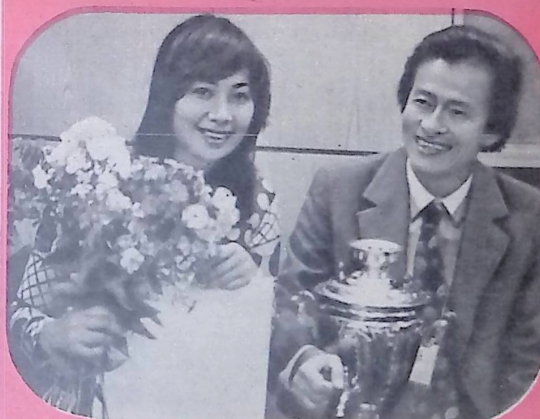
Приз и диплом журнала «Советский экран» на XIII Московском международном кинофестивале присуждены вьетнамской картине «В краю песков и ветров». В один из завершающих фестивальных дней в редакцию приехали постановщик этой ленты Нгуен Хюй Тхань, актриса Фуонг Тхи Тхань и кинодраматург аспирант сценарного факультета ВГИКа Чан Тхань Хьеп.

Коллектив журнала горячо поздравил вьетнамских кинематографистов с наградой, в редакции состоялась теплая, дружественная беседа с представителями киноискусства братской социалистической страны.

— Каждому художнику важно понимание зрителей. И я рад, что удостоен высокой награды вашего уважаемого издания, — сказал режиссер Нгуен Хюй Тхань. — Фильм «В краю песков и ветров» — двенадцатая картина в моей биографии, которая началась четверть века назад в кишлоке в Ханое. Там моим учителем, других моих товарищей был советский режиссер Аждар Ибрагимов. До сих пор я с благодарностью вспоминаю его уроки и поддерживаю с ним крепкую дружбу. Надо отметить, что для нас, кинематографистов, как и для всего вьетнамского народа, фильмы Страны Советов стали первым настоящим окном в мир.

Революционно-патриотическую тематику считаю главной для себя. Сейчас само время поставило перед нашим народом задачу быстрее залечить раны, нанесенные войной. Бурными темпами идет мирное строительство в промышленности, в сельском хозяйстве. А все это накладывает свой отпечаток на жизнь миллионов людей. Об этих сегодняшних изменениях в жизни небольшой деревни, некогда затерявшейся «в краю песков и ветров» в центральном районе Вьетнама, и рассказывается в нашем фильме. Для своего киноповествования мы избрали жанр народной эпопеи, уходящей своими корнями во вьетнамский фольклор. Разумеется, мы стремились наполнить этот жанр современным звучанием.

Вьетнамские кинематографисты — гости редакции. Актриса Фуонг Тхи Тхань с памятным дипломом и режиссер Нгуен Хюй Тхань с призом «СЗ»



Нгуен Хюй Тхань, в прошлом офицер вьетнамской национально-освободительной армии, награжден орденом «За подвиги», был ранен в боях с колонизаторами. У него двое дочерей. Младшая из них, Шао Май, исполнила одну из главных детских ролей в конкурсном фильме.

Нгуен Хюй Тхань второй раз в Москве. Год назад участвовал в Неделе вьетнамского кино, а сейчас приехал в нашу столицу как глава делегации. Во время беседы он особо отметил прекрасную организацию кинофорума, чуткость работы всех фестивальных служб.

Актриса Фуонг Тхи Тхань рассказала о своих последних работах. Она снялась в двенадцати фильмах. Ей впервые довелось побывать в Москве. Город и люди столицы, по словам актрисы, произвели на нее и ее товарищей неизгладимое впечатление своей красотой, величием и радушием.

В. СИТНИКОВ

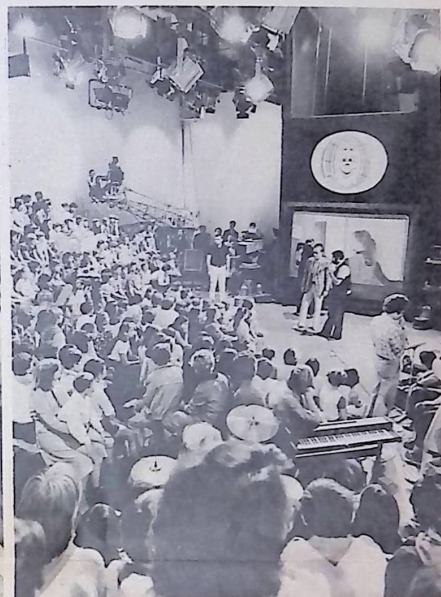
Space-Bridge over the Planet

«ТЕЛЕМОСТ» НАД ПЛАНЕТОЙ

July 20, 1983



На рисунке американского школьника из Калифорнии надпись: «Мир — это дружба между странами»



Москва, Останкино. «Телемост» в действии!

Живой и непосредственной была реакция юных участников межконтинентального диалога.

Заканчивался Московский международный кинофестиваль. Участники конкурса фильмов для детей — ребята и взрослые — отправились в Останкино, в студию телевидения. В 21 час 30 минут был включен «телемост» Москва—Калифорния. На больших экранах показались лица наших и американских детей... Темой телевизионной беседы участников фестиваля с их американскими сверстниками было КИНО. Ведущие задали детям вопрос: любите ли вы кино, какую роль оно играет в вашей жизни? Беседа подтвердила: фильм стал желанным и любимым участником жизни ребенка, подростка, юноши и девушки. Язык кино в самом деле интернационален. Идет обмен кинопечатлениями. Московские и американские режиссеры знакомят зрителей со

своими работами. Веселый смех сопровождает демонстрацию нового выпуска детского юмористического киножурнала «Ералаш». Потом Александр Митта показывает фрагмент из своего фильма «Сказка странствий», Шелли Дюваль — отрывки из «Спящей красавицы», а Роберт Райтнерс предлагает грустный киноморсказ о мальчике-негре. Ребята задают вопросы, высказываются сами, в разговор включается режиссер. А нам, свидетелям этой встречи, так легко представить в эти минуты, что уже не дети, а взрослые граждане двух стран — да почему только двух, многих! — вот так же обсуждают волнующие их большие проблемы большого мира.

...На экране выступает детский ансамбль «Мэиури» из Грузии, звучит шутильная песенка на

жиссеры А. Митта, Ф. Хитрук, В. Грамматиков, Ю. Гусман и другие. Вел диалог в кадре Владимир Познер.

Состоявшаяся встреча стала еще одним свидетельством огромной тяги людей из разных стран к взаимному пониманию и доверию вопреки вражде, насаждаемой противниками мира и разрядки, голоса которых в администрации США звучат так громко и воинственно. Но не бездействуют люди, убежденные в необходимости рассеивать туманы лжи и подозрительности.

Один американский мальчик, пробиравшийся к микрофону ведущего Майкла Коула, объявил: «Я хочу сказать, что это был самый счастливый день в моей жизни».

Ольга ТРОФИМОВА,
Яков ВАРШАВСКИЙ

советский ЭКРАН

№ 18 сентябрь 1983

КРИТИКО-ПУБЛИЦИСТИЧЕСКИЙ
ИЛЛЮСТРИРОВАННЫЙ ЖУРНАЛ
ОРГАН ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОГО
КОМИТЕТА СССР ПО КИНОМАТОГРАФИИ
И СОЮЗА КИНОМАТОГРАФИСТОВ СССР
ОСНОВАН В 1925 ГОДУ
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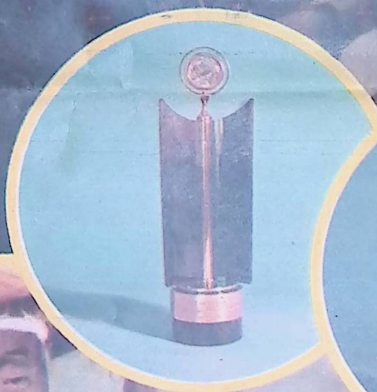
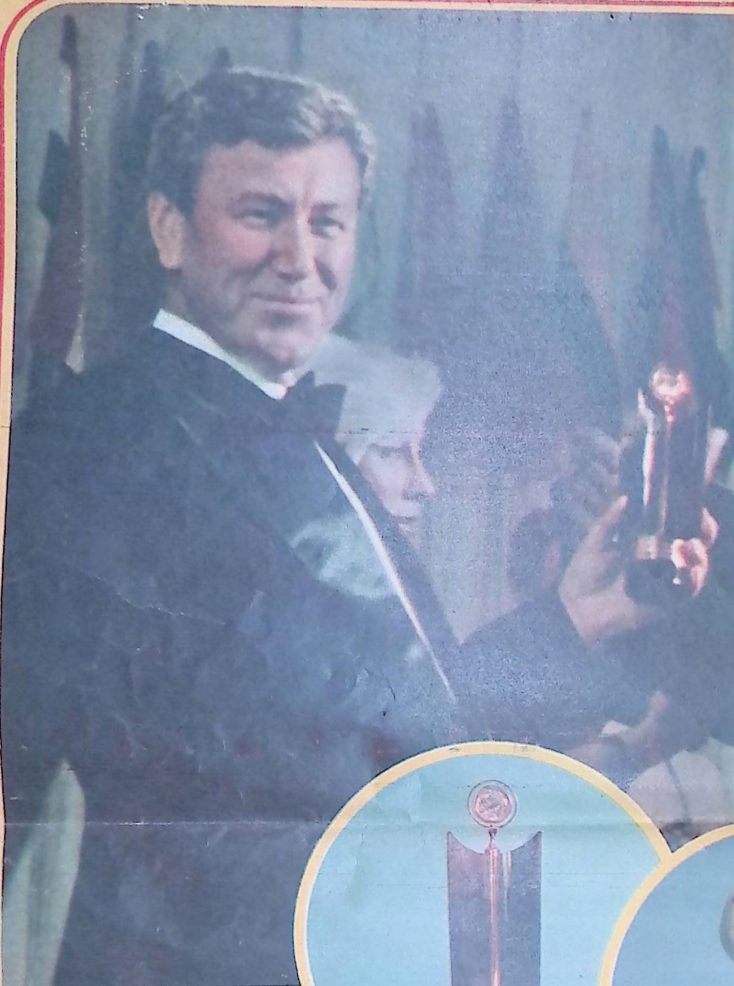
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An Exhausted Empire Faces Failures

First in a series

By Robert G. Kaiser

Washington Post Staff Writer

MOSCOW—Twenty years ago the Soviet Union abandoned the adventurous but erratic course charted by Nikita S. Khrushchev and began an experiment with steadier, more conservative rule. The experiment worked for a while, but now it has faltered. This immense, rich country is in serious trouble. The engines of the giant Soviet machine are still turning over, but they are sputtering.

Despite its success in building a military machine from a second superpower, the post-Khrushchev generation has failed—to develop a modern and efficient economy, failed to find a way for this country to feed itself, failed to bring along a new generation of leaders, failed to fulfill Khrushchev's dream of a dynamic Soviet Union that would surpass the

United States and become a model for the world.

A decade ago, when I was completing a three-year assignment in Moscow, all of these failures seemed possible, even probable, but

THE U.S.S.R.

THE GENERATION THAT FAILED

they were not inevitable. It was still conceivable then that the Russians would come to grips with their shortcomings. But they did not.

After a month's visit now, one is struck by a society that is coming to grips with its failures. The candor here, even among senior officials, is startling. They openly discuss the need for profound economic changes, the need for a

new generation of leaders, and their lack of optimism about the foreseeable future.

But the situation may be even worse than officials acknowledge. There is evidence of social disintegration here—dramatically declining life expectancy for men, rising infant mortality, increasing alcoholism affecting ever-younger age groups, increasing crime, corruption and cynicism.

In a conversation over tea in a typical Moscow kitchen, one is amazed to be told by a knowledgeable Muscovite that most of the clinics where babies are born in this capital city are contaminated with staph infections, which a large percentage of newborns catch, and which Soviet drugs often fail to cure. In another conversation, a recent patient reported that many Moscow hospitals now have virtually no nursing staff, so patients must de-

See SOVIET, A28, Col. 1

A26

The Washington Post

A GENERATION THAT FAILED

Sputtering Empire: Tired Leaders Run an Exhausted

SOVIET, From A1

pend on friends or family for nursing care. An official newspaper reports that a third of patients being treated for alcoholism began drinking before they were 10 years old.

All this is a far cry from the predictions of Marxist-Leninist doctrine, which foresaw by now the final stage of "advanced socialism" on the eve of "real communism," when such mundane encumbrances as money, government, bureaucracy and so on are supposed to disappear. Instead the country has reached a stage that might be called "exhausted communism," typified by exhausted old leaders and an exhausted economic system.

The aspect of the new mood in Moscow that makes the strongest impression is the absence of any clear sense of the future. A black horizon lies before this country, one that matches the geographical horizon visible from this great city on the vast Russian plain. Ask a Russian what things might be here five or 10 years from now, and the response is a shrug, a blank look or a vague comment about the momentum of this behemoth of a nation.

The old promises of communist ideology are no longer taken seriously. The social and economic problems now seem so vivid that many find it difficult to imagine how they'll be solved. But no one I met here had a concrete notion of what may lie over that black horizon.

At the same time, there is no sign of panic or despair. "It works," one official said of the lumbering Soviet system, just after making serious criticisms of it. "So what?" asked another, after acknowledging the gravity of the country's problems. "The country's not going to fall apart—the society won't disintegrate." An outsider cannot dispute this confidence that the system will survive; by all outward indications, it is steadily, firmly entrenched.

A skeptical intellectual who has lived through most of Soviet history observed that "the wheels are still turning, from momentum. But they are beginning to slow down. And rest is setting in. But it will take a long time for anything conclusive to happen. It won't happen in my lifetime."

The Economic Crisis

The largest barrier now blocking everyone's view of the Soviet future is the paradox of old men running the country, who simply refuse to step away for the next generations. The four key figures in the top—President Konstantin Chernenko, Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, Defense Minister Dmitri Ustinov and Premier Nikolai Tikhonov—are, in order, 73, 75, 75 and 79 years old. Chernenko, the youngest, seems the least healthy. In his public appearances he looks more like an overinflated balloon from the Macy's Thanksgiving Parade than a man capable of effective leadership of a great country. His Soviet entourage, seeing how low could think he was a significant factor in shaping the country's future,

Few younger men are given a chance to prepare for their own day in power. The age group responsible for day-to-day management of the country's affairs—those 50 to 65—are far removed from the old men on top, who lead lives utterly separated from their countrymen and colleagues. Resentment seems to be increasing. Not one of the officials I interviewed during the last month volunteered praise for Chernenko personally. "His productivity was as close as any Russian could get to a compliment."

The officials available to a western journalist are all members of a special class that is authorized to meet with foreigners—propagandists for the official media, Communist Party officials, academic experts on the United States, scientific officials. But others with access to different circles of the Soviet elite said the same frustrations with the status quo and eagerness to move ahead with new men and new policies were widespread.

When the then-leaders of the Communist Party ousted Khrushchev 20 years ago, they had a clear program for overcoming the shortcomings of Khrushchev's unpredictable regime. They were determined to build up the military might of their country so that it would match the United States. They were determined to restore discipline at home, both inside the party and in society at large. And they were determined to rationalize the domestic economy so that it could fulfill Khrushchev's dream of surpassing the United States—if not by 1980, as Khrushchev once promised, then not long after that.

A generation later we can judge their success. They did match American military power with a steady, deliberate military buildup that increased their defense spending several percent every year. They did restore discipline, and have now wiped out the dissidents who appeared in the streets in the late 1960s. But their repeated attempts to make the economy more rational and more efficient all failed, leaving the Soviet Union a semideveloped industrial power that lacks basic infrastructure like a network of good roads, a reliable telephone system, and that cannot produce industrial goods to compete in international markets.

So the post-Khrushchev generation failed to accomplish its most fundamental goal: the establishment of a vibrant, growing Soviet Union that would not only shape world events, but would inspire other peoples to emulate the Soviet model. On the contrary, the Soviet Union is visibly ossifying, and no longer provides a model for its own satellites in Eastern Europe, let alone independent nations.

Economic failure now haunts the Soviet system. The existing economic structure does not offer the prospect of turning the backward Soviet Union into a modern industrial power, and it now faces unprecedented internal strains as it struggles merely to maintain forward momentum.

In conversation after conversation, officials expressed the personal view that dealing with the economic crisis is by far the country's most pressing problem. Many

also expressed a kind of fatalistic confidence that changes were bound to come, because they have to come to get the country back on course. But one senior official was more cautious. "The question," he said, "is whether the [economic] changes will be made deliberately, according to our plan, or only after we have cracked our heads against the wall once or twice."

The economic problems are staggering, and are discussed with increasing candor in the Soviet press. One of the most outspoken critics of the status quo is Dr. Abel Aganbegyan, director of the Institute of Economics and Management of the Siberian department of the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

In two surprisingly candid articles last month in the newspaper *Prud (Labor)*, Aganbegyan made these points: In the previous five-year plan (1976-80), 11 million people reached working age, but in the current five-year plan (1981-85), there will be

Robert Kaiser, an associate editor of *The Washington Post* who was this newspaper's Moscow correspondent from 1972 to 1974, has just completed a month's reporting assignment in the Soviet capital. A Russian speaker, he is the author of "Russia: The People and the Power," of which a new edition was published in May.

only 3 million new workers, 2.5 million of them residents of Central Asia. In the five-year plan beginning in 1986, "the increase in the working-age population will be still smaller."

In the past, the Soviets might have compensated for such a decline in the growth of the labor force with increased capital investments in new plant and machinery, but Aganbegyan said this is now impossible. Noting that it was once common for each new five-year plan to raise investment by

50 percent over its predecessor, he cited the latest figures: in the 1976-80 period, investment grew by 32 percent; in the 1981-85 period, it will have grown by 10 percent — "That's all!" Aganbegyan wrote.

Raw materials and energy resources, he added, are disappearing from the European part of the country, where most industry is centered. Siberia and the Soviet Far East now account for 88 percent of all raw natural and energy resources, he wrote, and these are increasingly difficult to extract. The growth of new discoveries of energy resources and raw materials has declined 400 to 500 percent, he added.

Only radical changes, Aganbegyan argued, can salvage economic performance: "For the economy's normal development, we must accelerate labor productivity growth rates at least 50 percent," while simultaneously forcing enterprises to use fewer raw materials, make better use of investment capital, "and effect a radical improvement in the quality of output."

Sunday, September 23, 1984

Economy

Aganbegyan, one of the country's leading economists, supports radical reforms that would prevent the central industrial ministries from meddling in the affairs of individual enterprises, while giving enterprises new autonomy and dramatically improved opportunities to reward their employees for more efficient production. Tentative, "experimental" reforms along these lines were launched during the brief reign of Yuri Andropov in a few specific branches of the economy to see if they would be effective. According to Aganbegyan, they are too tentative:

"There has been no breakthrough in production efficiency... the return on capital and the efficiency of capital investments have not improved... Another popular reform idea, the reorganization of workers into teams or 'brigades' that share material benefits if they improve their own performance, is also ineffective so far. Aganbegyan said, "In industry, 6 out of every 10 workers already work in a brigade, yet so far no sharp breakthrough in raising the efficiency of production is visible."

What is striking about this commentary is its directness. Aganbegyan's are not peripheral criticisms but frontal challenges. His conclusion is that the current path won't lead to the desired destination. Such direct attacks are most unusual here.

But apparently, many important people believe that Aganbegyan is right. According to persistent rumors from credible academic quarters, Mikhail Gorbachev, the 53-year-old second secretary of the Communist Party—a possible successor to Chernenko, many believe—favors a sharp turn in economic policy. Gorbachev has asked economists for briefings on the reforms designed by Pyotr Stolypin, Czar Nicholas I's enlightened prime minister, who encouraged entrepreneurship among the peasants, and on Lenin's New Economic Policy, or "NEP," which revived some forms of free enterprise in the difficult years after the Bolsheviks consolidated their power.

According to some reports, Gorbachev has overseen drafting of a new variant on NEP that he would like to implement now, making room for much more private enterprise in the service sector and in agriculture. Academic economists are tantalized by the thought that a man of Gorbachev's importance—second-ranking secretary of the party, and the man responsible for Soviet agriculture—would be so interested in major reforms. But according to one academic source, Gorbachev has privately wondered aloud how the vast "middle level"—the administrative bureaucracy in the ministries and enterprises that has always blocked reforms in the past—could ever be persuaded to go along with really significant reforms.

Those interests are also shared by most in the new debate on economic policy. For every reformer like Aganbegyan, there is another author demanding more old-fashioned discipline, more thorough Communist Party guidance of economic affairs right down to the shop floor, and more exhortation of the labor force—the traditional bag of tricks that has failed in the past.

The temptation to stick with past methods is a great national problem. Overall economic performance is poor, but the status quo serves the needs of the bureaucratic class in charge, or so the members of that class obviously believe. A factory director who can satisfy the plan written for him by higher authorities has no personal interest in reform, which he knows will upset his enterprise, make new demands on him and may lead to nothing but trouble. The officials who now draw up the all-important plan targets would lose power if individual enterprises got real autonomy. And workers used to goofing off might really have to work hard under some kinds of reforms. So while the politicians may decide that reform is desirable or even necessary, many of those who can implement it can be counted on to frustrate whatever plans are made.

Meanwhile, the Soviet economy is really hurting. The labor shortage implied by Aganbegyan's statistics is already a vivid fact of life. In Moscow, the authorities cannot provide a full complement of workers for the construction site of the new American Embassy, despite the fact that the United States is paying these workers' wages in coveted hard currency.

After many years of steady decline, reported growth rates have gone up slightly in the last two years, but the now widespread skepticism that the figures are so padded as to be meaningless. The official press has carried numerous reports of enterprises, ministries and even national republics faking their economic statistics.

Other outward signs are negative. Technologically the Soviets remain far behind Japan and the West, and they are only now beginning a serious debate about how to try to catch up with the computer revolution. The next five-year plan may include ambitious targets for the production of a Soviet personal computer, but even if it does, the Russians will remain decades behind the advanced countries in the basic computerization of their society.

Drunks and 'Hooligans'

There is a new joke circulating in Moscow about two workmen with shovels walking along the edge of a city street, stopping every five yards so that one of them can dig a hole in the dirt. As soon as it is dug, his comrade fills the hole back in. Then they move along another five yards and repeat the exercise.

A Soviet citizen observing this scene loses his temper and stomps up to the two workers. "Comrades!" he shouts, "What kind of craziness is this? You dig a hole, then the other fellow fills it right up. You're accomplishing nothing at all! We're wasting good money paying you!"

"No, no," one of the workers replies, "You don't understand at all. Usually we work with a third lad, Volodya, but he's home drunk today. Volodya plants trees. I dig the hole, he sticks in a tree, and I haul here

See SOVIET, A27, Col. 1

Sunday, September 23, 1984

A GENERATION THAT FAILED

Rising Drunkenness, Spreading Theft

Mark Social Disintegration

SOVIET, From A26

fills the hole back in. Just because Volodya's off drunk, does that mean I've got to stop working?"

In fact, millions of Soviet workers are off drunk every day. According to credible estimates, as many as 85 percent of the workers in ordinary Soviet factories regularly drink too much—not because they are alcoholics, according to a doctor from the industrial city of Gorki, but because getting drunk is a common habit among the working class.

The statistics on Soviet drunkenness are staggering. According to one report published last December in *Selskaya Zhizn* (Rural Life), the average age of people suffering from alcoholism has fallen five to seven years in the last decade. The same article reported that "according to research on ill patients, 90 percent of them started drinking before the age of 15, and one-third of them started before the age of 10. In most cases, familiarity with alcohol begins with the cooperation of the parents."

Such candid published reports indicating profound social disorders are extremely rare, but many Russians tell stories that convey a similar message. One Russian couple recounted their experience this summer of walking into a village 100 miles from Moscow at about 5 in the afternoon. "Everyone was drunk," the woman said. "The men, the women, the young people, they were all drunk as skunks. Many were laid out on the ground. It was an amazing sight."

Foreigners who only visit Moscow, Leningrad and Kiev never see rural Russia, where about a third of the population still lives. According to Russians who have spent time in the countryside, it remains backward, almost primitive in many areas. Rural drunkenness is obviously endemic, and many report visiting state stores in rural areas that have almost no food or merchandise for sale, but always have plenty of vodka. One Muscovite reported that in the village where he has a cottage not far from Moscow, peasants buy their vodka "by the carton—20 [half-liter] bottles at once."

Of course drunkenness is not a new problem in Russia, but it is evidently getting worse all the time, affecting more women and children as well as men. Western specialists like Prof. Vladimir Treml of Duke University have assembled statistics demonstrating that consumption of alcohol continues to go up steadily.

Another endemic social problem is burglary. Westerners may be used to crime of this kind, but it is something new and alarming for Russians, who used to consider their country immune from such problems. Apartment houses in Moscow have blossomed with new devices to lock the doors to each entryway, to keep "hooligans" from prowling the halls. The new locks open to a three-number code that must be punched

into them by residents or guests. Many Muscovites are putting two and three locks on their apartment doors, something never seen a decade ago.

But for the authorities, the bigger crime problem is robbery of "socialist property"—raw materials, finished goods from factories, spare parts and so on. Officials of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, which runs the police force, have said that this is now the biggest crime problem they face.

Not many years ago, the Soviet newspapers rarely reported on crime, and never gave any general statistics on its frequency. That has changed dramatically. Crime reporting is now common. Just last month the minister of internal affairs, Vitali Fedotuk, gave an interview to a Soviet paper in which he revealed that overall crime was going up, and he gave surprising statistics on the extent of economic crime.

Muscovites report that the amount of stealing has gone up appreciably in recent years. Government chauffeurs and truck drivers regularly sell the gas in the tanks of their state-owned vehicles to private motorists. Owners of cottages (*dachas*) in the countryside around Moscow report that collective farmers regularly show up with truckloads of stolen sand, fertilizer and other useful commodities that they sell at low prices. (Robbery of the contents of country *dachas* has also become big business: one man in Gorki was charged with looting 49 cottages.) Car owners report that overcrowded garages often steal the parts out of cars they have under repair, replacing them with faulty ones. "Everybody steals, all the time, anything they can get their hands on," one discouraged Muscovite said—an exaggeration, no doubt, but one that many Soviet citizens would subscribe to.

The problem of theft is now a factor in high-level decision-making. For example, according to Communist Party officials, a debate is currently going on about whether to authorize the existence of private repair garages for automobiles. The Soviets have built 10 million cars since 1970, but service facilities for them are woefully inadequate. A strong argument against private garages, however, is that there aren't enough spare parts available to stock them. "If we have garages but no spare parts, then thieves will go way up," one official said, explaining that the new garages would have to get parts somehow.

Another serious social problem is health care. According to ordinary Russians, it has deteriorated significantly in recent years. One reason for this has been the passing of a generation of nurses, women who came into the hospitals during or just after World War II. "No one wants to work as a nurse now," one Muscovite said, so these people have not been replaced. Instead, family members or friends must nurse a patient in a hospital. "If you don't have someone to help you, you can just die," one woman said.

Another reported seeing seriously ill patients in a Moscow hospital bathing each other, despite their disabilities.

Staph infections in nurseries where babies are born have become an enormous problem, even in Moscow, and infant mortality rates are rising. Medicines are in short supply—all but nonexistent in small cities and towns, according to many Russians. Even in the capital, modern antibiotics are rare. One of the most remarkable statistics about modern Soviet life, calculated by American demographers from incomplete Soviet figures, involves the life expectancy of men. It has fallen from a high of 67 years in 1964 to less than 62 in 1980. No other industrial society has ever recorded such a decline.

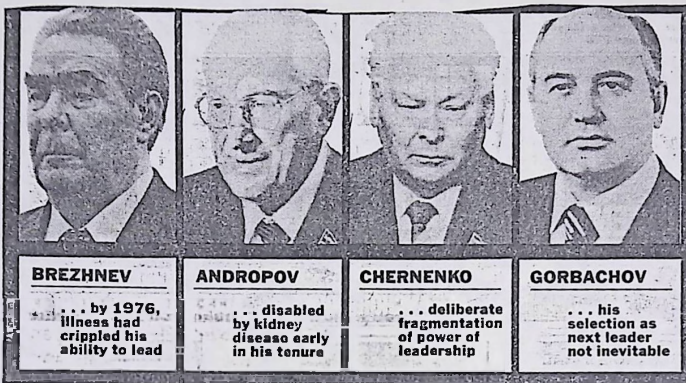
Who Wants to Work Hard?

Russians joke that their country is "the homeland of elephants," meaning that it is the center of the universe, the home of all things. The elephant metaphor could be used in another way. The Soviet leadership rides astride this giant society as if it were an elephant. The leaders feel the onward motion beneath them, see that they continue to make slow but steady progress in a forward direction, so assume the best about what is going on down below. But the man astride an elephant has a bad vantage point for carefully examining the beast. Physical or psychological disorders below him are not readily identifiable.

But there are disorders, and they are getting worse. This doesn't mean the all-suffering Russian workers and peasants are about to rise in a new revolution; there is no sign of that. It remains true, as Nikita Khrushchev observed many years ago, that "in general, our people are not very demanding." But neither are they necessarily very enthusiastic. Returning here after a 10-year absence brings a sharp reminder of an easily forgettable fact of Soviet life: almost no one here works hard. "On average," one official said, "out of every 10 people in an office or enterprise, three actually work." A scientist gave a harsher estimate: 300 of the 330 people who work in her institute could disappear tomorrow, she said, and no one would notice the difference.

"You know," said a senior Communist Party official, "I think if you put the question to a referendum, and asked our people if they want the current system with some shortages and problems, but also guaranteed access to the necessities of life, or do you want another arrangement in which much more is available, but in which you might get fired if you don't really work hard, I have a feeling that our people would vote to keep things the way they are. Every society has to make a choice, according to its own values."

NEXT: The intellectuals and the young



MOSCOW—The top leader, who never demonstrated much capacity for leadership, is now apparently too ill to be effective. The chief of staff of the armed services has just been fired and humiliated in an unexplained but remarkable turn of events. For the first time in the history of the Soviet Union, a deputy premier—a figure of no great import—has been given a Red Square funeral and buried in the Kremlin wall; but, contrary to all precedent, just three of the senior leaders took part in the funeral. Some in Moscow speak darkly of a "power play" by Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, symbolized by his decision to meet with President Reagan. Senior officials confide that this is "a difficult time" here.

Strange signals like these suggest that something is seriously amiss inside the Kremlin. The calm, predictable orderliness of normal times here has been displaced by obvious disarray. Power in the Kremlin seems fragmented. Presumably, another struggle for power, perhaps the final contest between the ruling generation and its successors, is underway.

Many Kremlinologists, including those at the Central Intelligence Agency in Washington, have concluded that the next leader is bound to be Mikhail Gorbachov, 53. An increasingly prominent figure who was close to the last Soviet leader, the late Yuri Andropov, Gorbachov appears to be bright, energetic and eager to learn, though most of his experience is in the field of agriculture.

But Gorbachov's selection as the next leader hardly looks inevitable from here. Officials who have high hopes that Gorbachov will succeed Konstantin Chernenko—and there seem to be many of them—acknowledge great uncertainty about his prospects. When asked if Gorbachov would get the job, one just shrugged. Another said nothing, but knocked on wood. A third—a senior Communist Party official—said in a dejected tone of voice that Gorbachov is probably still "too young" to be chosen general secretary of the Communist Party.

Gorbachov offers something that many here recognize is long overdue: real energy at the top, coupled with an appetite for change. By the admission of senior Soviet officials, this country has had a strong and effective leader for only a few months since 1975—the few months that Andropov was healthy and active, before kidney disease disabled him.

Officials here revealed this month that Leonid Brezhnev, the leader from 1964 until his death in 1982, ceased to be effective in 1975. According to informed sources, Brezhnev fell seriously ill in Mongolia, where he traveled after meeting with president Gerald Ford at Vladivostok in November 1974, and was never the same afterward.

As a result, these sources said, the "normal changes" that should have been made between 1975 and 1982, especially

personnel changes, were never made. The system that was supposed to fulfill Khrushchev's dreams by overcoming Khrushchev's "personalism" stagnated while Brezhnev clung to power. At the time, officials put the best possible face on the situation for foreigners, but now they say it was a bad period.

Andropov's brief reign was a clear departure from Brezhnev's lethargy. He began extensive changes of personnel in the Communist Party bureaucracy, and initiated a popular crackdown on corruption, including corruption by high officials. (One Muscovite speculated that as the former head of the state security police, the KGB—perhaps the most important repository of information about conditions inside the country—Andropov knew just how serious corruption was, and how many senior party officials were tainted by it.) Andropov also initiated a candid public discussion of economic problems, and authorized experimental economic reforms in a few sectors of the economy.

All these changes have continued under Chernenko, but without energy and without enthusiastic support from the top. It appears that forces loyal to Andropov and his program exacted promises from Chernenko to let them continue his policies. Similarly, the senior military man, Defense Minister Dmitri Ustinov, and the foreign minister, Gromyko, appear to have won autonomy in their spheres in return for their support of Chernenko's candidacy last February.

This deliberate fragmentation of power at the top of the Soviet system does not satisfy the country's historic desire for a strong czar or leader, and it frustrates reforms in all areas, but many Russians, including senior officials, welcome it nevertheless. This is an aspect of the Soviet situation that foreigners find surprising.

"You know," said an official who lost a brother to Stalin's terror at the end of World War II, "for people of my generation who are really thrilled just to be here, who might not have been here today, this situation is really better" than the obvious alternatives. Leadership by committee, this man and many others agree, may not maximize efficiency, but it is stable, and relatively safe.

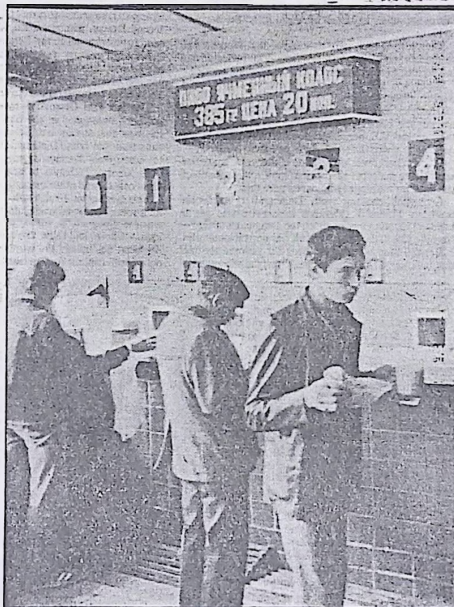
And it may continue for a long time. The current leadership has obviously ruled out voluntary retirement for all of its members. (One official attributed this to the considerable decline in standard of living suffered by anyone who leaves the exalted atmosphere of the ruling Politburo, whose members live like princes.) Even if the men in their mid-to-late seventies who now dominate the Politburo choose Gorbachov or another younger man to replace Chernenko, they may well insist on a prolongation of the current committee system.

—Robert C. Kaiser



Propaganda poster invokes the image of Lenin, founder of the Soviet state.

Struggle for Power May Be Underway



LIFE EXPECTANCY AT BIRTH (U.S.S.R. AND U.S. COMPARED)

	U.S.S.R. ESTIMATED	UNITED STATES OFFICIALLY REPORTED
1961	66.1	67.1
1963	66.2	66.6
1964	67.0	66.8
1965	66.2	66.8
1966	66.3	66.7
1967	65.8	67.0
1969	64.8	66.8
1971	64.8	67.4
1972	64.5	67.4
1975	61.2	68.7
1976	63.1	69.0
1977	67.1	69.3
1978	67.6	69.5
1979	67.0	—
1980	61.9	—

SOURCE: U.S. BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

Rising drunkenness
and falling life
expectancy show a
society under stress.
Above, a self-service
beer hall in Moscow.



Sept 24 1984

Glum Times For Country's Intelligentsia

A14 — The Washington Post

Intellectuals In U.S.S.R. Feel A New Isolation

SOVIET, FROM ABROAD—For many years, Soviet television to Russian-language broadcasts from stations such as the British Broadcasting Corp. and the Voice of America that had kept them in touch with the outside world in the 1970s, when jamming of broadcasts was stopped. (The jamming was resumed in 1980, apparently to block news of the Solidarity movement in Poland from reaching too many Soviet ears, and it is now worse than ever.)

They complain that they rarely get to read the Russian literature now being published in Israel and the West in great quantities. They complain sadly of the many writers and artists who have left the Soviet Union in recent years, depriving them of cultural heroes as well as personal friends. And they complain that the official bureaucracy that governs all intellectual and cultural life here seems more determined than ever to discourage originality and talent.

Perhaps most significantly, they complain that there is no younger generation coming along, at least not that anyone has heard of—no new poets or playwrights to provide new intellectual electricity.

"Someone once said that the poets are the light cavalry of literature and culture," a Moscow editor said, referring to the special role poets have played in this country for two centuries. "When the poets charge ahead, others follow. But when the army gets bogged down, as it has now, the poets are the first to sink into the swamp."

If there are talented new poets trying to charge ahead, he added, he has not heard their names, or their verse.

Many Moscow intellectuals report that this is a time of introspection, of preoccupation with personal concerns such as health and religion. "It's a time to stay home," said one middle-aged Muscovite who used to try to see every new play and film.

Many see their plight as partly a product of the worsened international situation. The new cold war that is becoming evident here inevitably means tighter restrictions on the very things intellectuals care most about—travel, exchanges of people, books and ideas, local translations or productions of western works.

At the same time, many intellectuals believe that their country is on the eve of a new era, under new leaders. This allows them to hope that things could change, perhaps quickly and dramatically—but perhaps, as many acknowledge, dramatically for the worse.

"We've seen bad times before, and we know how bad they can get," said one professor.

"You know," a middle-aged editor observed, "I have no idea what may happen. Maybe I'll be visiting you in America in five years. And maybe I'll be shot."

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Second of three articles

By Robert G. Kaiser

Washington Post Staff Writer

MOSCOW—"Stalin died 30 years ago," an elderly Muscovite observed recently, "and our hopes soared." He raised his arm in an arc to demonstrate. "For a while things did change, there was excitement and creativity and we dreamed of a better future. But now," he went on, completing the arc he drew in the air so it became a circle, ending where it began, "we're back to here again."

These are glum days for the Soviet Union's gifted intelligentsia, the intellectual class that has given so much to the world's knowledge and culture during the past two

centuries. The snar mood of the intellectuals reflects both objective conditions, which are harder for them, and perhaps more importantly, the absence of hope for a better tomorrow.

Many intellectuals here have succumbed to a wave of nostalgia for the late 1950s and early 1960s, when living and working conditions were worse than today's, but expectations were high and rising.

"In the '50s a new generation was bursting into its own," as one member of that generation put it, "and we could feel the earth shaking under our feet. Older people saw it too, and seized on these youngsters as heretics of a new age. But the new age didn't come."

A professor from Leningrad now in his fifties said the survivors of that period had to share responsibility for the failure to make those dreams come true. "We missed our chance," he said, speaking of the liberal-minded intellectuals who interpreted the thaw that followed Nikita Khrushchev's campaign against the horrific excesses of Stalin's dictatorship as an augury of a new Soviet enlightenment, but lived to see that hope dashed.

Today's Moscow intellectuals feel isolated from an outside world that, 10 years ago, they were just beginning to sample. They complain that it is now difficult to lis-

See SOVIET, A14, Col. 1

Treatment of Intellectuals

The intelligentsia is a class apart in the Soviet Union, neither representative of the country nor much admired by ordinary citizens or the politicians in charge. By definition, an intellectual is someone who thinks for himself—potentially a dangerous habit in the Soviet Union.

For foreigners the intellectuals traditionally have been the most interesting Russians, largely because of their immense talents, but also because of their independence, and because many of them share values that are familiar to Westerners.

The state of intellectual life at any given moment is a good barometer of other conditions inside the country. The way intellectuals are treated seems to reflect the self-confidence of the leadership. Their enthusiasm, or lack of it, foretells the creative energies likely to appear in the immediate future. The attitudes and ambitions of university-educated young people also can be a revealing social indicator.

Judging from conversations with intellectuals here and the reports of foreigners who recently have seen scientists, scholars, writers, directors, actors and artists in Moscow and Leningrad, the old man who drew that discouraging circle in the air speaks for many, though not for all of them.

There are new hints of a modern version of Stalinism—tough new censorship, for example. Academics report that the most benign books or articles on subjects far removed from politics are now subject to a kind of arbitrary treatment from the censor that appears intended, most of all, as a form of pressure—harassment for its own sake, an old Stalinist tactic.

The censor also has gotten stricter about excising references to situations that conceivably could be taken as descriptions of Soviet reality, even if they describe the "decadent" West. For example, a woman writing about contemporary Italy recently referred to a writer who, intoxicated by dreams of power, was willing to violate his own conscience. The censor cut the reference.

Defense Minister Dmitri Ustinov has brought an increasing number of the country's scientific research institutes under military control by requiring that any institute that does research for the military must be

subject to military discipline. Scientists working in those institutes now have a great deal of difficulty publishing the results of their research, even if it has nothing to do with secret work.

A new rule requires that any research paper presented at a scientific meeting that might be attended by a foreigner—even a Czechoslovak or a Bulgarian—must be approved in advance by a special commission at the author's institute. Often permission is withheld until the last possible moment, and sometimes it is denied. Travel to foreign scientific meetings has become markedly more difficult.

Similar kinds of harassment are reported by writers, theater and movie directors and actors, although this is not new. Plays fully rehearsed and ready to be put on are banned at the last minute; completed movies are denied distribution; manuscripts are accepted for publication but then never published.

In both scholarly and creative fields, the target of official restrictions often seems to be talent—not politically controversial material, just original, creative work. Writers of known talent are rejected repeatedly by magazines and publishing houses; promising young scholars with budding international reputations are denied access to foreign colleagues.

Even books on nonpolitical subjects sent from abroad to Soviet scholars are not allowed to reach their intended recipients. The Academy of Sciences now has a form letter notifying scholars that a book addressed to them has been received "and is available for your use in the special depository at the Academy of Sciences Library." In other words, the book can be seen only under official supervision.

"Perhaps the strongest symbol of the new orthodoxy is the disappearance of the people who came to be known as dissidents. In the late 1960s hundreds of intellectuals were willing to sign petitions protesting against trials of writers, for example. By the 1970s the number willing to join any kind of protest had fallen to a few dozen. Today it has fallen virtually to zero."

The exile and isolation of Andrei Sakharov, the Nobel Peace Prize winner, is the clearest sign that an entire period in Soviet history—an exciting period for the intellectuals, even those who never personally took part—now has ended.

And yet, interesting scholarly and creative works still appear. There are a few provocative movies every year, a few interesting theatrical productions, a few short stories or novels that set the town abuzz. Most of the best work is so rooted in Soviet reality that it does not translate very well; foreigners not steeped in Soviet ways cannot fully appreciate it. But people here can, and do.

Moscow's major theaters have been allowed to set up "small stages" where they can do experimental works for audiences of 200 or fewer, and the censorship is less rigorous than for major productions.

Film studios outside Moscow, particularly one in Tbilisi, Georgia, sometimes allow more interesting work. Non-Russian writers like Chingiz Aitmatov and Fasil Iskander also seem to enjoy a license to write more freely than others, at least sometimes, probably because they are symbols of "multinational culture" in the Soviet Union, which the authorities prize.

Individual theater directors, filmmakers and writers occasionally can exploit personal connections and friendships to overcome the objections of cultural bureaucrats who want to block their work. "It's always a battle, but sometimes we win," one boasted.

Interestingly, the disciplinary system seems inconsistent, sometimes even weak, which may be a sign of the general exhaustion of the system. A Moscow economics institute was the subject of harsh public criticism by the Central Committee of the Communist Party, and friends of people who worked there were nervous about what would happen next. In the end, though, the institute was given new funds to help compensate for the shortcomings identified in the criticism, and no one suffered any punishment.

Just this month the Taganka Theater, Moscow's

staged by Yuri Lyubimov, the internationally famous director of the Taganka who this year declined to stay in Western Europe rather than return to Moscow after guest appearances in Italy.

Traditionally "traitors" of this kind have been punished with a total ban of their work, but in Lyubimov's case the authorities relented, in part because the popular Taganka had no repertoire to substitute for the Lyubimov productions. Lapses of traditional discipline of this kind suggest that elastic can still be found in the system.

There have been other inconsistencies. Jews, for example, report the unpredictable enforcement of anti-Semitic policies. No Jewish students were admitted to the chemistry faculty of Moscow State University this year, an informed source reported, but at a Moscow scientific institute, a Jew was appointed deputy director, to the amazement of his colleagues.

Cynical Younger Generation

A 50-year-old Muscovite was asked recently about the younger generation—what were they like? He responded by telling a story about a prominent writer who came into Moscow by train recently, and was recognized by a young porter in the train station who carried his suitcases.

"Aren't you so-and-so?" the porter asked, and the writer acknowledged that he was. The porter then asked him detailed questions about each of his last two books. While the writer answered, the porter beckoned to a number of his colleagues in the station to join the conversation. Soon something like a literary press conference was under way, with young baggage porters cross-examining the famous writer.

"You find a lot of talented people working as porters these days," the Muscovite said. "They're former dissidents, or poets, or just honest men who can't put up with regular jobs where they have to be dishonest."

The younger generation is a subject of considerable interest in Moscow these days. There is widespread agreement that the current crop of educated young people is less idealistic, more cynical, more interested in building successful careers than its elders were.

"Of course you can't generalize about all of them," one mother of a 22-year-old said. "There are lots of wonderful ones, just as idealistic as we were. But most of them seem to be in it for themselves, for a comfortable life and career."

Twenty years ago it was relatively easy for an educated but still isolated young Muscovite to accept the world view contained in official propaganda. Ignorance of the outside world and the discipline of the system at home both helped keep him in the dark. But today such ignorance is hard to come by. Western popular culture has invaded this country with a vengeance, and cynicism about the Soviet system is rampant, according to many—including officials—who have watched this generation grow up.

Young university graduates here easily can see that a few people enjoy most of the privileges, and that only the elite can travel abroad—the greatest privilege of all. They understand that the government does not trust them—to go abroad, to hear foreign radio broadcasts, to know the truth. They realize how far the Soviet standard of living lags behind that of the West, and even Eastern Europe.

Blue jeans are one metaphor for these realizations. There are now lots of blue jeans here, but the cognoscenti insist that those made in the Soviet Union and East Europe, as most of them are, do not hold a candle to real American jeans, which sell for 300 rubles a pair—more than \$350 at the official exchange rate—on the black market, almost two months' salary for the average worker.

Interest in religion is another sign of the times. A decade ago a few young people were beginning to rediscover the Russian Orthodox Church. Now there are

many, singing in church choirs attending services and studying theology in small groups.

Today's young also seem to accept the fact that the communist system is not going to change dramatically, even if they might like it to. A young Soviet official of about 35 told a Yugoslav friend recently that for his generation, the invasion of Czechoslovakia was a traumatic event that left him and his friends deeply discouraged about the prospects for reforms of the kinds the Czechoslovaks attempted.

"But for today's young people," he went on, "what happened in Poland in 1981 was much less important." He referred to the declaration of martial law that crushed the Solidarity union movement, which was accepted here more cynically than the invasion of Czechoslovakia.

Another sign of youthful cynicism was reported by several astounded members of the older generation. For three years, it is said, groups of young people have dressed in Nazi-style clothes and staged prominent demonstrations in honor of Adolf Hitler's birthday.

"This is really frightening," said one scholar who fought against the Nazis in the "Great Patriotic War," as World War II is known here. He described young men wearing brown shirts and black ties, or with swastikas on their arms, or even wearing Hitler mustaches. Several people said they had heard that the young fascists include relatives of powerful Soviet officials.

For Soviet youngsters to revere and imitate this nation's arch-enemy, the man held responsible for 20 million Soviet dead in the war, amazes many Russians. "It shows how bad things have become," one said.

A great many Soviet young people simply have dropped out of political concerns, and are busy trying to arrange relatively comfortable lives for themselves, relying on personal connections in key areas of the work force.

But good connections cannot resolve a grave new problem facing young men: the draft. Ten years ago college students knew that they could fulfill their military requirement with—at worst—a brief period in the active reserve as an officer. But now the pool of eligible draftees has shrunk, and the pressures on the military to find competent people to man sophisticated new weapons has increased. Most male students now must expect to be taken into the armed services for two years, usually after completing one or two years in an institute or university. And all of them live under a new cloud: the war in Afghanistan.

That war is an eerie presence in Soviet life. The Soviet expeditionary force in Afghanistan is rarely mentioned in the press, and never fully described, but its existence is not denied. A radio program featuring letters from young people in the armed services recently included a message to "comrades in Afghanistan," and on another occasion referred to a lieutenant who has "gone to a fraternal socialist country to help its fight against counterrevolutionaries."

When asked about the war, several parents of draft-age youngsters expressed the hope that their sons would be kept out of it because of their academic qualifications. Young people have heard stories of their contemporaries who were killed.

A woman in Leningrad told a European friend about the son of her "lilt lady," whose job is to keep an eye on the comings and goings of the tenants of an apartment house. The young man came back from the war and told his mother that contrary to his officers' promises that he was going to fight Chinese and American mercenaries, he quickly realized that "we're fighting against the people of Afghanistan." His tour of duty in the war left him in a deep depression; once he attempted suicide. After more than a year, he is tentatively returning to something resembling normal life. His mother feels he is permanently scarred.

"An elderly Muscovite despaired of the general popular reaction to the war. There is a little grumbling, he said, but it has no moral dimension whatsoever. No one questions the morality of what our government is doing. It is very dangerous."

No Soviet 'Lost Generation'

It would be wrong to convey the impression of a Soviet "lost generation." People from many walks of life agreed that talented young people are pursuing official careers, often with enthusiasm, though rarely with idealism.

"I see a lot of cynical careerism, and a lot of willingness to accept 'the rules of the game,'" said the father of a 25-year-old. "Our young people believe in nothing," said another parent, "but they join the party because they know it will advance their careers, and they do what they know is expected of them."

There are numerous signs of an impending generation gap. Some say it has already arrived. Today's 20-year-olds were born in the year Khrushchev was ousted; they know absolutely nothing firsthand about the forces that shaped their parents' lives: Stalin's dictatorship, World War II, the Khrushchev era. What will they be like when they begin to take over responsible positions at the turn of the century? No one had a good answer to that question.

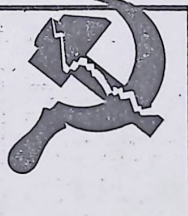
The new generation is cynical, but less afraid than their parents were, no doubt because they do not know the terror of Stalinism or the uncertainty of the Khrushchev era. "They take a lot for granted; they won't be pushed around," said a man in his late thirties.

Surrounded by older people now deprived of their hope, living in a system that encourages cynical careerism, the young and educated of Soviet society represent a key to the future. But how will the key fit into the lock? What sort of a lock will it be? Here, too, the horizon is black.

NEXT: Relations with America and the world

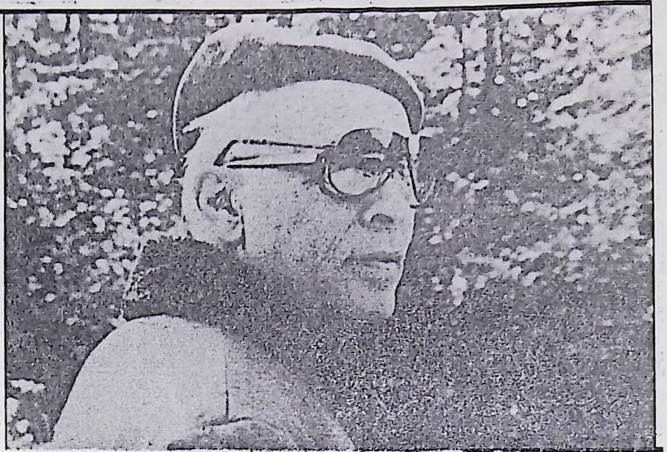
A GENERATION THAT FAILED

Monday, September 24, 1984



The Soviet military involvement in Afghanistan has caused concern among parents and soldiers. These four Soviet deserters talked to western reporters at an Afghan rebel base in February 1983.

The exile and isolation of Nobel Peace Prize winner Andrei Sakharov is the clearest sign that an entire period in Soviet history, an exciting period for the intellectuals, now has ended.



Moscow's Foreign Policy: Tantalizing Possibilities Unfulfilled

Sept. 25 1984

Last of three articles

By Robert G. Kaiser
Washington Post Foreign Service

MOSCOW—President Reagan meets this week with the Soviet foreign minister, Andrei Gromyko, who is famous as the wily, emotionless diplomat who has dealt with nine American presidents, 14 secretaries of state and six Soviet leaders, but Gromyko ought to be famous for more than longevity and cold blood. He also deserves much of the credit for a Kremlin foreign policy that has faltered.

When Gromyko moved into the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to stay in 1953, the Soviet Union was still recovering from the devastation of World War II, but it had good pros-

pects. The biggest country in the world, China, recently had become a fraternal—and subservient—communist state. The Soviets were consolidating their control of a new Eastern European empire. Communist parties in Western Europe and other parts of the world offered tantalizing possibilities for the future. The idea of communism still had a grip on the imaginations of millions in many countries.

In the ensuing three decades, Soviet military power grew impressively, allowing the Soviet Union to meddle in the affairs of countries all over the globe. But military power rarely has translated into real political influence. The Soviet Union today is powerful but iso-

lated. Its "friends" are no longer friendly, China is a fearsome potential enemy on the Soviet border and the empire in Eastern Europe is in disarray, the victim of a systemic crisis that is beyond Moscow's ability to manage. Communism has lost

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its appeal throughout the industrialized world, and in most of the Third World too.

Now, faced with what it perceives as an imminent and determined American presence and surrounded by neighbors whose hos-

tility seems to be growing instead of diminishing, the Soviet Union is back in a defensive crouch. A brief flirtation with a "forward" strategy in the late '70s, culminating with the invasion of Afghanistan, apparently has ended, leaving the Soviets with expensive but generally unproductive Third World commitments. The wagons are circled, and Gromyko and his colleagues in Moscow are looking—so far without success—for a way to break out.

The election of Ronald Reagan and subsequent changes in American policy crystallized the Soviets' diplomatic dilemma. It would be difficult to overstate the dimensions of what the Soviets perceive as their "Reagan problem." They have

been devastated by Reagan's rise, and stunned by his ability to revive the American economy while simultaneously mounting an expensive arms buildup. Even more distressing here has been Reagan's success in maintaining the cohesion of the NATO alliance while East-West arms negotiations collapsed and new rockets were deployed in Europe.

Today, the only important question before the Soviet Union's "Americanologists" is whether Reagan, as they call it, is some kind of temporary aberration, or a fundamental change in American outlook and policy that will last for many years. Answering this ques-

See SOVIET, A16, Col. 1

A16 ... The Washington Post

Foreign Policy In Soviet Union Faces Dilemmas

SOVIET, From A1

tion is a formal task, but it has been set for Soviet students of America, and for now, it would appear, they are inclined to answer it pessimistically. (Many of the same specialists had predicted that Reagan as president would turn out to be similar to Richard Nixon in terms of his willingness to deal with Moscow, so they have a lot to answer for now.)

Vitriolic Propaganda

The well-reported Soviet propaganda campaign against Reagan and the United States has to be experienced firsthand to be appreciated fully. It is vitriolic and incessant; day after day, Soviet papers and television news programs are filled with anti-Reagan venom.

Reagan has been compared here to Adolf Hitler, the archvillain in the Soviet view of world history. Cartoons depict him as a missile-crazed cowboy ready to launch nuclear war. His joke this summer about outlawing the Soviet Union and launching the bombers to obliterate it was interpreted here as a glimpse of the true Reagan mentality and was used by official propagandists to fuel further an already emotional scare campaign.

It is difficult for an outsider to evaluate this propaganda—to decide how much of it is a reaction to the most outspokenly anti-Soviet American president in modern times, and how much represents genuine fear. One official provided an interesting glimpse of underlying Soviet attitudes in a conversation here last month.

This Russian—a specialist on East-West relations—was discussing the American military buildup in the new vocabulary that is common here: new Pershing II rockets in West Germany are "first strike" weapons; President Reagan is actively pursuing "military superiority"; the United States has hidden from the West Europeans its belief that a war could be fought against the Soviet Union on European soil.

"But seriously," the American journalist to whom he was speaking interrupted, "you don't really think the purpose of Reagan's policy is to start a war? You don't really think that a couple of dozen Pershings and a couple of dozen MX missiles will give the United States significant military superiority?"

"Of course Reagan's program is not war," the Soviet official answered, his voice suddenly emotional. "He is trying to tell us that the Soviet Union cannot be a superpower. He is trying to beat us down, to damage us politically and economically, after we have worked so hard to establish equality. We can't let him get away with that, and we won't."

That flash of anger may have revealed the essence of current Soviet thinking. Today's Soviet leaders—and tomorrow's have grown up in a defensive crouch. They deeply believe—not without reason, of course—that powerful elements in the capitalist world will never accept their country as a preeminent world power, and will never cease to try to undermine their position. Now an American president has sprung to life—to a bigger-than-life, as seen from here—to embody that recurrent nightmare.

In Washington many have interpreted the Soviet decision to have Foreign Minister Gromyko meet with President Reagan this week as a sign that Soviet attitudes toward Reagan may be softening, but from here that seems most unlikely, judging from conversations with numerous officials here—none of them members of the Politburo, but many of them familiar with the thinking of their leaders—Soviet suspicion of Reagan's motives is too deep to allow for any sudden change of heart in the face of Reagan's new peace offensive.

Not that they rule out the possibility of better relations with the Americans in a second Reagan term, which the Soviets expect. Certainly, they say, if Reagan would make concrete gestures to prove that he has changed his mind and wants seriously to deal with Moscow, the Soviets will respond. But what sort of gestures? For example, withdrawing the new missiles from Europe, in the words of one official—and many others said the same thing. But that is a "gesture" that seems inconceivable from an American or West European vantage point. And so far, at least, the Soviets seem disinclined to accept anything less. They may be willing to talk, but that is a long way from being willing to deal.

In private conversation, numerous officials stated a personal belief that nothing constructive can be expected in Soviet-American relations during a second Reagan

term. "It's too late," as one senior official put it. Nearly all of the officials interviewed during a month in Moscow agreed that it is indeed too late to do real business with Reagan. Russians reserve for themselves the right to decide when someone is "anti-Soviet," the ultimate epithet in this society. Once they have attached that label to someone, they almost never remove it.

"Anti-Soviet" is not the same as "anticommunist." Nixon, Soviet officials like to recall, was a notorious anticommunist, but he was prepared to make room for the Soviet Union as a global power, and to respect Moscow's security concerns. But Reagan has persuaded the Soviets that he will never grant them even that much. His new, calling, his joke, his repeated references—changing the political status quo in East Europe all feed the Soviet conviction that Reagan is not just their rival, but the determined enemy.

Campaign Against Bonn

The official Soviet response to Reagan's challenge has been emotional, clumsy and ultimately counterproductive. Moscow's first gambit was to try to divide West Europe from Reagan. The Soviets made a crude attempt to influence the March 1983 election in West Germany, a move that probably increased the victory margin of Helmut Kohl's Christian Democrats. Later the Kremlin banked on popular discontent in Europe blocking the deployment of new Pershing and cruise missiles, but last fall's protests in Europe were less effective than even many European governments had feared. The deployments went ahead.

Earlier this year the Soviets abandoned the idea that they could conduct a dual policy toward the West and rekindled old-fashioned anti-German propaganda in their media. It is no less almost on a par with the anti-Reagan campaign.

In conversations here Soviet officials repeatedly charged that the Kohl government wants to reopen the question of the post-World War II borders in Europe, an extremely sensitive subject here. When a visitor challenges them, pointing out that neither Kohl nor his ministers has ever suggested reopening the border issue, the Soviets point to West German statements to the effect that the current political division of Europe should not be considered permanent. The Soviets also note that Reagan has endorsed (as he did again Monday at the United Nations) the Bonn government's efforts at rapprochement with the communist states of Eastern Europe, first of all East Germany.

"On the face of it, that's rather bizarre, Reagan supporting better relations between the Germans, and between West Germany and Eastern Europe," one Soviet official said. "But if you look below the surface, you see what is really going on: Reagan is supporting East-West détente, he is supporting the efforts of an increasingly nationalistic German government to achieve a kind of Big Brother role in Central Europe."

In other words, in their current frame of mind, the Soviets see enemies and conspiracies everywhere. And they seem enormously frustrated at their own inability to influence events. They are counterpunches, not innovators, and their counterpunches have not worked.

"Maybe we should have used more intimidating tactics to try to block the deployment of the new NATO missiles," one Soviet official said. "We might have suc-

ceeded. Who knows? But it is difficult to play a game of bluff with nuclear weapons."

Yes it is, and this is now the Soviets' ultimate frustration. They achieved superpower status militarily, and now they cannot use it, or so it seems to many of them. Their attempts to exert their influence have put them into a classic *tautis*, as the Russians call a dead end. They are committed to the proposition that they will not reopen negotiations on controlling nuclear arms unless the West diminishes its new missiles in Europe. They insisted last summer that they would not discuss limits on weapons in space—a subject that concerns them deeply, especially in the face of Reagan's flirtation with a "star wars" ballistic missile defense—unless the Americans agree in advance to suspend all testing of U.S. space weapons. In both cases the Soviets have walked out on a long limb and—apparently—cut it off.

Moscow did succeed in blocking proposed visits to Bonn by the leaders of East Germany and Bulgaria, Erich Honecker and Todor Zhivkov, but this was at best a symbolic accomplishment. The increasingly intimate relationship between the two Germanys and Bulgaria's new opening to the West will both continue, with or without ceremonial visits to Bonn.

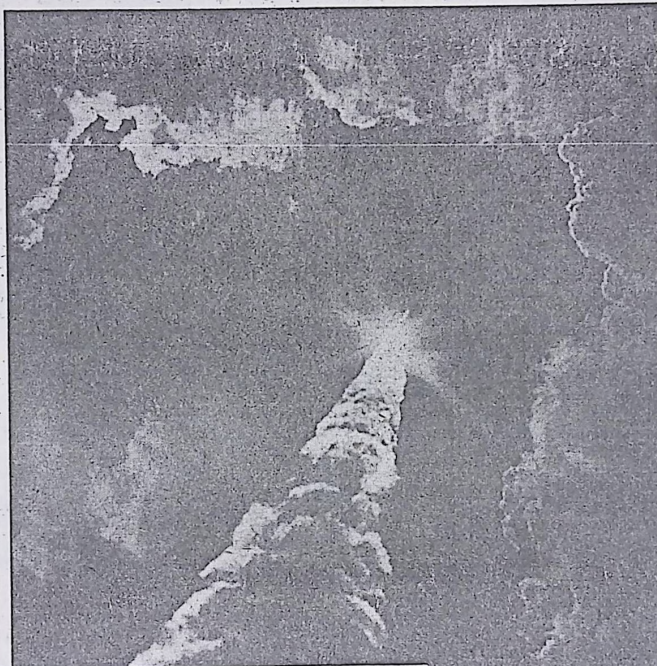
In other words, the wily, experienced Gromyko has presided over a policy that simply has not worked. The Soviets' position in Eastern Europe remains difficult; with the lone exception of Czechoslovakia, their allies all look West for crucial economic assistance and markets. Events in Poland demonstrate the Soviets' inability to provide prosperity and stability in that key country; East Germany shows more and

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more independence; Hungary is off on its own track to a considerable degree.

With the West, the Soviets now have a new Cold War. This is not without some benefit. A tense international atmosphere, fanned by domestic propaganda, justifies discipline and hardships at home and further sacrifices to compete in a renewed arms race. But Soviet officials insist—and logic would seem to confirm—that a new arms race does not serve their fundamental interests. They desperately need time and money to deal with the huge problems they face at home and inside their empire.

A GENERATION THAT FAILED



"Don't intimidate us," reads this poster, an example of the recent Soviet campaign to depict the United States as a militaristic, villainous opponent.

Moves to Relax Atmosphere

Soviet behavior suggests that the leaders here want to avoid a full-blown revival of the cold war. They have signaled this desire three times this year.

Last January, after Gromyko and others had warned the West that deployment of new NATO missiles would be an irrevocable step toward gravely heightened tensions, and after the deployment began, Gromyko agreed to meet Secretary of State George P. Shultz in Stockholm, a gesture that indicated a desire to relax, not sharpen the atmosphere.

Then last June the Soviets' offer to open new negotiations with the United States on space weapons was a similar signal. Later they retreated from that offer after Washington tried to tie space talks to renewed negotiations on missiles, which the Soviets broke off early this year. It was a clumsy diplomatic sequence that is still unexplained, but suggests continuing differences of opinion in Moscow.

And now Gromyko has agreed to meet with Reagan, a step the Soviets insist is only meant to demonstrate their continued willingness to talk to the Americans, but which others were bound to interpret as a signal that Reagan's pressure on the Soviets was not going to rupture Soviet-American relations totally.

No Model for Good Relations

At first blush the Soviets' discomfort with Reagan might appear to Westerners to be useful, but this is far from clear. As the Soviets seem to see it, Reagan is trying to undermine the very basis of their existence as a world power. He has frontally challenged the legitimacy of the Soviet system and empire. He has boasted that a western policy based on an arms buildup and tough bargaining tactics will succeed in making the Soviets more reasonable.

Such confrontational tactics do not appear to leave the Soviets any real room for maneuver. How, many officials asked in recent conversations here, could a Soviet government bargain constructively with Reagan without acknowledging to the world that the Reagan method for dealing with them is effective? How could they make deals with him and maintain their global and domestic pretensions?

"Our problem," one Soviet official observed, "is that we have no model for good Soviet-American relations." He suggested a cycle in which one superpower achieves a sense of relative well-being, only to discover that the same circumstances make the other one feel nervous and insecure. This is a plausible description of East-West relations since the early '70s. In the afterglow of detente, the Soviets began to feel better about their global position, began to throw their weight around, and ended up terrifying the United States. Now the Americans have responded with policies that terrify the Soviet Union.

A more creative, more flexible leadership in Moscow might find—with help from a more flexible American government—a path out of this dilemma, but the old men in charge now do not seem up to that challenge. Of course a new leader in the Kremlin will have a chance to start afresh, but he will not be able to ignore recent history. It seems likely—not inevitable, but probable—that a second Reagan administration would bring four more years of bad relations, with little progress in negotiations.

Furthermore, as the Russians repeat to an American visitor, they will survive. "The last four years have demonstrated that we can get along without you," as one put it. Soviet officials take comfort from their ideological view of the West, which convinces them that big economic crises are on the horizon that will disable their capitalist adversaries. At the same time, they seem incapable of acknowledging that their own behavior—the invasion of Afghanistan, the deployment of hundreds of SS20 missiles in Europe, their crushing of Solidarity in Poland, and more—had much to do with the deterioration of East-West relations. They are convinced that it is all the West's fault.

"The problem," said one senior Soviet official, "involves the size of the planet. It is too small. You Americans think you can be secure at our expense. That is impossible. We both can only be secure when we both feel secure."

The Andropov Succession

Seweryn Bialer

Much uncertainty surrounds the emergence of Yuri Andropov as general secretary of the Communist Party, the likely heir of four formidable predecessors during the sixty-five years of Soviet history. Lenin led his party through revolution and consolidation of power. Stalin revolutionized the Soviet political system and society through unbridled use of coercion and terror. Khrushchev shook the Stalinist mold, made Soviet foreign policy more active, and ended the country's self-imposed autarchic isolation. Brezhnev attempted to institutionalize the bureaucratic process of policy making. In domestic affairs he achieved a degree of stability hitherto unknown under the Soviet political system, notwithstanding serious failures of the economy. Internationally, he supervised the transformation of the Soviet Union into a truly global power.

What can we expect of Andropov? Here I propose to review the principal problems and difficulties Andropov has inherited and to suggest how these are likely to affect the direction of Soviet internal and foreign policy.

I

Brezhnev occupied the office of first and then general secretary for eighteen years, longer than any other Soviet leader except Stalin. His rule was less dramatic and convulsive than that of his predecessors, but he left a strong mark on the entire Soviet system. His major achievements took place during the first decade of his rule. His last six years were marked by domestic stagnation, resistance to change, and foreign adventures that were dubious for the Soviet Union's long-term interests and destructive of détente in the short run. He occupied office well beyond the point of usefulness to his colleagues, the ruling establishment, and the Soviet people. His experience illustrates once again that the absence of an established and accepted mechanism for transferring power is a costly luxury for a modern state with global ambitions.

Brezhnev aimed at first to reverse certain of Khrushchev's experimental and idiosyncratic policies in the interest of Party harmony and social and political stability. He sought to avoid confrontations among the top Soviet leaders and to provide both a higher standard of living for the population and the resources necessary to meet the demands of the "functional elites" in charge of the Party, the military, industry, and agriculture. In foreign affairs he wanted to translate strategic parity with the United States into equality on a global basis. In domestic matters Brezhnev's years will be seen as the most predictable and quiescent of Soviet history; in foreign affairs he was more ambitious and unpredictable than any other Soviet ruler. He leaves a mixed legacy of achievements and failures that will weigh heavily on Andropov's regime.

Brezhnev's greatest domestic achievement was his ability to preserve Soviet social and political stability without resorting to mass terror, notwithstanding major economic, social, and political problems. For the leaders, the open Soviet dissenters were more an interna-

tional embarrassment than an internal danger. Brezhnev succeeded in preventing large numbers of professional people from becoming a vocal opposition. The vastly expanded Soviet professional and educational class was brought into the bureaucracy; its members became preoccupied with professional questions and committed to their careers.

Urban workers under Brezhnev remained docile except for isolated incidents of unrest and strikes. The peasants, crushed under Stalin by collectivization, began to enter Soviet society;

its prison camps and punitive psychiatric hospitals. No less significant, however, was the simultaneous and successful pursuit of economic growth, in industrial investment, in military spending, and in consumer goods—which thereby satisfied Brezhnev's main constituencies. During Brezhnev's first ten years, increased production for the consumer economy, especially of durable goods, raised the Soviet standard of living in the city and countryside. Moreover, Brezhnev sought greater equality in distributing real income; the growth of

making body, the Politburo. He reversed Khrushchev's practice of frequently replacing high officials. While Khrushchev gave Soviet elites a sense that their lives were secure from terror, Brezhnev gave them security of office. Conflicts among elites responsible for such "functions" as agriculture and industry and those responsible for governing regions were resolved through bargaining and compromise. Brezhnev's authority was unquestioned, but it remained low-key, with a stress on conciliation.

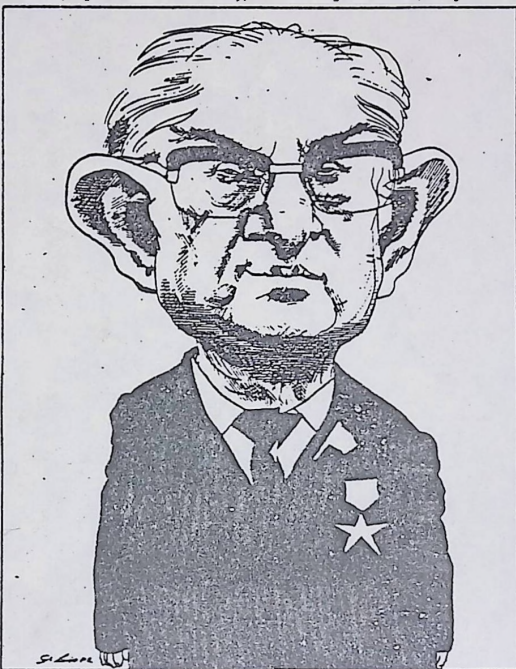
Under Brezhnev, the Soviet Union also scored its greatest international triumph—strategic parity with the US and the Western alliance. For the first time in Russian and Soviet history, the Soviet Union became invulnerable to foreign attack. Thus was accomplished the main goal proclaimed by all Soviet leaders, the goal in whose name countless millions suffered want, cruelty, and terror. The steadily growing and shrewdly balanced military program brought not only security from attack but the means to project forces far beyond Soviet borders. The Soviet Union's global status was established.

The failures of Brezhnev's regime are no less visible, especially in the Soviet economy. At his death in 1982, the gap between the Soviet gross national product and that of the US and Western Europe almost matched the gap when Stalin died in 1953. Two years ago, Japan overtook the USSR in industrial production and replaced it as the second largest economy in the world. Except possibly for military technology, Soviet technological development is now probably further behind that of the West than it was under Khrushchev. The Soviet economy has entered a period of deep noncyclical economic crisis, seemingly without remedy.

Until the mid-1970s, the Soviet Union used steadily increasing amounts of labor, capital, land, and cheap natural resources to ensure an annual growth rate of about 5 percent. The system is no longer able to muster these forces at the same rate. The economy has reached a stage where the traditional Soviet methods of mobilizing workers and capital will no longer yield sustained rapid growth.

Other factors make the situation worse. First, the Soviet system of management—central planning, crudely defined incentives, and mass mobilization—is poorly prepared to meet the requirements of intensive growth, which depends on increased productivity of labor and capital, on innovation and the diffusion of technology. Second, the "forced" industrialization of earlier decades proceeded without developing the basic systems of transportation, communication, storage, distribution, and services that would keep pace with the growth of manufacturing, mining, and agriculture. Soviet leaders will be forced to spend enormous sums on such "infrastructure" at the expense of precious capital that could otherwise be used to improve the productivity of labor and energy.

Third, the Soviet Union in the 1980s faces unfavorable demographic trends—a rapid overall decline in the number of



as, for example, when they were granted passports for free internal travel and given access to the social security program. Finally, the Soviet "internal" empire, the multinational state, remained remarkably quiet at a time when ethnic politics and ethnic separatism created difficulties for both Western and third world nations. In the non-Russian regions of the USSR, most people identify more with their ethnic group than with the Soviet state and in those regions cultural nationalism has been strong. Still, among non-Russian elites there have been very few overt signs of political nationalism or of a quest for greater autonomy, not to speak of separatism.

The remarkable social and political stability under Brezhnev, particularly between 1963 and 1975, depended above all on the colossal Soviet repressive apparatus which regained status and effectiveness after Khrushchev's anti-Stalin campaigns. No one should underestimate the continuing toughness and tenacity of this apparatus, with its system of surveillance and censorship,

consumer spending benefited particularly the lowest third of the population.

During the same decade, moreover, an increasing number of workers were able to gain higher status than that of their parents. More people took part in local self-government, such as the municipal soviets. Equally important was the continuing indifference of workers to "high" politics. In the "internal" empire, consisting of non-Russian republics, policies of repression and Russian administrative controls were combined with considerable cultural autonomy and private economic activity. Most of these regions had a standard of living higher than that enjoyed by the Russians, especially in the countryside.

Brezhnev's second major domestic achievement was in Soviet decision making and in reducing conflict among the elites. In contrast to the cruel personal dictatorship of Stalin and the erratic confrontational style of Khrushchev, Brezhnev, for the first time in Soviet history, brought elites from all the major institutions into the top decision-

new workers, an increasingly large proportion of whom will be non-Russian. Soviet authorities will either have to force a migration of non-Russian, predominantly Central Asian, labor to European Russia and Siberia, where most industry and new mineral resources are located, or else they will have to invest at great cost in the industrial development of Central Asia and Transcaucasia. Either solution would exacerbate ethnic tensions.

Fourth, the Soviet Union faces the near exhaustion of cheap natural resources such as oil, timber, iron, and other minerals. Production costs rise dramatically as such resources are extracted from increasingly remote areas in the north or far east. In addition, the need to replace aged machine stocks with advanced machinery, essential at a time of labor scarcity, will be affected by the inefficiency of the machine industry and the shortage of investment capital. The Brezhnev leadership repeatedly postponed to some unspecified date the vital technological renovation of Soviet industry in favor of traditional methods of growth. To Andropov's great misfortune that time has come. Finally, agriculture remains the most vulnerable part of the economy, notwithstanding the enormous investments of the Brezhnev era.

Without major renovation of the economy, a lower growth rate will have a serious and unpredictable impact on social stability. Living standards of Soviet workers during the 1980s can at best remain constant and at worst decline. This will be a new experience for the very large majority of Soviet citizens who did not know the postwar years of hunger and repression under Stalin. Moreover, the movement of their children into the middle-level and professional occupations will decline as a consequence of sagging industrial growth, lower spending on education, and stiffer competition from children of the new middle class. Soviet leaders cannot know how workers will react to a period of prolonged austerity.

Yet another source of serious conflict in the 1980s may be deteriorating relations between the dominant Russians and the other nations of the USSR. Tension in the non-Russian regions will increase if the central government cannot maintain a rising standard of living and ceases to tolerate private economic activity. In this situation the aspirations of the ordinary working population could fuse with the growing ambitions of well-educated non-Russian elites who may seek greater freedom from Russian controls.

As the stability achieved during Brezhnev's first decade became ossified during his last years, the older generation of Soviet elites, like its chief, clearly outlived its usefulness. Unable to deal adequately with the accumulated and growing ills of the economy, the old guard still refuses to give way to younger officials whose expectations of upward mobility have been frustrated by Brezhnev's gift to top leaders—security in office. Ordinary Soviet consumers still live in a drab world, a world of shoddy goods and chronic shortages. Not only did the standard of living stagnate or decline in Brezhnev's last years, but the economic achievements of the 1960s and early 1970s could not hide the moral decay and corruption that now pervade the entire society. Andropov inherits a situation in which bribery, fraud, and theft are an ac-

cepted way of life, even instruments for redistributing national income. The working class lacks motivation to work hard and its record of absenteeism and alcoholism is the highest of any industrialized nation.

Soviet culture remains a wasteland—Victorian, tradition-bound, and stultified. The official refusal to tolerate experiment and freedom of expression has forced the most talented Soviet artists and writers into voluntary or involuntary exile. Brezhnev's record on human rights was worse than Khrushchev's. He subjected nonconformists to long imprisonment in labor camps, commitment to psychiatric wards, harassment, loss of employment, and enforced isolation.

In international affairs the Soviet Union has ceased to be an ideological model not only for revolutionary forces abroad, but also for some countries under Soviet domination. Soviet policies created no lasting international coalitions, only fragile "marriages of convenience." Soviet economic and cultural resources are too meager to serve the aims of Soviet foreign policy, especially when they are compared to those of the US. The only significant assets of Soviet foreign policy are its arsenal of weapons and its military assistance abroad. These produce few lasting achievements and only increase the dangers of regional conflict, since Soviet interests have been seen as best served by the threat or fact of armed struggle.

The unresolved crisis in Poland is only the most dramatic sign of an irreversible process of political, economic, and military decline in the "external" Soviet empire. And only during the last months of Brezhnev's rule did his regime begin to moderate the conflict with China, which had mounted dangerously throughout his years in office. But perhaps the most important failure of foreign policy under Brezhnev was the collapse of détente with the US, which had been the cornerstone of his foreign policy. During his last years, the regime gave no hint that it had any ideas of how to restore détente or of what to substitute for it if this proved impossible.

Brezhnev's legacy is thus a complex one, marked conspicuously by the expansion abroad of a power that is declining domestically. It may well be that the Brezhnev era will be remembered as a time of lost opportunities. Internally, the Brezhnev leadership succumbed to its own conservative tendencies and the pressures of vested interests, and thereby lost the opportunity for major reform of the Soviet economy. The first decade of Brezhnev's rule offered the essential conditions for such reform—a high rate of growth and availability of resources to undertake a transition to a less centralized economic system. Today the new leaders must choose between reform and decline under much harsher conditions; and they will encounter far greater difficulties should they decide to carry out any major reforms.

Externally, the Brezhnev leadership succumbed to the easy temptation to exploit temporary American weakness following the Vietnam war and the Watergate crisis and pursued an ambitious expansionist policy by military means, for example in Africa and Afghanistan. During the early 1970s, when the military strength of the US and Western Europe remained basically stable, the Soviet Union lost the opportunity to secure durable agreements on arms con-

tro and reduction by mounting a steady military buildup. The predictable response of the US set back prospects of accommodation, perhaps for a very long time.

II

When power shifts from one top Soviet leader or group of leaders to another, the political system is severely tested. The strains on the system may now be all the greater since the regime must face within a relatively short time the replacement not only of Brezhnev but also of a significant number of aged officials in the functional bureaucracies, both central and regional. Yuri Andropov's appointment as general secretary of the Party marks only the most dramatic and critical phase of the complex succession process, for we know from the past that successions do not end with the appointment of a new leader. They continue for a number of years, during which the nominee consolidates his position and forms a durable coalition of loyal subordinates. All the previously successful general secretaries had to survive serious challenges to their rule or their policies from other contenders or coalitions before they became undisputed leaders. All were able to depend on the crucial support of the professional Party apparatus, which dominates the most powerful decision-making body, the Politburo, the top executive body, the Secretariat, and the institution that symbolizes legitimacy, the Central Committee.

During each succession the nominee has had to respond at least to some extent to the demands and hopes of the political elites, especially of the groups that are his main constituencies. During each succession the nominee and his opponents court the favor of Soviet citizens by making exaggerated promises and offering popular programs. (We do not know how and why, but during the initial stages of the succession the popularity of the nominee or his opponents is a source of power even in the authoritarian Soviet regime.)

What do we know about Yuri Andropov that helps us to anticipate the character of his leadership? He is a Russian, born in 1914, the son of a middle-class railroad employee. Unlike his three predecessors he is not of worker or peasant origin; but he has had little formal education. He completed a course in inland water transportation at a vocational school in the 1930s, but he failed to finish his studies either at the provincial university, where he read Marxist-Leninist philosophy, or at the Higher Party School in Moscow. He belongs to the Brezhnev generation of Party officials who managed to avoid Stalin's purges and advanced quickly as a result. Between 1951 and 1957 he worked in the Central Committee's department for East European affairs. He was ambassador to Hungary during the 1956 rebellion and later became secretary of the Central Committee responsible for the Soviet "external" empire. In 1967 Brezhnev appointed him head of the KGB, a position he held longer than any previous chief.

By all accounts Andropov is a sophisticated man whose knowledge and tastes have been acquired through self-education. He has never set foot in a non-communist country, but as head of intelligence he would have gained vast experience of foreign affairs. He has had more to do with running the East Euro-

pean empire than any other leader and his years in the KGB have given him intimate knowledge of both Soviet politics and the problems of enforcing order and discipline in Soviet society. But he lacks direct experience in managing the Soviet economy and will have to rely heavily on economic specialists newly promoted or currently in place.

Andropov rose quickly during the last months of Brezhnev's life, but not by Brezhnev's choice. In May 1982 he moved from the KGB to the Party Secretariat. This decision, taken by the majority of the Politburo, showed the sharp decline of Brezhnev's power and exposed divisions among the leaders. Had Brezhnev retired from office, the victor would probably have been Brezhnev's protégé Chernenko, who had taken over first the supervision of Party organization from the failing contender, Kirilenko, and then the day-to-day direction of the top Party institutions relinquished by Brezhnev. Andropov's main asset was his reputation as a leader who was not only forceful but had broad experience, a rare combination in the current Politburo. The coalition backing him probably included some of the older Politburo members for whom he was a man who had made

them I have mentioned are so pressing that they may provoke fierce divisions among defenders of various institutional interests; then we may see again the kind of confrontations among leaders that took place during the succession from Stalin to Khrushchev between 1953 and 1957.

More likely than any immediate challenges to Andropov's leadership are attempts to undermine or circumvent the power inherent in the office of general secretary. The statutory power of that office is so great, however, that even a politician less skillful than Andropov could use it to thwart opponents. As chairman of the Politburo, the general secretary controls both its agenda and the timing of its deliberations. As chief executive of the most powerful bureaucracy of all, the Party apparatus, he can appoint and dismiss key officials in all the bureaucracies. As chairman of the Supreme Defense Council, he is in a position to supervise the entire military-industrial complex. Brezhnev, moreover, set a precedent for the general secretary to become head of state as chairman of the Supreme Soviet. This post was left conspicuously vacant after Brezhnev's death and remains so.

The question now is not simply



an impressive career on his own—unlike Chernenko, who had long worked in Brezhnev's shadow. Andropov probably had the support of the younger members of the Secretariat seeking a candidate who—unlike Chernenko—would be willing to depart from Brezhnev's policies and who seemed to promise both a change in policies and strong leadership.

Andropov will not be able to feel secure until he replaces with hand-picked loyalists some of the present members of the Politburo, Secretariat, and Presidium of the Council of Ministers. His first promotion to full membership in the Politburo after Kirilenko "retired" in November 1982 was Gedeon Aliev, Party chief of Azerbaijan and former head of the KGB in that republic, and thus an Andropov loyalist. For the first time in Soviet history, two veterans of the KGB are Politburo members. Andropov should benefit enormously from his fifteen years as head of the secret police. By now he must know whatever may be embarrassing in the dossiers of every member of the Central Committee; he can command obedience from fear if not from loyalty or agreement with his policies.

Whether Andropov will face serious challenges before becoming undisputed leader will depend on how he deals with the domestic and foreign issues facing him. That these questions are now so formidable and urgent may seem to argue for unity and collective leadership, that is, for a repetition of the pattern of succession we saw after the fall of Khrushchev in 1964. But the prob-

lems I have mentioned are so pressing that they may provoke fierce divisions among defenders of various institutional interests; then we may see again the kind of confrontations among leaders that took place during the succession from Stalin to Khrushchev between 1953 and 1957.

One can detect a consensus regarding the new leader that cuts across most of the bureaucracies. There seems general agreement among them that the stagnation and decline of Brezhnev's last years must be reversed, however much particular groups differ on the means. They appear to agree as well on the necessity of strengthening social discipline and enforcing order after the deterioration in public and private behavior during Brezhnev's last years. Clearly no member of the Politburo is better qualified to respond to these desires than Andropov, with his long experience as the country's number one policeman.

Such elite hopes, however, are directed toward society at large. How will the political elites respond if, as seems likely, Andropov pursues a campaign for law and order within their own bureaucratic fiefdoms? Here, Aliev's new appointment to the Politburo and to the post of first deputy prime minister might well cause disquiet—he is best known for suppressing corruption in Azerbaijan. But one general demand of the political elites Andropov will probably satisfy quickly. He will most likely push upward the frustrated middle-aged officials whose promotions have long been blocked by Brezhnev's old guard. If he does so, he will probably secure a grateful, loyal, and effective power base.

As first, Andropov will no doubt promise Soviet citizens a better life in exchange for harder and more disciplined work. Yet he has a smaller margin of maneuver than his predecessors did because he starts at a time when the economy has a lower rate of growth. To improve the standard of living quickly would require deep cuts in military spending, thereby estranging one of the most important constituencies Andropov needs to consolidate his power. A major long-term effort to transform the economy—and a sustained rise in the standard of living ultimately depends on this—would show few results at first and claim greater sacrifices from consumers during the first few years in which it was tried.

If Andropov plans a long-range transformation of the economy, he may well strengthen the representativeness of the system so as to ensure obedience during a time of austerity. Some experts predict that he will, for a start, make some gestures that will be attractive to consumers—lowering some prices, increasing the supply of some scarce items. My own impression from many Soviet sources is that the Soviet public does not expect much improvement along this line—indeed, public expectations of more consumer goods seem lower than they were during the last two successions. I suspect that what the ordinary citizen hopes for is curiously close to what the elite hopes for—a strong leader. Of course the man in the street hopes that a strong leader will concentrate on the abuses of the gigantic Soviet bureaucracy and not on the inadequacies of workers in the factories. Andropov may concentrate on both and

As for the elite groups responsible for "functions," now as in past successions each group is concerned primarily with the fate of the institution over which it

may even partly succeed in correcting both.

By all accounts Andropov is a complex man, a strong personality with a remarkably subtle sense of politics, a leader very different from his two predecessors, who were shrewd but relatively simple men. But he has so far given little hint of how he conceives the future. As a leader of the second rank under Brezhnev, obliged to show personal loyalty to the leader of the centralized state, he could scarcely reveal his convictions. In view of his professional record, there is no reason to believe, as some have suggested, that he is a closet liberal; if we take account of the autonomy he can now command, it would be foolish as well to conclude he is incapable of undertaking reform.

Khrushchev responded to Stalin's legacy of paralysis and terror with vigorous and erratic innovations. Brezhnev followed Khrushchev's "harebrained schemes" with policies emphasizing firmness, predictability, and slow change. Andropov will probably attempt to replace Brezhnev's immobility and the deep problems it has produced with a determined effort to change outmoded policies from above and to install new people. Whether far-reaching changes will actually take place remains an open question: for the political price of such change will be very high, and may be perceived as higher than the price of trying to muddle through.

III

What domestic change takes place will probably occur in the control of social behavior, in agriculture, and in the economy generally. Andropov has clearly received a mandate from his colleagues to move against the rot, bribery, and reluctance to work throughout Soviet society. He will no doubt apply severe measures to make people work harder. He will probably crack down on dissent, absenteeism, bribery, corruption, and theft of government property. Far from liberalizing the system, his methods will strengthen its authoritarian character.

As for Soviet agriculture, which remains the single greatest obstacle to a rise in living standards, far-reaching changes are probable. The Soviet economy can no longer afford to invest immense sums in agricultural policies that don't work. Andropov may undertake to reform Soviet agriculture along lines followed in China and in some Soviet experiments during the past decade. While preserving the collective farm as an administrative unit, Andropov could insist that the family become the basic working group, with each family allotted pieces of collective farm land and rewarded in relation to its productivity. Or, what is less likely, he could adopt the Hungarian model and transform the collective farm into an independent unit that would for all practical purposes act as a private enterprise. In the short run at least, the food situation would improve if increased investment and acreage were allowed for private plots on collective farms.

It is harder to anticipate how Andropov will deal with industry and the system of planning, management, and incentives. No doubt he will organize major discussions on improving the economy, drawing on schemes for reform prepared by Soviet economic institutes for the post-Brezhnev leadership. Small-scale experiments and mar-

ginal reforms are bound to result from such discussions. For example, in order to improve the economic situation, Andropov might allow new service establishments—restaurants, repair shops, etc.—to be organized virtually outside the centralized economy. He may also create a privileged new group of industries working solely for export and enjoying advantages hitherto reserved for military production. But I have yet to meet a Soviet economist or official who believes that installing an extensive market system on the Hungarian model is possible in the USSR—not least because of the diffusion of political power that would result from such a change. Decentralization of the economy would tend to increase the power of non-Russian elites, a threatening prospect for the Soviet rulers. Andropov will try to shore up the industrial economy, but he will not radically reform the Soviet industrial system.

Much more can be said about the ways the succession will influence Soviet foreign policy and international behavior. Andropov's main concern must be to insulate domestic politics and his still unconsolidated leadership from foreign challenges and international crises. This will probably be a time of "carrots," not "sticks," for Soviet foreign policy. For the last two years, Soviet foreign policy has remained relatively passive, in part because the Soviets have become overextended, whether in Poland, Afghanistan, or Ethiopia, in part from the desire to preserve détente with Western Europe and to deny ammunition to the Reagan administration in the months before theater nuclear forces are to be deployed in Europe. The struggle for succession and the decline of Brezhnev's ability to rule also inhibited new moves abroad.

Until Andropov consolidates his position, we should expect that Soviet foreign policy will continue to be cautious. Low-cost gestures of international reconciliation could well be made, such as Sakharov's return from exile, or an amnesty for political prisoners, or the expulsion of some prominent Soviet dissenters. We may expect more overtures to the US ranging from friendly speeches on the need to improve relations to a "peace offensive" combining new proposals on arms control and reduction, along with a major propaganda campaign in the US and Western Europe to promote the nuclear freeze and "no first-use." The large element of propaganda in such peace campaigns should not, however, prevent the US from seriously exploring new Soviet initiatives for arms reduction or control. Meanwhile, Soviet policy will probably be muted in such danger spots as the Middle East and the Persian Gulf, where confrontation with the US is most likely.

A second major concern of Soviet foreign policy during the succession period is to hold on to international positions judged vital to Soviet interests. From what we know of Andropov, the key position for him lies in Poland where he will find that few compromises are possible. Even if the militarization of Polish political life is related more quickly than planned, the restoration of even a modest version of the free Solidarity movement seems impossible. Should new troubles erupt in Poland, direct or indirect Soviet reaction will likely be swift and harsh.

Another position the Soviets will attempt to maintain, regardless of the high cost, is the détente with Western

Europe, and particularly with West Germany, in view of the dim prospects for a rapprochement with the United States. At the least, the Soviets hope that the Western Europeans will intervene to force some change in America's policy toward the Soviet Union. At the most the Soviets hope to shatter the NATO alliance by exploiting differences in US and Western European military policy and attitudes toward the Soviet Union. Andropov will doubtless meet with Western European leaders, perhaps travel to their capitals. Very likely he will make new offers concerning nuclear forces in Europe before the German elections in March 1983. Such courtship of Western Europe certainly does not suggest that the new leaders no longer consider US-Soviet relations their central concern. It is clearly a second-best policy.

A third tendency of Soviet foreign policy during the succession period will probably be to cut losses abroad in order to dissociate the new leadership from Brezhnev's failures. Andropov may be expected to accelerate the effort made during Brezhnev's last months to improve relations with China. He may withdraw some troops from the Chinese border and make a dramatic visit to Beijing. Notwithstanding a recent statement by Tass in Moscow reaffirming the Soviet position on Afghanistan, he may also try to end the embarrassing stalemate there by discussing some formula to end the civil war—for example a new coalition government, demilitarizing and neutralizing Afghanistan under international supervision, and a staged withdrawal of Soviet forces. But it is also possible that Andropov will seek a military victory in Afghanistan. What is least likely is that a man of his character would tolerate a stalemate for long.

Andropov may try to reverse Brezhnev's sour relations with Japan, the Soviet Union's natural and potentially important partner in developing Far Eastern and Siberian resources. He could renew the 1957 Soviet proposal calling for the transfer to Japan of the two southernmost Kurile Islands in exchange for Japanese investments that would be repaid with Soviet raw materials and even oil. Further, he may consider the gradual withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola in return for international guarantees against South African incursions in Angola, even before the question of Namibia is settled.

Any show of weakness during the process of consolidation would compromise Andropov's standing with his colleagues and provide fuel for the opposition. The simple truth is that in the Soviet Union only a very strong and well-established leader can afford to make conciliatory responses to foreign pressures. If American policy makers believe that the Soviet Union can be pushed to make major concessions during this transition period, they may soon discover that the fear of appearing irresolute can cause dangerous Soviet overreactions to any challenge.

Andropov's predecessors, and indeed their opponents within the Soviet establishment, relentlessly pressed toward the goal of matching and surpassing the armed might of the Soviet Union's chief adversaries. In this succession, for the first time, the new leader controls awesome military power; for the first time the leaders of the USSR believe the country is safe from foreign attack. For the Soviet leaders, Brezhnev's greatest achievements were the extraordinary buildup on the Soviet Union's western

and eastern frontiers, strategic parity with the US, and the new ability of the Soviet armed forces to reach distant parts of the world. In the long run, Andropov like his predecessor will probably want to translate this military power into greater international political influence.

In the short run, however, we cannot

exclude the possibility that having achieved (or, as some would argue, overachieved) these large strategic goals, Soviet leaders will reappraise their national security interests and the aims of their military policy. Both the relative and absolute costs of the projected Soviet military establishment during the

next decade will be greater than at any time during the last twenty years. A Soviet effort to match America's reaction to its recent buildup could set off a new and virtually uncontrollable arms race. This costly prospect could impel the new leaders to decide that a reconsideration of military policy is one of

the most important tasks facing them. Under enormous pressure from other competing elite groups, they may no longer automatically allocate constantly growing funds to the military. Such a step may prove one of the few benefits for the United States from the new regime of Yuri Andropov. □

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THE ESALEN INSTITUTE SOVIET-AMERICAN EXCHANGE PROGRAM

The purpose of the Esalen Institute Soviet-American Exchange Program is to help create bases for harmonious relations between nations by developing innovative approaches to US-Soviet cooperation. Our emphasis is on maximizing the impact of citizen diplomacy as a supportive structure for creative government diplomacy. For the past 22 years, Esalen Institute has pioneered the development of skills that enhance interpersonal relations. Over the past four years, the Exchange Program has taken the lead in applying these skills to reduce enmity and misunderstanding between the US and USSR.

The Exchange Program has four major objectives: 1) to design and implement innovative personal interactions between Soviets and Americans that can better inform policy discussions in both nations; 2) to educate Soviets and Americans about each other; 3) to explore those elements in American culture that make accord with the Soviet Union difficult; and 4) to guide and inspire other innovative non-governmental US exchanges with the USSR.

In pursuit of these goals, the Program has pioneered live interactive satellite link-ups between large groups of people in the US and USSR, initiated dialogues between astronauts and cosmonauts, sponsored visits by professionals in a wide variety of fields to meet their American or Soviet colleagues, and organized both public and invitational conferences to develop fresh perspectives on the problem of East-West accord.

PROJECTS UNDER DEVELOPMENT

A. Special Projects

The two special projects described below are particularly dramatic because they are examples of peaceful and cooperative uses of space and technology which might help balance increasing military competition in outer space.

1. Astronaut/Cosmonaut Dialogues

Former Astronaut Rusty Schweickart (Apollo 9) and James Hickman have been exploring the ways in which astronauts and cosmonauts might join together as a symbol of the dreams and hopes of people around the world. As citizens of adversarial nations who nevertheless have shared an experience unique in human history, they may find fresh perspectives on difficult issues facing the earth--a planet they have seen from afar as a fragile life-support system.

In July 1982, Schweickart accompanied an Esalen group to Moscow where he met with Cosmonaut Leonov and representatives from the Soviet Academy of Sciences to arrange a planning meeting for an international conference between astronauts and cosmonauts. In April 1983, Hickman and Schweickart returned to Moscow with former Astronauts Michael Collins (Gemini 10, Apollo 11) and Dr. Edgar Mitchell (Apollo 14) for further discussions with Cosmonauts Alexei Yeliseyev (Soyuz 4, Soyuz 5, Soyuz 8, Soyuz 10), Vitaly Sevastianov (Soyuz 9, Soyuz 18/Salyut 4), Alexei Leonov (Voskhod 2, ASTP), and Valeri Kubasov (Soyuz 6, ASTP, Soyuz 36/Soyuz 35/Salyut 5). All the participants were enthusiastic about forming an international organization of space explorers.

The cosmonauts' participation is sponsored by the Soviet Academy of Sciences, and Schweickart is arranging a formal American sponsor equivalent to the Soviet Academy. Five cosmonauts have been invited to visit the US in 1984. It is hoped that this meeting will lead to the first international conference of space explorers to be held within the following year.

2. Satellite Link-Ups

On Labor Day weekend 1982, James Hickman and Richard Lukens worked with UNUSON Corporation and Gosteleradio to arrange two live satellite link-ups between Moscow and the "US 82" Festival in Southern California, the first communications of this kind. Soviet and American musical groups played live via satellite to young audiences on both sides of the world, who were able to see and hear each other as well as the musicians.

On May 28, 1983 there were two more satellite link-ups between Moscow and the "US 83" Festival. The day began with a one-hour educational exchange between California and Moscow; two panels, including Cosmonaut Vitaly Sevastianov and former Astronaut Rusty Schweickart, Academician Evgeny P. Velikhov and Congressman George E. Brown Jr., Academician Zoya A. Malkova and Maurice B. Mitchell, and Vladimir Pozner and Dr. Sam Keen, discussed the implications of satellite technology for education and its importance in facilitating international communication and understanding.

Congressman George Brown, Jr. (D-CA), one of the American panelists, has said, "Opportunities to strengthen our relationship with the Soviet Union exist right now. Used as a confidence-building and educational tool, direct satellite link-ups between the Soviet Union and the United States are such an opportunity. . . . These types of endeavors are the first small steps toward a world where cooperation replaces confrontation." The Exchange Program is continuing to work on these unprecedented developments in communication with the following projects in 1984-86.

a. Satellite Communications Research Program: With participation from academic and political leaders in both the US and USSR, the Exchange Program is implementing a research project between the Soviet Academy of Sciences and American educational institutions to study the factors involved in US-Soviet satellite teleconferencing.

b. Documentary: To increase public awareness of these recent communication developments, the Exchange Program is producing with Bill Jersey Productions a television documentary which explores the significance of live satellite link-ups for facilitating understanding and communication between nations.

c. Entertainment Special: Hickman and Dick Clark Productions are working with Gosteleradio to arrange a television entertainment special featuring interactions via satellite between top American and Soviet performers.

B. Individual Exchanges

The heart of the Esalen Program is the exchange of individual Soviet and American leaders in the scientific, artistic and political communities, who have a significant personal or professional commitment to exploring the

relationship between human development, changing human values, and international accord. When Soviets and Americans visit each other's countries as guests of the Exchange Program, time is arranged for private, informal discussions with professional colleagues and for formal meetings at academic centers such as the W. Averell Harriman Institute for Advanced Study of the Soviet Union, Columbia University, and the Claremont Colleges in California. With other organizations, the Program cosponsors presentations by Soviets to scientific conferences.

Out of the personal relationships that develop from these exchanges, larger projects emerge to influence wider audiences. The live satellite link-ups and the Astronaut/Cosmonaut Dialogues are two examples of this. Individual exchanges planned for 1984 are listed below:

- Jan: Dr. Yuri Zamoshkin, head of the Department of Ideology and Public Opinion at the Institute of USA and Canada Studies, has been invited to be a Soviet Scholar in Residence at Esalen Institute.
- Feb: Two Soviet anthropologists have been invited to participate in the Esalen invitational conference on shamanism, organized by Dr. Michael Harner.
- Feb: Dulce and Michael Murphy have been invited to spend three months in Moscow.
- Mar: Dr. Kenneth Pelletier and Rick Carlson will join the Murphys in Moscow to lecture on health promotion.
- Jun: Dulce Murphy and James Hickman will accompany to Moscow Dr. Sam Keen, who has been invited to lecture at the Academy of Sciences on the psychology of enemy-making; and Dr. Michael Harner, who has been invited to lecture on shamanism through the Institute of Ethnology as a follow-up to his conference in California.
- Sep: Victor Osipov of the Foreign Relations section of the Soviet Academy of Sciences; Dr. Inna Kolgunenko, Chief Physician and Director of the Institute of Beauty; and Tatyana Khromchenko, Administrative Director of the Institute of Beauty, have been invited to be Soviet Scholars in Residence at Esalen.
- Sep: Three Americans plan to travel to Moscow as part of the Farm and Garden Exchange.
- Dec: Dr. Andrei Melville, Head of the Section of Ideology and Foreign Policy at the Institute of USA and Canada Studies, has been invited to be a Soviet Scholar in Residence at Esalen.

C. Long-Term Exchanges for Improving the Quality of Life

A principal focus of the Exchange Program is the formulation of long-term cooperative programs that enrich both cultures and strengthen the human and economic components on which national security depends. New approaches to

health care and maximizing food production on small plots of land are two areas in which Esalen has pioneered new developments and has particular expertise.

1. Health Promotion Project

Dulce Murphy is establishing an exchange with various Soviet scientific and educational institutions to promote Soviet-American cooperation in the fields of wellness, disease prevention, and holistic health. Participating American professional organizations include the California Governor's Council on Wellness and Physical Fitness. Topics for the exchange will include productivity in the workplace, nutrition, stress reduction, physical fitness and attractiveness.

In developing this project, Esalen sponsored Dr. Elmer and Alyce Green's 1982 visit to the Soviet Union, where they conducted biofeedback and stress management workshops at several institutes within the Soviet Academy of Sciences and at the American Embassy in Moscow.

In late July 1983, Dulce Murphy and Hickman discussed the Health Promotion Project with colleagues in Moscow and Leningrad. In November 1983 Dulce Murphy again visited Moscow in preparation for her three-month stay there in early 1984. During this time, Dr. Kenneth Pelletier, Assistant Professor in the Department of Psychiatry at the University of California at San Francisco and Director of the Psychosomatic Medicine Clinic in Berkeley, and Rick Carlson, an expert on health policy in the US, will lecture at the Soviet Academy of Sciences and the Soviet Academy of Medical Sciences on the medical advances in this field. Plans are underway to convene in Moscow a scientific conference on health promotion research and to explore the possibility of collaboration with medical clinics in the USSR.

2. Farm & Garden Exchange

Concurrent with Esalen's commitment to appropriate technology and ecological balance, we have initiated an exchange of information and techniques for increasing food production on small plots of land. Esalen has provided information on urban farming and intensive organic gardening to Soviet agricultural specialists, and in the Fall of 1984, we plan to send three American specialists to study such techniques in the USSR. This project hopes to establish a joint US-USSR team of experts to develop an experimental demonstration garden in the Moscow Botanical Gardens.

In 1985, several Soviet agricultural specialists will be invited to visit the United States. They will have the opportunity to participate in Esalen's Horticulture Program and visit urban farming communities on both the east and west coasts of the US, to identify methods and technologies applicable to Soviet agricultural needs.

. Innovative Education

Significant interest in creative approaches to Soviet Studies exists among American citizens engaged in non-governmental, "Track II", diplomacy, but opportunities to learn the skills necessary for this work are very limited. In many traditional institutions, insights into the dynamics of

human relations are not applied to international affairs, and personal contacts between Americans and Soviets are minimized.

As new avenues of communication and understanding are opened by the Exchange Program, we look for ways to better inform the American public about possibilities for Soviet-American accord. As part of this effort, our Program sponsors seminars led by American and Soviet scholars, organizes public symposia (sometimes in association with universities and other institutes), sponsors residencies at Esalen's Big Sur facility for scholars of Soviet-American relations, and is developing a publishing program of books and monographs on Soviet Studies.

In these projects, we bring together scholars from many disciplines in the hope of finding fresh perspectives on Soviet culture and problems of East-West accord. The Program combines the best of traditional Soviet studies with insights from such fields as psychology, cultural anthropology, and the arts, inviting to its discussions both professionals from a variety of fields and amateurs with experience in non-governmental diplomacy.

1. Invitational Conferences

The Exchange Program conducts three annual invitational conferences to explore various subjects relevant to the Program's objectives. Each year, a few new participants join a core group that maintains the continuity of discussion. The informality of the meetings and the imaginative mix of participants produce a rich variety of insights and project ideas. Conferences for 1984 are:

a. The Psychology of US-Soviet Relations: 15-20 of the nation's leading specialists in Soviet Studies and theorists in political psychology examine the motivational and structural elements of conflict between the American and Soviet systems to find practical areas where it might be eased.

b. Experimental Workshops: In a series of simulations and games workshops with Soviet and American participants, characteristic differences in their behavior patterns and approaches to problems are explored.

c. Track II Diplomacy: The advisors and staff of the Exchange Program meet at Esalen in Big Sur, California and at the Tarrytown Conference Center in Tarrytown, New York to examine the current state of US-Soviet relations and to explore how Esalen's activities may best contribute to relieving tensions.

2. Soviet Scholars in Residence

The Program sponsors residencies at Big Sur for scholars and students of Soviet culture and Soviet-American relations. These follow the pattern for such residencies established at Esalen for scholars in other fields, and last for various lengths of time according to the program participants' needs and schedules. This program enables its participants, who come from both the US and USSR, to work on books and meet with colleagues and students. The format encourages intensive private discussions between Soviets and Americans on subjects of mutual interest.

Invited Soviet Scholars in Residence for 1984 include Dr. Yuri Zamoshkin, Dr. Andrei Melville, Dr. Inna Kolgunenko, Tatyana Khromchenko, and Victor Osipov. Drs. Zamoshkin and Melville have been invited to conduct seminars on Soviet-American relations at the Claremont Colleges and at Columbia University.

3. Public Seminars

Esalen schedules about 500 public seminars attended by a total of over 5000 people annually at its Big Sur facility. An increasing number of these are devoted to explorations of Soviet culture and Soviet-American relations as part of the Exchange Program's effort to acquaint a wider audience with these subjects.

Some of these seminars are led by American scholars, some by Soviet scholars, and some are organized around specific topics. Among the invited leaders of these programs in 1983-84 are Arthur Cox, a specialist on arms control; Dr. Vera Dunham, a scholar of contemporary Soviet literature; Dr. Yuri Zamoshkin, a political philosopher from the Soviet Academy of Sciences; Dr. Sam Keen, a philosopher exploring the psychology of international conflict; James Hickman, Director of the Esalen Institute Soviet-American Exchange Program; Dulce Murphy, Director of the Health Promotion Project of the Esalen Institute Soviet-American Exchange Program; and Dr. Kenneth Pelletier, Director of the Psychosomatic Medicine Clinic in Berkeley.

The Program also cosponsors educational programs in cooperation with other institutions. These include the W. Averell Harriman Institute for Advanced Study of the Soviet Union (at Columbia University), the Claremont Colleges, the University of California Extension, the Saybrook Institute, the International Society of Political Psychology, the Institute for Soviet-American Relations, and the Association for Humanistic Psychology. Esalen cosponsors public and private symposia with these groups, shares travel expenses for visiting Soviet and American scholars with them, and confers with their personnel on various matters of mutual concern in the area of Soviet Studies.

With the University of California, Esalen sponsored the "Faces of the Enemy" Conference in 1983, which examined the psychological and political ramifications of the arms race and new ways to create conditions for peace. Speakers included Dr. Sam Keen, Dr. Ashley Montague, Susan Griffin, Dr. William Sloan Coffin, Dr. Valentin Berezhkov, Arthur Cox, Richard Baker-roshi, and Robert Bly. Other conferences are being planned on "Track II" diplomacy and on the changing armed forces in the nuclear age.

4. Information Gathering and Distribution

Staff members present reports at national and international conferences and make frequent trips to the USSR to exchange publications with our Soviet colleagues. As Program Director, James Hickman travels regularly throughout the US meeting with policy makers, advisors and supporters to share insights gathered from the Program's activities.

Beginning in 1984, the Exchange Program will arrange for the publication of journal articles, books and monographs on topics related to its program. Some of these will be authored by scholars in residence at the center in Big Sur, others by scholars located elsewhere.

The Esalen Institute Transformation Project Archive was established in 1976 to study extraordinary human abilities that are evident in mind assisted healing, medical hypnosis, biofeedback, spontaneous remission of disease, sports, yoga, and other activities. To this end, the project is developing a computerized data base of evidence for the human organism's transformative capacities, analyzing the ways and circumstances in which high-level bodily change occurs, developing disciplines to support such change, conducting seminars, and publishing books and articles on the project's findings.

With the USSR Academy of Sciences, we are informally exchanging articles published in scholarly journals. We intend to translate and develop a comprehensive library of published Soviet investigations of human potentials.

FINANCIAL COMMENTS

The principal strengths of Esalen's Soviet-American Exchange are its ability to create and follow through with new ideas for its own activities and for other Soviet-American endeavors, and its financial and operational independence from the US government. Because the climate of Soviet-American relations is so sensitive, building trust and mature personal relationships is essential to making real progress in bringing the two cultures closer together. Recognizing that our goals will require long-term efforts, we are developing a broad base of individual, foundation, and corporate funders that will contribute to the Program for several years. Thirty separate funding sources have participated.

Since the program was established in 1979, contributions have totalled \$310,000. This past year we formed a Planning and Advisory Board to direct our fundraising activities and financial management. With their assistance, we are developing a long-range strategy to cultivate new funding sources and to establish multi-year commitments from our previous supporters.

STAFF

The salaried staff consists of two full-time employees, one part-time research assistant/translator, and two part-time research assistants. The volunteer staff are also critical to the Program's success.

James L. Hickman is a founder and Director of the Program. He is a salaried employee of the Exchange Program, responsible for fund raising, project creation and development, maintaining dialogue with Soviet and American advisors and participants, and consulting organizations and individuals interested in improving Soviet-American relations. Hickman earned a M.A. in Psychology from Sonoma State University, and he specializes in political psychology, human development and communications. For ten years he has been arranging exchange projects between American and Soviet academics and professionals. With Michael Murphy, he established the Transformation Project Archive of scientific studies concerned with extraordinary psychophysical capacities that appear in sport, meditative practice, the performing and healing arts and other disciplines.

Michael Murphy is a founder of the Program and works on a volunteer basis in fund raising, project creation and development, and maintaining communication with Soviet advisors. Murphy is cofounder and Chairman of the

Board of Esalen Institute. He is Director of the Transformation Project Archive and has maintained a continued interest in the development of extraordinary human capacities, experimental therapies, programs for expanded consciousness, humanistic psychology, and other disciplines which seek to develop human potentials that are otherwise neglected. In 1952 he received his B.A. degree in psychology from Stanford University, and he has done graduate work in philosophy at Stanford and at the American Academy of Asian Studies in San Francisco. In 1976 Time Magazine honored him as one of the 200 leaders of the future. Murphy has written a sports anthology and three novels, and is currently writing a book exploring exceptional human functioning and the psycho-physical disciplines that facilitate it.

Dulce Murphy is a founder of the Program and Director of the Health Promotion Project. She works on a volunteer basis in organization, public relations, project development, and maintaining contact with Soviet colleagues. Murphy travels regularly to the Soviet Union and hosts Soviet colleagues who visit San Francisco. For four years, she was Director of Esalen Institute's San Francisco Center and a member of Esalen's Board of Trustees. She is a founding member and Vice-Chairman of the California Governor's Council on Wellness and Physical Fitness, appointed by former Governor Edmund G. Brown, Jr. and has worked with outstanding leaders in the field of health promotion for the last 15 years.

Mary Payne is a founder of the Program, Director of the Farm and Garden Exchange, and works on a volunteer basis in developing the audio-visual, interpersonal and aesthetic segments of the project. She has traveled extensively in the Soviet Union and works with Hickman in maintaining contact with Soviet advisors and colleagues.

Janet Grove is a salaried employee who assists Hickman in the organization and management of the Program as a whole and of its various projects. She earned a B.A. in Psychology from Goucher College, and lived and worked with the San Francisco Zen Center for eight years, to complement her academic background with the study of Buddhist philosophy, meditation, and involvement in community life. She has studied several European languages and is particularly interested in problems of intercultural communication.

Anya Kucharev is a research associate and translator for the Program. She earned a M.A. in Slavic languages and literature at Indiana University, taught Russian language at the Defense Language Institute in Monterey, California, has translated numerous Russian publications, and works as interpreter for Esalen's Soviet guests in the United States. She has recently obtained certification to teach Russian through accelerated learning techniques, and is now developing a program of tours to the Soviet Union.

Julie Kay Mueller is a part-time office and research assistant. She speaks Russian and is interested in Eastern European history, literature and politics. She received her B.A. from Swarthmore College in Political Philosophy and is currently studying Russian and Soviet history in a M.A./Ph.D. program at the University of California at Berkeley.

Wendy Grace assists on a volunteer basis with project development and fundraising. She has traveled to the Soviet Union three times, managing a display at the 1983 Moscow International Book Fair, and exploring possibilities for joint book ventures and exchanges. She has a background in

comparative religion and Russian Orthodox theology, and is currently studying nontraditional healing techniques.

PLANNING ADVISORY BOARD

The Board members assist in developing strategies to attain long-term program goals, oversee financial management, and participate in fundraising activities. Representing the Esalen Exchange Program staff, Michael Murphy is also a member of the Planning Advisory Board.

Anne Bartley has long been involved in many facets of governmental and philanthropic work, and is also currently on the Boards of the Rockefeller Family Fund, the Winthrop Rockefeller Foundation, Peace Links, and the Institute for Soviet-American Relations. She has worked extensively for her home state of Arkansas, developing and directing its Washington office, serving as a member of the Little Rock Planning Commission, and accepting a gubernatorial appointment to create and direct the Department of Arkansas Natural and Cultural Heritage. In 1978, she was elected Arkansas Woman of the Year.

Victoria Elliot, a businesswoman, psychologist, and photographer, is Co-founder and President of Norman Gershman Consultants, Wall Street's leading executive search firm. She is a Friend of the New York City Commission on the Status of Women, and a Trustee of Esalen.

Nancy Franco, consultant to the Exchange Program in planning and management, is a senior staff member of the Management Assistance Corporation. This non-profit consulting firm, based in Washington DC, has for the past ten years provided management and assistance to non-profit organizations throughout the US. Franco has worked in the public interest sector in a variety of capacities since 1969 (when she began working with Ralph Nader), including lobbyist and writer on Native American issues, aid to Senator McGovern on hunger issues, aid to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Director of an environmental organization, and Director of a state-wide youth development and advocacy program.

Rob Stein is currently President of the Forum Institute, a private non-profit organization which assists foundations and public interest organizations by conducting research, analyzing social issues, reviewing objectives and activities, and developing funding targets and priorities. From August 1979 to February 1981, he was Executive Director of the Indochina Refugee Action Center and Chair of the Cambodia Crisis Center. Stein is an attorney who served with the Federal Communication Commission, the Citizens' Communication Center, and was a partner in his own law firm.

ADVISORS

The following individuals participate voluntarily for the Exchange Program as advisors to Program direction and activities.

Arthur Macy Cox was employed as a Soviet specialist for many years by the Central Intelligence Agency and the State Department. His expertise includes diplomacy, intelligence and covert operations, military affairs and arms control, USSR trade, and cultural exchange. His recent book Russian Roulette

examines the nuclear threat and proposes concrete negotiating solutions. The book includes a chapter on Soviet attitudes by Dr. Georgy Arbatov.

Harriett Crosby is a psychologist who specializes in cross-cultural understanding. She is founder and President of the Institute for Soviet-American Relations (ISAR), a non-partisan forum created to encourage personal contact and public education within each nation about the other. She has travelled extensively in the USSR during the past two years as the guest of Ambassador Arthur Hartman. Crosby was previously affiliated with SANE and the Friends Committee on National Legislation.

Vera Sandomirsky Dunham, Ph.D. is Professor of Slavic languages at Queens College, City University of New York and a Senior Fellow at the W. Averell Harriman Institute for Advanced Study of the Soviet Union, Columbia University. She serves as an advisor for the Esalen Program in the areas of Soviet life and culture.

Stanley Krippner, Ph.D. advises on the Program's overall relationship with the Soviet Academy of Sciences in the areas of psychology and human development. He is presently Director of the Center for Consciousness Studies at the Saybrook Institute in San Francisco, a member of the Board of Directors of the National Association of Gifted Children, and a fellow of the American Society of Clinical Hypnosis. Krippner is a former Director of the Kent State University Child Study Center, a past President of AHP, and a former Director of the Dream Lab at Maimonides Medical Center in Brooklyn. He has published over 400 articles in such areas as child development, creativity, learning disabilities, dream research, holistic health, general systems theory, and Soviet psychology.

Brendan O'Regan is working with the Exchange Program to produce a television documentary on US-USSR satellite teleconferencing. He has been a consultant to and producer of a number of documentary films on scientific research into human behavior for such clients as BBC, NBC, PBS. O'Regan is Vice President for Research for the Institute of Noetic Sciences. His past research and activities include that of Research Coordinator for Dr. R. Buckminster Fuller (1971-1972); science policy consultant to the Center for the Study of Social Policy at Stanford Research Institute (1972); and Visiting Professor at the Architectural Association, School of Architecture, London (1973).

Nina Tumarkin, Ph.D. acts as an advisor to the Program and participates in the invitational symposium on the psychology of US-Soviet relations. She is Associate Professor of history at Wellesley College and a Fellow at the Russian Research Center at Harvard University. Her recently published book, Lenin Lives! The Lenin Cult in Soviet Russia, published by Harvard University Press (1983), is the current winner of the Thomas J. Wilson prize.

ADVISORS TO SPECIAL PROJECTS

Consultants from the government, academia, and the business community advise on specific projects.

Congressman George E. Brown (D-CA) participated in the US '83 satellite link-up and is an advisor on Esalen's other satellite projects. He entered elective office in 1954, has served in a wide variety of local, state and

national offices, including Mayor of Monterey Park, California State Assemblyman, and currently, Congressional Representative of the Riverside-San Bernardino area. He is a member of the House Subcommittee on Science, Research and Technology, and is particularly concerned that new technological and scientific developments be put to uses clearly beneficial to the general public welfare. Brown has taken a strong interest in agricultural and science policy matters, and has been actively involved with legislation in a variety of energy and environmental programs in the last decade.

Paul Geffert is an advisor to the Program on public relations and media. He provides a full range of communication services to corporations, law firms, government agencies, nonprofit groups, and others. Geffert has produced teleconferences for corporations and business associations. He was formerly a communications director for the National Education Association, a newspaper and wire correspondent, a press officer for the Governor of Minnesota, and a full-time faculty member at the American University teaching graduate courses in public relations and public policy.

Peter Gerwe produced the American side of the satellite link-ups during the US Festivals and is an advisor on satellite projects. He was Vice President of UNUSON corporation and was responsible for all programming, staging, special effects, and world-wide transmissions of the US '82 and US '83 Festivals. Gerwe has also developed the initial structure of the US Network, an international network established to educate through entertainment and technology. Prior to joining UNUSON, Gerwe was the Director of Production for the University of Santa Clara, for all on-campus entertainment. He received a B.A. from the University of Santa Clara, and is currently president of Sunset Entertainment Inc.

Sam Keen, Ph.D., a contributing editor to Psychology Today and American Health, is concentrating his current work on the psychology of enemy-making. He was moderator for Esalen's "Faces of the Enemy" conference in January 1983, and for the American panel in the May 1983 California/Moscow live satellite link-up. With assistance from the Esalen Program, he is working on a manuscript, a film, and a series of public seminars called "Faces of the Enemy". Keen is the author of many articles and books, including Apology for Wonder, To a Dancing God, Beginnings without End and The Passionate Life: Stages of Loving. He was educated at Harvard and Princeton and was a Professor of philosophy and religion at various institutions before becoming a free-lance thinker.

Richard H. Lukens has produced a number of large public events around the themes of holistic health and the appropriate uses of technology. Together with Dr. Peter Ellis in early spring of 1982, he conceived the idea for a US-USSR satellite exchange at the US Festival. During the '82 and '83 Festivals he was on-site in Moscow with Hickman to coproduce the link-ups. He is dedicated to the use of technology not only as a communication link but as a yet-unexplored opportunity for increasing understanding and cooperation between peoples of the world in the future.

Kenneth Pelletier, Ph.D. is a principal advisor to the Health Promotion Project. He is Assistant Clinical Professor in the Department of Psychiatry and the Langley Porter Neuropsychiatric Institute, University of California and the School of Medicine, San Francisco, and also Assistant Professor in the Department of Public Health, University of California, Berkeley. He is the author of four books and many articles on health.

Russell Schweickart, a former astronaut, is the coordinator and spokesperson for the Astronaut/Cosmonaut Dialogues. He is a commissioner on the California Energy Resources, Conservation and Development Commission, and in Summer 1982 he lectured on energy policy in Moscow at the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. Schweickart was one of 14 astronauts who came to NASA in October 1963. He served as lunar module pilot for Apollo 9 in March 1969, logging 241 hours in space, and as backup commander for the first Skylab mission in the Spring of 1973. Before working with NASA he was a research scientist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

PROJECT HISTORY

May-June 1971: Michael Murphy visited with Soviet scientists in the USSR as a guest of the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

June-July 1972: James Hickman attended the "International Meeting on the Problem of Bio-energy and Related Areas" in Moscow.

Sept-Oct 1979: Hickman and Mary Payne attended the "International Symposium on the Problem of the Unconscious" in Tbilisi, Georgia, USSR and spent seven weeks visiting researchers throughout the Soviet Union.

Feb 1980: Dr. Valentin Berezhkov, First Secretary of the Soviet Embassy in Washington D.C., visited Esalen Institute with his wife, Lara, and initiated negotiations to establish the Esalen Institute Soviet-American Exchange Program.

June-July 1980: Hickman, Payne, and Michael and Dulce Murphy represented Esalen Institute at the "First International Congress on Sports and Modern Society" as official guests of the Sports Committee of the USSR. The four of them spent six weeks in the Soviet Union meeting with scientists, journalists, artists, athletes and political analysts who want to cooperate in a variety of joint Soviet-American projects.

Oct 1980: Dr. Andrei Kokoshin, Chairman of the Department of Domestic Politics of the USA within the Institute of USA and Canada, Academy of Sciences of the USSR, visited San Francisco to participate in private discussions with American researchers who are involved in the Esalen Exchange Program.

Nov 1980: Kokoshin returned to San Francisco for more discussions and visited Esalen Institute.

Nov 1980: Dr. Georgi Skorov, Deputy Director of the Institute of USA and Canada, and Dr. Alexander Dynkin, Senior Staff Member of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations, Academy of Sciences of the USSR, visited San Francisco to meet with American participants in the Esalen Exchange Program.

Nov 1980: Dr. Nikolai Popov, Senior Researcher at the Institute of USA and Canada Studies, Academy of Sciences of the USSR, visited Esalen Institute and met with professional colleagues participating in the Exchange Program.

Jan 1981: Hickman traveled to Moscow to coordinate exchange programs for 1981 with the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. He met with representatives from seven institutes and discussed possible collaborative projects in the fields of health care, physical culture, management, ecology, and psychology.

Feb 1981: At the first Esalen Soviet-American planning seminar, Soviet specialists from the US government and private institutions met at Big Sur for a week of private discussions concerning problems in relations between the two countries and possible new solutions.

March 1981: Dr. Berezhevskiy and Dr. Igor Makarov, Science and Technology Attache at the Soviet Embassy in Washington, spent three days in San Francisco meeting with Northern California scholars who participated in the February seminar.

May-June 1981: Hickman, Payne, the Murphys and Richard Baker-roshi visited the Soviet Union and discussed collaboration on exchange programs with representatives from eight different institutes.

July-Aug 1981: As Esalen's guest, Dr. Georgi Skorov met with businesspeople, economists, academics, and political philosophers in New York, Massachusetts, Washington D.C., San Francisco, and Esalen.

Oct 1981: A second Soviet-American planning seminar met at Tarrytown, where the staff of the Program discussed projects with their advisors.

Nov 1981: Dr. V্লাйл Kaznacheyev, Director of the Institute for Clinical and Experimental Medicine and former President of the Siberian Academy of Medical Sciences of the USSR, discussed his research in cellular communication at Princeton University, the National Academy of Sciences, University of California at Davis, and Esalen Institute, under the sponsorship of Esalen's Exchange Program.

Dec 1981: Hickman attended UNESCO's International Meeting on Human Needs in Tbilisi, Georgia, USSR, to discuss Esalen's participation in the program.

March 1982: The third Soviet-American planning seminar met at Esalen in Big Sur.

April 1982: Dr. Elmer and Alyce Green lectured at various research institutes in Moscow, and conducted training programs in biofeedback and stress management for members of the Soviet health care community and for senior staff at the American Embassy.

April-May 1982: John Whitmore, a British management consultant, and Diana Becchetti, an Esalen Trustee from Great Britain, visited Moscow with Hickman and subsequently established in England a related exchange program in psychotherapy, mental training in sports, and arms control.

June-July 1982: Dr. Yuri Zamoshkin and Dr. Andrei Melville attended the annual meeting of the International Society for Political Psychology in Washington D. C., as guests of the Esalen Program. Following the conference, Dr. Zamoshkin met with professional colleagues in Washington. Dr. Melville met with prominent political leaders in New York and California, and met informally with leading producers, directors, and screenwriters in Hollywood.

July-Aug 1982: Hickman, Payne, and the Murphys visited the USSR with the following people: Rusty Schweickart, a former astronaut and member of the California Energy Resources, Conservation, and Development Commission, who met with cosmonauts and lectured on energy development and appropriate technology with several institutes in the Soviet Academy of Sciences; Dr. Ron Brown and Jean Marie Robbins Brown, specialists in management development, who discussed management education and training, organizational development, minority personnel planning, career development, and organizational problem-solving with their Soviet colleagues; and Richard Baker-roshi, Abbot of the San Francisco Zen Center, and his associate Renee des Tombes, who established a dialogue in philosophy and religion with members of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and the Russian Orthodox Church.

Sept 1982: Hickman and Richard Lukens negotiated with Gosteleradio, the State Committee for Radio and Television, to set up a live interactive satellite link-up between a studio in Moscow and the "US 82" Festival in California.

Sept 1982: Dr. David Deamer, a molecular biologist from the University of California at Davis, met in Moscow with his Soviet colleagues for ten days of private talks about future collaboration on scientific studies.

Oct 1982: A seminar was organized at Esalen, chaired by Drs. Erik and Joan Erikson, on psychological aspects of political conflicts between Soviet and American societies.

Oct 1982: The fourth Soviet-American planning seminar met at Tarrytown.

Nov 1982: Dr. Vladimir Zazykin and Dr. Valery Venda of the Institute of Psychology of the USSR Academy of Sciences participated in private talks with colleagues at Harvard, Princeton, University of California at Berkeley, California School of Professional Psychology, Stanford University, and Esalen Institute, through arrangements made by the Esalen Exchange Program.

Dec 1982: Dr. Robert Solso, Chairman of the Department of Psychology at the University of Idaho, travelled to Moscow under Esalen sponsorship to do research in preparation for a four-month writing tour of the USSR, to be sponsored by the National Institute of Health in 1983.

Jan 1983: The Faces of the Enemy conference in San Francisco was co-sponsored by Esalen Institute, the Tarrytown Group and the University of California Extension, to examine the psychological and political ramifications of the arms race and new ways to create conditions for peace.

Feb 1983: Hickman traveled to the USSR to begin negotiations for the "US 83" Festival.

Feb 1983: John Burton, Vice President of the International Studies Association, travelled to Moscow under Esalen sponsorship, where he met with Soviet colleagues to negotiate organization of an International Facilitating Service. This Service would rely on conflict resolution specialists from many countries to assist in resolving problems between nations.

Feb 1983: The fifth Esalen Soviet-American planning seminar met at Esalen Institute in Big Sur.

Feb 1983: Colette Shulman was funded as part of an American team in Moscow to arrange exchanges between prominent women from the US and USSR.

April 1983: Mary Payne, Anya Kucharev, Joan Steffy, Cyndy Lazaroff and other friends of the Program, including six people from Creative Initiative, visited Moscow, Leningrad, and Tbilisi as part of a communication project.

April-May 1983: Paul Pozner, a Soviet scholar of Vietnamese history, was sponsored by the Esalen Exchange to spend eight weeks in the USA meeting with colleagues in New York, Washington D.C., San Francisco, and Esalen Institute.

May 1983: Hickman and Lukens arranged with Gosteleradio for the second Moscow/California satellite link-up, sponsored by UNUSON at the "US 83" Festival.

July 1983: A one-hour special on the "US 83" satellite link-up was shown nationally on Soviet television.

July 1983: Hickman and Dulce Murphy discussed the Esalen Program at the annual conference of the International Society of Political Psychology in Oxford, England.

July 1983: Hickman and Dulce Murphy met with health professionals in Moscow and Leningrad to develop the Health Promotion Project.

Aug 1983: Hickman, Al Schwartz of Dick Clark Productions, Peter Gerwe of UNUSON Corporation, and legal advisor Jonathan Bloch discussed arrangements with Gosteleradio for the 50th Anniversary Television Entertainment Special, commemorating the 50th anniversary of diplomatic relations between the US and USSR.

Aug 1983: Anya Kucharev accompanied energy resources analyst and educator Joel Schatz and his wife Diane, an artist, on their trip to the USSR to explore Soviet images of peace in preparation for creating a poster series, "A Unified Vision of the World at Peace".

Aug 1983: Kucharev accompanied Francis Macy, Executive Director of the Association for Humanistic Psychology; Paul Von Ward, former US Diplomat; and about 20 members of AHP to the Soviet Union. The group met with psychologists, health practitioners, and educators in Moscow, Leningrad and Tbilisi.

Oct 1983: An experimental workshop with Soviet and American participants was organized at Esalen, to help identify characteristic modes of behavior in the two cultures.

Oct 1983: The second invitational conference on Political Psychology was organized at Esalen, in which psychologists and Soviet specialists discussed psychological issues in Soviet-American relations.

Nov 1983: Dulce Murphy visited health professionals in Moscow to make further arrangements for the Health Promotion Project.

Jan 1984: James Hickman became a Visiting Fellow at the Institute for East-West Security Studies in New York City to conduct a research project on the role of space cooperation in Confidence Building Measures.

ESALEN SOVIET-AMERICAN PROJECT ON HEALTH PROMOTION

Implicit in our thinking about the Health Promotion Project is the idea that all scientific and cultural exchange between our nations contributes to the development of understanding and friendship. Such exchanges are vitally important, especially now in this time of growing tensions between us.

There exists in the United States today a growing body of insight, research and organizational commitment to concepts of health promotion, wellness and holistic health that might be useful to the medical, psychological and athletic establishments of the Soviet Union. Conversely, there exists in the Soviet Union similar work that might be useful to Americans. The project we propose would develop a two-way exchange between the appropriate American and Soviet organizations in these fields. It is our belief that the two nations' medical, psychological and athletic establishments would develop such work more effectively if they shared their insights and research.

Modern organizations in both the Soviet Union and the United States are seeking ways to improve worker attendance and morale. Various studies have shown that fitness and health contribute to higher worker motivation, higher productivity and less absenteeism. The psychological benefits that most fitness enthusiasts claim to derive from regular training include increased self-esteem and self-confidence, increased ability to tolerate stress, and a general improvement in the quality of life. Because of these discoveries, many corporations in the United States, Japan and Western Europe have instituted health promotion programs for their employees. Our project would bring fitness and health promotion experts from the corporate community together with Soviet managers to exchange insights and experience in these fields.

The following elements constitute this proposed exchange:

- *A literature exchange between the appropriate organizations in the fields involved. The collection of scientific evidence for high level human functioning that has been collected by the Esalen Institute Transformation Project will be included in this.
- *Lectures, seminars and workshops by Soviet and American doctors, educators and other health practitioners in both the Soviet Union and the United States.
- *A major scientific conference that presents the current research in the field of health promotion.
- *Groups from both nations would cooperate in the design of experimental health promotion projects to demonstrate the efficacy of the methods which the exchange will explore.
- *Implementation of training programs in Moscow with Soviet and American faculty.

Areas to be included in this exchange:

1. Productivity in the workplace
2. Motivation through high level health
3. Stress reduction, including psychological methods of relaxation and biofeedback
4. Nutrition
5. Physical attractiveness through physiological and mental disciplines
6. Health benefits of exercise
7. Recreational sport for the purpose of physical fitness, including aerobic conditioning

Dulce Murphy, Project Director, is a founder of the Esalen Soviet-American Exchange Program and works on a volunteer basis in organization, public relations, project development, and maintaining contact with Soviet colleagues. She travels regularly to the Soviet Union and hosts Soviet colleagues who visit San Francisco. She was Director of Esalen Institute's San Francisco Center and a member of Esalen's Board of Trustees for four years. She is a founding member and Vice-Chairman of the California Governor's Council on Wellness and Physical Fitness, appointed by former Governor Edmund G. Brown, Jr. and has worked with outstanding leaders in the field of health promotion for the last 15 years.

James L. Hickman is a founder and Director of the Program. He is a salaried employee of the Exchange Program, responsible for fund raising, project creation and development, maintaining dialogue with Soviet and American advisors and participants, and consulting organizations and individuals interested in improving Soviet-American relations. Hickman earned a M.A. in Psychology from Sonoma State University, and he specializes in political psychology, human development and communications. For ten years he has been arranging exchange projects between American and Soviet academics and professionals. With Michael Murphy, he established the Transformation Project Archive of scientific studies concerned with extraordinary psychophysical capacities that appear in sport, meditative practice, the performing and healing arts and other disciplines.

Michael Murphy is a founder of the Esalen Soviet-American Exchange Program and works on a volunteer basis in fund raising, project creation and development, and maintaining communication with Soviet advisors. Murphy is cofounder of Esalen Institute and the Transformation Project Archive and has maintained a continued interest in the development of extraordinary human capacities, experimental therapies, programs for expanded consciousness, humanistic psychology, and other disciplines which seek to develop human potentials that are otherwise neglected. He has written a sports anthology and three novels, and is currently working on a book exploring exceptional human functioning and the psycho-physical disciplines that facilitate it.

ESALEN INSTITUTE

Esalen Institute was founded in 1962 by Michael Murphy and Richard Price to develop educational approaches that would facilitate personal growth and to encourage scientific research that might bear upon fundamental questions of human potential.

Esalen is incorporated as a non-profit, educational institute in the State of California, and is exempt from federal income taxes under the 501(c)(3) provision of the Internal Revenue Service Code. Ultimate responsibility for its functioning rests with its board of trustees, and it is managed by an executive committee of five managers who reside at its main facility in Big Sur, California. Esalen elects some of its trustees from other nations to emphasize the international scope of its goals and programs. All trustees are elected because they have made a significant contribution to the field of human development.

Eight to ten seminars are held each week at Esalen's Big Sur facility. Approximately 500 such programs are scheduled each year. In addition to these, there is a work-study program that lasts from one to nine months for people who want to pursue the subjects studied at Esalen in more depth; about sixty people, half of them from foreign countries, are enrolled in it. Besides its regular seminars and work-study programs, Esalen sponsors research and educational programs (described on pages 20-23).

The following people have led seminars at Esalen: Nobel Laureates Linus Pauling and Richard Feynmann; historian Arnold Toynbee; author Aldous Huxley; theologian Paul Tillich; personality theorists Erik Erikson, Abraham Maslow, Carl Rogers, Rollo May, Gardner Murphy, R. D. Laing and B. F. Skinner; scholars Joseph Campbell, Alan Watts, Huston Smith, Julian Jaynes, Lancelot White and S. I. Hayakawa; anthropologists Gregory Bateson, Margaret Mead and Michael Harner; physicists Bernard D'espagnat, Henry Stapp, David Finkelstein and John Clauser; Pulitzer Prize winners James Macgregor Burns and John Mack; psychotherapists Fritz Perls, Virginia Satir and Price Cobbs; political leaders John Vasconcellos and Andrew Young; playwright Clare Booth Luce; artists Robert Rauschenberg, John Cage, Merce Cunningham, Andre Gregory, Allen Ginsberg, Gary Snyder, Robert Bly, Ken Kesey, Ravi Shankar, Ali Akbar Khan, Brett Weston and Ansel Adams. Several hundred other scholars, artists and scientists have conducted programs at the Institute, but the names listed here suggest the range and prominence of its visiting faculty.

Esalen is supported primarily by the tuitions it charges for seminars and workshops, using charitable donations for special projects such as its Soviet-American Exchange and its project on confluent education. Its budget is currently about \$2,500,000 per year, approximately 90% of which comes from tuition and 10% from donations by individuals and foundations. Some of the Institute's charitable contributions come from West European, Latin American, Japanese, Australian and Canadian supporters. To preserve its independence, Esalen does not accept money from universities or government agencies. From its inception, Esalen has operated as a free-standing institute that could explore otherwise neglected subjects.

Sometimes projects develop from which the Institute chooses to separate itself after they have achieved sufficient independence and maturity. It is appropriate that some of these projects find sponsorship by traditional institutions. One reason for this is that Esalen operates within its own constraints: among these are 1) legal restrictions (a project, once formed, might no longer fit within Esalen's non-profit charter and tax-exempt status); 2) financial restrictions (Esalen might not be able to support certain programs that do not fit within its long-term funding strategies); and 3) professional limitations (Esalen's programs might not include areas of inquiry related to the new project). In certain cases, it is appropriate that Esalen staff members consult independently with other institutions.

Esalen is now restructuring many of its programs to provide more advanced work in several educational, medical and scientific fields. More invitational conferences, such as the ones described on pages 24-27, are being organized; more opportunities will be provided for scholars to live at its Big Sur facility while they write and teach; and an increasing number of public symposia are being cosponsored with organizations such as the W. Averell Harriman Center for Soviet Studies at Columbia University and the University of California Extension.

In 1983, Esalen undertook a long-range development project for its Big Sur facilities that will complement its general program restructuring. This building project will serve two purposes: first, it will replace buildings that were damaged by the severe winter storms of 1982-83, and second, it will enable Esalen to sponsor programs which are not possible with its present facilities (such as meetings with more than 100 people or study programs that require houses for scholars in residence). Nathaniel Owings, a founder of Skidmore, Owings and Merrill, and a Big Sur resident, advised the Institute regarding the project's formation, and suggested that Howard McKee, of Skidmore, Owings' Portland office, supervise its implementation. McKee completed a preliminary development plan in the Fall of 1983, and a fundraising program was started. The project's phasing and speed of execution will depend upon the success of fundraising efforts in the years ahead. When it has sufficient funds, Esalen will build special centers in Big Sur that are separate from its main facility to house scholars in residence and special programs like its Soviet-American Exchange.

RESEARCH AND EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS SPONSORED BY ESALEN

Since Esalen was founded in 1962, the Institute has sponsored a variety of research and educational programs designed to stimulate creative thinking at the frontiers of human consciousness and social development. Some of these programs are conducted at Esalen's Big Sur facility, and some at different locations, cosponsored with other organizations. Both ongoing and completed projects are listed below.

THE FORD-ESALEN PROJECT IN CONFLUENT EDUCATION

Various approaches to affective learning were studied, both in Esalen's many seminars and workshops and in other settings to see which ones might be appropriate for the classroom. The program was funded by the Ford Foundation, sponsored by Esalen, and directed by Dr. George I. Brown, Professor of Education at the University of California, Santa Barbara. It helped give birth to the Department of Confluent Education at the University of California, Santa Barbara, where affective and cognitive approaches are combined in school curricula and teacher training programs for grades 1 through 12. Over 100 Master's degrees and 30 Doctorates in Confluent Education have been granted through this program by the University of California, Santa Barbara.

THE SCHIZOPHRENIA RESEARCH PROJECT

This program, cosponsored with the California Department of Mental Hygiene and the National Institutes of Mental Health, explored the thesis that the health of certain patients will permanently improve if their disease is not interrupted with anti-psychotic chemotherapy. 127 young male schizophrenics at Agnews State Hospital in San Jose, California, were studied over a three-year period. The results indicated that, in many instances, patients with a positive, "integrating" attitude toward their disease, who were provided with a supportive hospital setting in which to freely express their psychotic behavior, were more likely to rebalance themselves than if they were given traditional treatment with drugs to lessen their psychotic symptoms during hospitalization.

CORPORATE MANAGEMENT EDUCATION PROGRAMS

Designed for middle and senior level managers, these programs adapt psychological and communication skills to management needs. Participants have been attracted from a variety of private and government organizations, including American Airlines, Standard Oil and Memorex.

A SERIES OF INTERRACIAL MARATHON ENCOUNTERS

In workshops organized by Price Cobbs and George Leonard in 1967, members of various racial and ethnic groups were encouraged to explore their prejudices, angers, fears and resentments concerning racial issues. Many of

the participants believed that the breakthroughs in racial understanding they achieved in the program led to a general improvement in their personal relationships while making a contribution to the solution of a serious social problem. The Series sponsored 22 weekend or week-long sessions, and stimulated other organizations to conduct similar encounter groups.

THE ESALEN HORTICULTURE PROGRAM

In this educational and experimental demonstration project, numerous approaches to intensive organic gardening are tested. The Program uses a 3/4 acre intensive garden, a 4.5 acre farm, and ten acres of landscaped grounds at Esalen's Big Sur facility. It aims to supply 50-60% of the food needs for the Esalen community of 200 people while maintaining a standard of environmentally sound organic methods.

The Horticulture Program teaches various seed flat and greenhouse techniques, pruning and planting procedures, orchard and cover crop practices, organic composting and mulching systems, insect management, herbology, sprout production, soil management, edible landscaping, and food preparation. It also explores the relationship of human factors to the environment.

THE GAZEBO SCHOOL

This alternative approach to children's education was created and is directed by Janet Lederman, a Trustee of Esalen. It is a low-cost learning environment that utilizes its surroundings and the inherent curiosity of children as motivators for acquiring knowledge. Children are allowed to learn at their own pace, primarily by an apprenticeship or learning-by-doing method. The Gazebo involves members of the community, particularly older members who share their knowledge with the youngsters.

THE ESALEN SPORTS CENTER

Established in San Francisco, this project explores innovative approaches to athletic training, altered states of consciousness in sports, and new games. It has sponsored workshops, conferences, and training programs that emphasize the integration of body, mind, emotion, and spirit in athletic activity to cultivate a positive state of health and an increase in overall performance capacity through competitive and non-competitive sports.

CONTINUING EDUCATION

The California Medical Association and the California Board of Registered Nursing have approved Esalen as a provider of continuing education for registered nurses and physicians, who receive credit for attending some of Esalen's seminars. Such credit is necessary for physicians' and nurses' relicensing in California.

THE PUBLISHING PROJECT

Seventeen books related to the topics explored at Esalen have been published by this project and the Viking Press. The series was edited by Stuart Miller, Ph.D., formerly Director of Development and Professor of Comparative Literature at the University of California, Berkeley, and included volumes by Abraham Maslow, Ph.D. (a leading American personality theorist), Roberto Assagioli, M.D. (Italian psychiatrist and founder of the field of psychosynthesis), George I. Brown (Professor of Education at the University of California, Santa Barbara), Robert Ornstein, Ph.D. (research psychologist), Claudio Naranjo, M.D. (psychiatrist), Stanislav Grof, M.D. (research psychiatrist), Michael Murphy (founder of Esalen Institute), Charlotte Selver and Charles Brooks (developers of Sensory Awareness, a unique approach to physical education), and Joe K. Adams, Ph.D. (psychologist). In addition to these books, Esalen has published numerous papers and monographs through the years.

SCHOLARS IN RESIDENCE

Esalen sponsors residencies of various periods of time for scholars at its Big Sur facility. Gregory Bateson (anthropologist, and inventor of the double bind theory of schizophrenia), Joseph Campbell (authority on mythology and symbolism), Alan Watts (a leading interpreter of Zen Buddhism in the United States), George Leonard (author and philosopher), Sam Keen, Ph.D. (author and philosopher), Virginia Satir, Ph.D. (family therapist and personality theorist), Stanislav Grof, M.D. (research psychiatrist), Fritz Perls, M.D. (the inventor of Gestalt Therapy), Ida Rolf (inventor of structural integration, a pioneering approach to physical development), and others have lived and worked at Esalen as part of this program. Recently, Esalen has established a Soviet Scholars in Residence Program.

THE RESEARCH PROJECT IN HUMANISTIC MEDICINE

Researchers examined various approaches to wellness and healing that were presented in Esalen seminars to see which ones might help standard medical practice. About 20 doctors were trained in a variety of these approaches, several monographs were published, and many seminars were held for the medical community to disseminate the project's findings.

CONFERENCES AND SEMINARS IN OTHER LOCATIONS

Esalen has sponsored conferences and seminars of various kinds in London, New York, San Francisco, Los Angeles and at Stanford University, the University of California at Berkeley and at Santa Cruz, the University of Michigan, the University of Massachusetts and other places. Among these, there have been conferences on authoritarianism in religious and therapeutic groups, psychological projection upon the enemy in international relations, confusion between spiritual and medical ideas of human development, and on several other subjects. Esalen has cosponsored five seminar series with the Far West Institute, from which a number of books have been published.

THE TRANSFORMATION PROJECT

This investigation of extraordinary bodily transformations that occur in religious practice, mind-assisted healing, hypnosis, biofeedback, sensory isolation, sports, yoga, shamanism and other activities, was begun in 1976. The project is developing a computerized data base of evidence for the human organism's transformative capacities, analyzing the ways and circumstances in which high-level bodily change occurs, developing disciplines to support such change, conducting seminars, and publishing books and articles to disseminate the project's findings.

INVITATIONAL CONFERENCES AT ESALEN

These conferences are becoming an important part of the Esalen program. They are convened and chaired by one or two individuals interested in a particular topic, and are not open to the public. They are funded by Esalen Institute and other charitable institutions. The conferences listed below either have become or will become annual events in which a small core group meets each year with new participants invited to present material relevant to the ongoing themes of the discussions.

CONFERENCE ON SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS

The sixth semi-annual conference on Soviet-American relations, chaired by James Hickman, director of Esalen's Soviet-American Exchange, and Esalen co-founder, Michael Murphy, will be held in February 1984. Among topics to be discussed: similarities between cultural change in the United States and the Soviet Union; preconceptions and mistaken ideas each nation has about the other; possibilities for non-governmental, "Track II" diplomacy; and resistances in both nations to greater understanding and accord.

CONFERENCE ON THE NATURE OF REALITY

February 1984 marks the ninth year that theoretical physicists Nick Herbert and Saul-Paul Sirag have brought together a small number of scientists who are interested in the reality question in quantum theory. Though quantum theory is universally successful in describing nature at levels accessible to experiment, this comprehensive practical success is accompanied by disagreement as to what quantum theory actually means and a corresponding confusion as to what sort of reality supports the phenomenal world.

Controversy over the nature of deep reality has been sharpened by Bell's Theorem, which proves that any conceivable objective reality underlying the facts of experience must be independent of time and space. Thus, either there is no ultimate objective reality, or this reality is more peculiar than we have been led (by ordinary Newtonian physics) to believe. The impact of Bell's Theorem is just beginning to be felt in the world of physics, but it is rather like the situation of the Michelson-Morley experiment, which led to Einstein's theory of relativity.

Most of the participants at this annual conference share an appreciation of the central role that Bell's Theorem plays in any discussion of the nature of quantum reality. A good part of the work has been to simplify, clarify and dissect in minute detail the structure of this theorem. Foremost in these discussions is Henry Stapp's version of Bell's Theorem that relies on a bare minimum of assumptions. Much of the discussion among participants has focused on trying to talk about wholeness through such varied tongues as quantum logic (Finkelstein, Chervavskā), generalized mechanics (Abraham), quantum logic (Finkelstein, Chervavskā), multidimensional geometries (Sirag, recursive functions (White, Etter), Special topics of Rauscher), and non-measurable set theory (Pitowski, Bub). Special topics of discussion have included: experimental tests of Bell's Inequality (Clauser, Eberhard, Bartell), how interaction with the environment may confer reality on

CONFERENCE ON THE SCIENTIFIC INVESTIGATION OF SUBTLE ENERGIES

In May 1983, George Leonard convened a gathering of seven scientists to report on their investigations into "subtle energies." The conferees focused on three main subject areas:

1. Psychokinesis, or the power of mind to influence physical objects at a distance.
2. The extraordinary control of bodily states through intentionality.
3. The ability of two or more people to synchronize or entrain such physiological functions as brainwaves.

Fred Lorenz of the University of California at Davis reported on experiments in which some Energy Training students, simply by following instructions to "move ki" to the right or left hands, were able to shift dominance of skin electrical potential level (SPL) from one hand to the other. Charles Tart, also of U.C. Davis, surveyed the best current work in psychokinesis in the U.S. and Europe. Chris Cullander described his work at U.C. Berkeley in making extremely accurate measurements of variation in skin electrical potential level, which revealed significant differences of SPL at traditional acupuncture points. Dr. Tod Mikuriya and Tim Scully demonstrated sophisticated computerized biofeedback equipment designed by Scully and manufactured at his Mendocino Microcomputers, Inc. Volunteers in the group were hooked up to this equipment for informal experiments which showed a marked increase in the ability of pairs of people to synchronize their brainwaves after an energy training synchronization induction.

The conferees considered the possibility that training and induction, currently neglected in this field, might well improve the performance of experimental subjects. Plans were made to conduct further experiments using practitioners of Leonard Energy Training as subjects. A second conference is scheduled for 1984.

FRONTIERS OF EVOLUTION

Bringing together perspectives from the physical and biological sciences, philosophy, and the history of ideas, this symposium aims to explore a wide range of issues relating to the ongoing development of evolutionary theory. Its first meeting will be in June 1984, chaired by Theodore Roszak, professor of history at California State University and author of Unfinished Animal, Person/Planet, and The Making of a Counter-Culture.

THE ERIKSON SYMPOSIUM ON POLITICAL PSYCHOLOGY

In October 1982, Esalen hosted a conference on the political psychology of the relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union. The meeting was inspired and convened by Joseph Montville, a Foreign Service Officer with the U.S. State Department and a founding member of the International Society of Political Psychology. Montville invited Erik Erikson, the eminent social psychoanalytic theorist, and his wife and collaborator, Joan, to bring their considerable insights into group and national motives and behavior into the context of U.S.-Soviet relations.

A second meeting in October 1983 gave special focus to the psycho-historical roots of the American fear of the Soviet Union, apart from the more obvious military, strategic, and political reasons for superpower competition. In planning for the third session in the fall of 1984, Montville comments: "The symposium's work has been slow and painstaking. Psycho-social-political self analysis is a relatively new territory, and poses new challenges. Traditional political scientists have difficulty integrating the idea of group or national unconscious forces into their analyses, just as traditional psychoanalysts have been hesitant to get into political analysis. But progress is being made."

CONFERENCE ON PERSONAL IDENTITY

In November 1983, a conference was convened by Michael Murphy to explain fundamental problems of human identity. Among the topics discussed were: sources of identity in ordinary experience, the relationship between identity and the experience of various selves in cases of multiple personality, the nature of the observing self revealed by meditation practice, the relationships between personal identity and mystical experience, and the evidence for individual identities that survive bodily death.

CONFERENCE ON RESEARCH IN PARAPSYCHOLOGY

In November 1983, Russell Targ and Charles Tart convened Esalen's third annual conference on research in parapsychology. The focus of the meeting was "methods of response in psi," that is, how the most successful psychics process their mental images and information to extract the psi signal from mental noise.

The 1983 conference built on developments from the previous two years. The 1981 conference on "The Physical and Psychological Nature of Time" looked into the data for precognition as it relates to new ideas in modern physics. Participants concluded that the prevailing metaphor of "time flowing like a river" was not compatible with the data from psi research, and was not required by physics.

The 1982 conference contributed new ideas about the methodology of psi research, such as the effect of an experimenter's expectation on the outcome of an experiment. Participants concluded that, as in psychotherapy, a psi experiment is unlikely to succeed if the experimenter is ambivalent about what he or she is doing.

THE APERTURE ARTS SYMPOSIUM

In November 1982, eighteen artists met at a conference convened by Michael Hoffman, editor of Aperture magazine. Photographers, poets, performance artists, graphic artists, editors, critics, and curators were among the participants. The conference focused on the future of photography, identifying its problems and opportunities. It also led to several projects for the participants and the drafting of a photographic arts manifesto.

File (Russian Conference Feb' 1981)

LITERARY AND ARTISTIC PERSONALITIES

PARTICIPATING IN THE FORUM *

"FOR A NUCLEAR-FREE WORLD, FOR THE SURVIVAL OF MANKIND"

W R I T E R S

AFGHANISTAN	GULAM PANJSHERY - poet, political and public figure. President of the Union of Writers of Afghanistan.
ALGERIA	TAHAR OVETTAR - prose writer, public figure.
ANGOLA	LUANDINO VIEIRA - prose writer, poet, film director. Secretary-General of Angolan Writers' Union. Winner of the Portuguese Writers' Association literary prize. BOAVENTURA CARDOZO - prose writer, poet. Secretary of State for Cultural Affairs.
AUSTRALIA	DOROTHY GREEN - literary scholar. KATH WALKER - poetess, prose writer, public figure.
BULGARIA	ASEN BOSEV - poet, children's writer, translator. People's Cultural Worker. Winner of Dimitrov Prize. Hero of Socialist Labour. LUBOMIR LEVCHEV - poet. Chairman of Bulgarian Writers' Union. People's Cultural Worker. Dimitrov Prize winner. YORDAN RADICHKOV - prose writer, dramatist. Deputy Chairman of Bulgarian Writers' Union. People's Cultural Worker. Dimitrov Prize winner. VLADIMIR ZHIVKOV - Deputy Chairman of the Council for Cultural Development under the Bulgarian Council of Ministers. Deputy Chairman of the Culture Committee.
CANADA	BARRY BROADFOOT - prose writer. FRANCIS FITZGIBBON - publicist. Activist in youth movement.
CHILE	ISABEL ALLENDE - prose writer. VOLODIA TEITELBOIM - prose writer, literary scholar, journalist, public figure. Editor-in-Chief of <u>Araucaria</u> journal, published in Spain. PABLO UNEUS - prose writer, journalist. RAUL SURITO - poet, public figure.
COSTA RICA	JOAQUIN GUTIERREZ - prose writer. Winner of literary prizes.
CUBA	ELISEO DIEGO - poet, translator. Gorky Prize winner. Laureate of National Literary Prize. LISANDRO OTERO - prose writer, publicist. Vice-President of Cuban Writers' and Artists' Union (UNEAC). Winner of the Americas House Prize. Participant in the Issyk Kul Forum.

- CZECHOSLOVAKIA
- LADISLAV BALLEK - prose writer. Secretary of the Board, Slovak Writers' Union. Merited Artist. State Prize winner.
- VLADIMIR MINAC - prose writer. People's Writer of Czechoslovakia Chairman of "Matica Slovacka" Cultural and Educational Organization. Winner of State Prizes.
- MIROSLAV FLORIAN - poet. People's Artist of Czechoslovakia.
- EGYPT
- MAHMOUD AMIN EL-ALEM - literary scholar, critic, publicist, public figure.
- GAMAL EL-CHITANY - prose writer, journalist of the press agency "Akhbar al-Yom".
- ABDEL RAHMAN AL KHAMISSI - poet, Lenin Peace Prize winner.
- FINLAND
- VEIJO MERI - prose writer, poet, essayist, translator. Winner of the Nordic Council Prize and State Prizes in literature.
- FRANCE
- ROBERT ANDRE - prose writer, critic. President of International Association of Literary Critics (AICL).
- HERVE BAZIN - prose writer, poet. President of the Goncourt Academy. Winner of Apollinaire Prize, International Lenin Peace Prize.
- BERNARD BENSON - public figure.
- PIERRE GAMARRA - prose writer, poet, critic, journalist. Consultant to the journal Europe.
- JEAN SAINT JOUR - Chairman of the Board, "Credit National" bank of France.
- HENRI CORNE - Doctor of Sciences. Works with the Pasteur Institute.
- ANDRE STIL - prose writer, publicist, public figure. Member of the Goncourt Academy.
- RENAIS TAVERNIER - critic, publicist, public figure. President of the French PEN-centre.
- PIERRE ARGELLER - publisher.
- JACQUES LANG - public figure.
- FRG
- GUNTER WALLRAFF - publicist, public figure.
- KLAUS-PETER WOLF - prose writer, documentalist, publicist. Winner of literary prizes.
- MAX VON DER GRUN - prose writer, dramatist, publicist. Vice-President, Union of German Writers of the FRG. Winner of national and foreign literary prizes.
- FRIEDHELM DENNINGHAUSEN - literary scholar. Professor at the Bohum University. Member of the Board, Rhein-Westphalia Foreign Society. Vice-President of the Land's FRG-USSR Society.
- DIETER LATTMANN - prose writer, literary scholar, critic, public figure.

- JOSEPH REDING - prose writer. Winner of literary prizes.
- FRIEDRICH HITZER - publicist, playwright, literary scholar, public figure. Editor-in-Chief of the journal Kurbiskern.
- WOLF PETER SCHNETZ - poet, prose writer, publicist. Vice-President, Union of German Writers of the FRG. Winner of literary prizes.
- BERNT ENGELMANN - documentalist, publicist, public figure.
- GDR
- HERMAN KANT - prose writer. Chairman of the Union of Writers of the GDR. Winner of GDR National Prize and literary prizes. Hero of Socialist Labour.
- STEPHAN HERMLIN - poet, prose writer, translator. Member of the Board, GDR Writers' Union. Member of the Academy of Arts. Winner of national literary prizes.
- GREECE
- NIKIFOROS VRETAKOS - poet. State Prize winner.
- YORGOS KARANIKOLAS - critic, publicist. Deputy Chairman, Greek Writers' Society.
- HUNGARY
- BOLDIZSAR IVAN - prose writer, publicist. Chairman of Hungarian PEN-centre.
- KIRALY ISTVAN - critic, publicist, Academician. Winner of literary prizes.
- FEKETE GYULA - prose writer, publicist. Winner of literary prizes.
- CSERES TIBOR - poet, prose writer. Winner of literary prizes.
- INDIA
- GOPI CHAND NARANG - literary scholar, Professor, Doctor of Sciences (Philology). Winner of Ghalib Prize and Urdu Academy Prize.
- AMRITA PRITAM - poet, prose writer, translator.
- BHISHAM SAHNI - prose writer, translator, Doctor of Sciences (Philosophy). Acting Director-General of Afro-Asian Writers' Association. Winner of the National Prize, Nehru Prize and International Lotus Prize.
- ISRAEL
- SAMIH EL-QASSEM - poet, publicist, political and public figure. Editor-in-Chief of Al-Jadid journal.
- ITALY
- MARIO GRASSO - prose writer and satirist, poet. President of Lunarionuovo Literary Association. Editor-in-Chief of Lunarionuovo magazine.
- EDOARDO SANGUINETTI - poet, Professor of Italian literature, public figure.
- ALDO DE JACO - prose writer, publicist. Secretary General of the National Writers' Syndicate.

JAPAN	RYOHEI KOMIYAMA - President, Rironsha Publishers of literature for children and youth. NOBUYUKI NAKAMOTO - translator of Soviet literature. Member of the Board, Committee for Translation and Publication of Soviet Books in Japan. Member of the Japanese Association for Liaison with Afro-Asian Writers. KENDZABURO OE - prose writer. Member of the Board, Japanese Writers' Association. Winner of national literary prizes.
KAMPUCHEA	KONG BUNCHHUYEN - poet. Secretary-General, Kampuchean Writers' Association.
LAOS	SUVANTHON BUPHANUVONG - prose writer, poet. Deputy Head, National Press Department at the Ministry of Propaganda, Information, Culture and Tourism. Editor-in-Chief of the newspaper Vannassin. SAMLIT BOASISOSOVAK - philologist, translator. Associate with the Institute of Literature and Art Research, Ministry of Culture
LIECHTENSTEIN	EDUARD VON FALZ-FEIN - patron of the arts, public figure. President of the Council for Tourism.
LUXEMBOURG	ROSE-MARIE KIEFFER - prose writer, public figure, member of Luxembourg Writers' Union.
MEXICO	ELVA MACIAS - poetess. Director of University Museum. HERACLIO CEPEDA - prose writer, journalist, TV commentator. Member of the General Writers' Association. Winner of national literary prize.
MONGOLIA	SONOMYN UDVAL - prose writer, poetess, screen writer. Secretary of Mongolian Writers' Union. Member of the World Peace Council. Winner of F. Joliot-Curie Gold Peace Medal, Mongolian State Prize and International Lotus Prize.
NICARAGUA	LISANDRO CHAVEZ ALFARO - prose writer, diplomat. Winner of the Americas House Prize. JULIO VALLE - poet, critic. Head of the Literature Department, Ministry of Culture of Nicaragua. ERNESTO CARDENAL - poet. Minister of Culture of Nicaragua.
NIGERIA	FESTUS YIAYI - prose writer. Deputy General Secretary, Nigerian Writers' Association.
PAKISTAN	SHAUKAT SIDDIKI - prose writer. Winner of literary prize
PALESTINE	MAHMOUD DARWISH - poet, publicist, public figure. Chairman of the Union of Palestinian Writers and Journalists. Winner of International Lenin Peace Prize, International Avicenna Prize and Lotus Prize.

- ZYAD ABDEL FATTAH - prose writer, journalist. Director-General of Palestinian News Agency WAFA. Editor-in-Chief of Lotus magazine.
- P.D.R. of KOREA SOK YOUNG HEE - prose writer. Chairman of the Central Board, Korean Writers' Union.
- LI MONG HO - political and public figure. Chairman of the Committee on Cultural Ties with Foreign Countries. Chairman of the Committee on the Struggle against Nuclear Threat for Peace.
- PERU ARTURO CORCUERA - poet. Member of National Association of Writers and Artists. Winner of literary prizes.
- WINSTON ORRILLO - poet. Director of the Publishers Cansachun.
- POLAND JAN DOBRACZYNSKI - prose writer, dramatist.
- WOJCIECH ZUKROWSKI - prose writer, publicist. Chairman of Polish Writers' Union. Winner of literary prizes.
- PORTUGAL EGITO GONSALVES - poet, translator. Member of the Board of "Portugal-USSR" Friendship Society. Proprietor of Lineor Publishers.
- OSCAR LOPES - critic, literary scholar, professor. President of the Association of Portuguese Writers.
- URBANO TAVARES RODRIGUES - prose writer, Professor of Lisbon University. Member of the World Peace Council.
- MANUEL ALEGRO - prose writer, poet, public figure.
- THE PHILIPPINES VIRGILIO ALMARIO - poet, critic, professor. Chairman of the Union of Writers of the Philippines. Winner of literary prizes.
- ROMANIA ALEXANDRU BALACI - critic. Corresponding Member of Romanian Academy of Sciences. Deputy Chairman of Romanian Writers' Union.
- DUMITRU RADU POPESCU - prose writer, dramatist. Chairman of Romanian Writers' Union. Editor-in-Chief of Contemporanul weekly. Winner of literary prizes.
- SPAIN JUSTO JORGE PADRON - poet. Editor-in-Chief of Equivalencias journal.
- FEDERICO MAYOR ZARAGOZA - Professor, Madrid Autonomous University. Public figure. Participant in the Issyk Kul Forum.
- SWEDEN BENKT DANIELSSON - writer, researcher of ethnography.
- CARL-JORAN HEDEN - biologist, professor. Member of the Executive Committee of International Union of Biological Societies and of Swedish Royal Academy of Engineering Sciences. President of World Academy of Arts and Sciences.
- ROLF EDBERG - publicist, public figure.

SWITZERLAND	FRIDRICH DURRENMATT - prose writer, dramatist. MAX FRISCH - prose writer, dramatist.
SYRIA	ALI OKLAH ORSAN - playwright, film director, public figure. Chairman of the Union of Arab Writers of Syria. Deputy Secretary-General of Afro-Asian Writers' Association.
THAILAND	SUWAT VORADILOK - prose writer, publicist, screen writer, public figure. Member of Thai Peace Committee.
TURKEY	DEMIRTASH JEIHUN - prose writer, public figure. Deputy Chairman of Turkish Writers' Trade Union. Winner of national literary prizes.
UNITED KINGDOM	GRAHAM GREENE - prose writer. Winner of many literary prizes. JAMES ALDRIDGE - prose writer, publicist. Winner of International Lenin Peace Prize. FAY WELDON - prose writer, dramatist.
USA	JAMES BALDWIN - prose writer, publicist, playwright. Member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters. Winner of literary prizes. Participant in the Issyk Kul Forum. DAVID WOOLLCOMBE - prose writer, director, President of "Peace Child Foundation" BEL KAUFMAN - prose writer, publicist. STEPHEN F. COHEN - political scientist, publicist, professor of Princeton University. Member of the Consultative Council of US Academy of Sciences. Member of American Association of Political Scientists and Association of Historians. GERALD MIKKELSON - Professor of Slavonic studies, Kansas University. NORMAN MAILER - prose writer, publicist. Member of the National Institute of Arts and Letters. Winner of Pulitzer and other literary prizes. PATRICIA MONTANDON - journalist. Executive Director of "Children as Peace Makers" organization. JOHN NAISBITT - sociologist, futurologist. Chairman of Naisbitt Research Corporation Group. Member of the Board of Directors of US media corporations. Consultant to a number of American corporations. YOKO ONO - artist, musician, essayist.
VIETNAM	NGUYEN DINH THI - poet, prose writer, critic. General Secre- tary of Vietnamese Writers' Union. Deputy Secretary-General of Afro-Asian Writers' Association. National Prize winner.
YUGOSLAVIA	OSKAR DAVICO - prose writer, poet, translator. Editor of the journal <u>Dale</u> . Winner of literary prizes.

USSR

CHINGHIZ AITMATOV - People's Writer of Kirghizia. Academician of Kirghizian Academy of Sciences. Chairman of the Board, Kirghizian Writers' Union. Winner of Lenin and State prizes. Hero of Socialist Labour. Participant in the Issyk Kul Forum.

ALES ADAMOVICH - prose writer, critic, literary scholar. Doctor of Sciences (Philology), professor. Member of the Presidium of Byelorussian Writers' Union. Byelorussian SSR. State Prize winner.

BELLA AKHMADULINA - poetess. Member of the Board, USSR Writers' Union.

ANATOLI ALEXIN - prose writer, dramatist. Corresponding Member, USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences. Chairman of the Council on Children's and Youth Literature, RSFSR Writers' Union. Secretary of the Board, USSR Writers' Union. Winner of State prizes.

ANATOLI ANANYEV - prose writer. Editor-in-Chief of Oktyabr journal. Secretary of the Board, USSR Writers' Union. RSFSR State Prize winner. Hero of Socialist Labour.

GRIGORY BAKLANOV - prose writer. Editor-in-Chief of Znamya journal. Secretary of the Board, USSR Writers' Union. USSR State Prize winner.

EME BEEKMAN - prose writer. Winner of Estonian literary prize.

YURI BONDAREV - prose and screen writer. Secretary of the Board, USSR Writers' Union. Winner of Lenin and State prizes. Hero of Socialist Labour.

GENRIKH BOROVNIK - playwright, publicist. Editor-in-Chief of Teatr magazine. Secretary of the Board, USSR Writers' Union. Winner of USSR State prizes.

VASIL BYKOV - People's Writer of Byelorussia. Secretary of the Board, USSR Writers' Union. Winner of Lenin and USSR State prizes. Hero of Socialist Labour.

ALEXANDER CHAKOVSKY - prose writer, critic, publicist. Editor-in-chief of Literaturnaya gazeta weekly. Secretary of the Board, USSR Writers' Union. Winner of Lenin and State prizes. Hero of Socialist Labour.

VLADIMIR CHERVICHENKO - literary critic.

ALEXANDER CHURLIN - publicist.

EVGENI EVTUSHENKO - poet. Secretary of the Board, USSR Writers' Union. Winner of USSR State prizes.

RASUL GAMZATOV - People's Poet of Daghestan. Chairman of the Board, Daghestan Writers' Union. Winner of Lenin and State prizes. Secretary of the Board, USSR Writers' Union. Hero of Socialist Labour.

MAYA GANINA - prose writer. Member of the Board, USSR Writers' Union.

OLEG GONCHAR - prose writer. Secretary of the Board, USSR Writers' Union. Winner of Lenin and State prizes. Hero of Socialist Labour.

DANIIL GRANIN - prose writer, dramatist, essayist. Secretary of the Board, USSR Writers' Union. USSR State Prize winner.

EGOR ISAYEV - poet. Secretary of the Board, USSR Writers' Union. Lenin Prize winner. Hero of Socialist Labour.

VLADIMIR KARPOV - prose writer, essayist. First Secretary of the Board, USSR Writers' Union. Hero of the Soviet Union. USSR State Prize winner.

MUSTAI KARIM - People's Poet of Bashkiria, playwright. Member of the Board, USSR Writers' Union. Winner of State prizes.

SERGEI KOLOV - literary scholar.

VITALI KOROTICH - poet, prose writer. Editor-in-Chief of Ogonyok magazine. Secretary of the Board, USSR Writers' Union. State Prize winner.

DAVID KUGULTINOV - People's poet of Kalmykia. Secretary of the Board, Kalmykian Writers' Union. Winner of State prizes.

KLYCH KULIEV - People's Writer of Turkmenia. Corresponding Member of the Turkmenian Academy of Sciences. Member of the Board, USSR Writers' Union.

FELIX KUZNETSOV - critic, literary scholar. First Secretary of the Board, Moscow Writers' Organization. RSFSR State Prize winner.

DMITRI LIKHACHEV - literary scholar, historian. Academician of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Member of many foreign academies. Honorary Doctor of Oxford, Edinburgh, Zurich and other universities. Winner of State prizes. Hero of Socialist Labour.

GEORGY MARKOV - prose writer. Chairman of the Board, USSR Writers' Union. Winner of Lenin and State prizes. Hero of Socialist Labour.

EDUARDOS MEZELAITIS - People's Poet of Lithuania. Secretary of the Board, USSR Writers' Union. Winner of Lenin and USSR State prizes. Hero of Socialist Labour.

SERGEI MIKHALKOV - poet, prose writer, dramatist. Chairman of the Board, RSFSR Writers' Union. Winner of Lenin and State prizes. Hero of Socialist Labour.

YUNNA MORITS - poetess.

GEORGY MYASNIKOV - Deputy Chairman of the Board, Soviet Culture Fund.

BULAT OKUJAVA - poet. Member of the Board, USSR Writers' Union.

BORIS OLEINIK - poet. Secretary of the Board, Ukrainian Writers' Union. Winner of State prizes.

PYOTR PROSKURIN - prose writer. Secretary of the Board, USSR Writers' Union. Winner of State prizes.

VALENTIN RASPUTIN - prose writer. Secretary of the Board, USSR Writers' Union. USSR State Prize winner.

ROBERT ROZHDESTVENSKY - poet. Secretary of the Board, USSR Writers' Union. State Prize winner.

VICTOR ROZOV - playwright, professor. Secretary of the Board, USSR Writers' Union. USSR State Prize winner.

MIKHAIL SAGATELYAN - prose writer, publicist. Deputy Secretary of the Board of the USSR Writers' Union on ties with foreign countries.

KIM SELIKHOV - prose writer, publicist. Winner of literary prizes.

OLEG SEVERGIN - publicist. Chairman of the Foreign Ties Commission, USSR Writers' Union.

MIKHAIL SHATROV - playwright. Secretary of the Board, USSR Writers' Union. USSR State Prize winner.

LARISA VASILYEVA - poetess. Member of the Board, RSFSR Writers' Union. Lenin Komsomol Prize winner.

YURI VERCHENKO - publicist. Secretary of the Board, USSR Writers' Union.

ALEXANDER VOROBYOV - historian, publicist.

ANDREI VOZNESENSKY - poet. Secretary of the Board, USSR Writers' Union. USSR State Prize winner.

SERGEI ZALYGIN - prose writer, critic, literary scholar. Editor-in-Chief of Novy mir journal. Secretary of the Board, USSR Writers' Union. USSR State Prize winner.

EVGENI DOLMATOVSKY - poet, professor. Member of the Board, USSR Writers' Union. Winner of State prizes.

COMPOSERS

- AFGHANISTAN MASHUR JAMAL - composer and singer. The Chairman of the Musical Section.
- AUSTRALIA FRANK ADAMS CALLAWAY - composer, musical and public personality. Australian Society for Musical Up-Bringing, President. Honorary Member, International Music Council (UNESCO).
- AUSTRIA DAVID THOMAS CHRISTIAN - composer. Chairman of Austrian Union of Composers.
- BRAZIL MARLOS NOBRE - composer, conductor. International Music Council (UNESCO), President. Vice-President of the International Society "Musical Youth".
MARIA-LUIZE NOBRE - musical and public personality. Vice President of the International Society "Musical Youth".
CLAUDIO SANTORO - composer and conductor. Former chief conductor of the National Symphony Orchestra of Brazil.
- BULGARIA ALEXANDER RAYTCHEV - composer, People's Artist of Bulgaria. Deputy Chairman of the Union of Bulgarian Composers. Dimitrov Prize laureate.
- FINLAND JOONAS KOKKONEN - composer. Member of Finnish Academy of Sciences.
USKO MERILAINEN - composer. Finnish Composers' Union, President.
HENRYK OTTO DONNER - composer. International Organization "Cultural and Artistic Personalities for Nuclear Disarmament".
ERIK TAWASTJERNA - musicologist, musical critic, pianist, professor. The Finnish Society of Musicologists, President. The Jan Sibelius Musical Academy, Chairman of the Academic Council.
- FRANCE PHILIPPE GERARE - singer, composer, the Lenin Komsomol Prize winner.
MICHEL LEGRAN - composer, conductor, singer, pianist.
GEORGE GARVARANCE - composer.
- HUNGARY VECSEY MARTA - assistant to Secretary-General of the Union of Hungarian Composers.
LANG ISTVAN - Secretary-General of the Union of Hungarian Composers. Professor. Winner of the Kossuth Prize.
- INDIA MENON NARAYANA - musical and public personality. One of the activists of the International Music Council (UNESCO). Participant of the Issyk-Kul Forum. Chairman of the National Academy of Music, Dance and Drama.

ITALY BERIO LUCIANO - composer, heads the laboratory of electronic acoustics in the Institute of Research and Coordination of Acoustics and Music.
MANNINO FRANKO - composer and conductor.
NONO LUIGI - composer, engaged in various public and political activities.
POLLINI MAURIZIO - pianist and conductor. The 1st prize at the Chopin Contest in Warsaw.

JAPAN MATSUMURA TEIZO - composer.
KEKKO EDDA - musical and public personality.

NORWAY KVAM ODDVAR - composer

POLAND ROBERT SATANOWSKI - composer and conductor.
KRZYSZTOF PENDERECKI - composer and conductor.

SWEDEN ESKIL HEMBERG - composer, conductor. The Swedish National Committee of the International Music Council (UNESCO), Chairman. Artistic director of the Goteborg opera theatre.

UNITED KINGDOM WILLIAMSON M. - Royal musical counsellor.

USA MARIO DI BONAVENTURA - musical and public personality. Vice President, director and publisher, "G. Schirmer. New York" musical publishing house.
PAUL WINTER - musician, alt-saxophone player, jazz bands leader.

USSR NIKITA BOGOSLOVSKY - composer, People's Artist of the USSR.
EDISON DENISOV - composer, professor.
DMITRI KABALEVSKY - composer, People's Artist of the USSR. Member of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences. The Union of Composers of the USSR, Secretary of the Board. Winner of the Lenin and State prizes. Hero of Socialist Labour.
GIYA KANCHELI - composer, People's Artist of the Georgian SSR. Union of Composers of the USSR, Secretary of the Board. USSR State prize and Georgian SSR State prize laureate.
SVYATOSLAV RIKHTER - pianist, People's Artist of the USSR. Winner of International prizes. Hero of Socialist Labour.
BORIS KULIKOV - Head of the Moscow State Tchaikovsky Conservatory.
IGOR LUCHENOK - composer. People's Artist of the Byelorussian SSR. State Prize winner.
EDVARD MIRZOYAN - composer. People's Artist of the USSR. The Union of Composers of the USSR, Secretary of the Board.

CHARY NURYMOV - composer, People's Artist of the Turkmenian SSR. The Union of Composers of the USSR, Secretary of the Board. Turkmenian SSR State Prize laureate.

VLADIMIR PANCHENKO - the Union of Composers of the USSR, Secretary of the Board for organizational matters.

ALEXANDRA PAKHMUTOVA - composer, People's Artist of the USSR. The Union of Composers of the USSR, Secretary of the Board, The USSR State Prizes laureate.

ANDREI PETROV - composer, People's Artist of the USSR. The Union of Composers of the USSR, Secretary of the Board. USSR State Prizes laureate.

ERKAGHALI RAKHMADIEV - composer, People's Artist of the USSR, the Union of Composers of the USSR, the Kazakh SSR State Prize laureate.

GEORGI SVIRIDOV - composer, People's Artist of the USSR. The USSR State and Lenin prizes laureate. Hero of Socialist Labour.

KAREN KHACHATURYAN - composer, People's Artist of the RSFSR. The Union of Composers of the USSR, Secretary of the Board, The USSR State Prize laureate.

TIKHON KHRENNIKOV - composer, People's Artist of the USSR. The Union of Composers of the USSR, First Secretary of the Board, The Lenin Prize and USSR and RSFSR State prizes laureate. Hero of Socialist Labour.

ALFRED SHNITKE - composer, the RSFSR State Prize laureate.

RODION SHCHEDRIN - composer, People's Artist of the USSR, the Union of Composers of the USSR, Secretary of the Board. The Lenin and USSR State prizes laureate.

T H E A T R E P E R S O N A L I T I E S

AFGHANISTAN	KAIUM BESED - Deputy Chairman, State Committee on Culture and Arts of Afghanistan. A founder of Afghan theatre. Winner of State Peace Prize.
AUSTRALIA	MARY CASSINI - public figure. Leader of the International Campaign "Three Minutes of Silence". MAGGY SCOTT - ballet-master.
BULGARIA	VANCHA DOJCHEVA - People's Artist of Bulgaria. Actress of Ivan Vazov National Theatre. Chairman of Bulgarian Artists' Union. Winner of Dimitrov Prize.
COLOMBIA	SANTIAGO GARCIA - art adviser of the leading national company "La Candellaria".
CUBA	UMBERTO ARENAL - playwright, director, critic. Vice-President of Cuban Writers' and Artists' Union.
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	OSVALD ZAGRADNIK - playwright. Secretary of the Union of Theatre Art Workers of Slovakia. KAREL GHOTT - singer. Winner of international prizes and "Golden Nightingale" title.
DENMARK	ALLAIN FREDERICCIA - ballet-master.
FINLAND	KAJSA KORHONEN - Rector of Tampere Theatre Institute. Director of Kom and Lilla-teatre companies. RALF LANGBACKA - director, art adviser of Helsinki City Theatre. President of the Finnish Centre of International Theatre Institute. RAJA-SINIKKA RANTALA - art adviser of Lahti City Theatre. Member of the Board, Finnish Centre of International Theatre Institute. ARJA SAJONMAA - singer. Senior official at the Finnish Section, "Artists for Nuclear Disarmament" organization.
FRANCE	ANDRE-LOUIS PERINETTI - director, Secretary-General of International Theatre Institute. PIERRE CARDIN - fashion designer, patron of the arts. Proprietor of the theatre "Espace Pierre Cardin". Winner of many prizes and diplomas.
FRG	UDO LINDENBERG - singer.
GDR	HANS-PETER MINETTI - President, GDR Theatre Workers' Union. Professor of the Higher Art School.

GREECE	ELENI VAROPOULOU - theatre critic. President of the Greek Centre of International Theatre Institute. DEMIS ROUSSOS - singer.
HUNGARY	MARI TERECHIK - People's Artist of Hungary. Actress of Jozsef Attila Theatre. Kosut Prize winner.
ITALY	MAURIZIO SCAPARRO - art director of the Municipal Theatre of Rome.
JAPAN	YOKO MORISHITA - ballerina.
LEBANON	FAIRUS - singer.
MEXICO	JOSE SOLE - director, public figure. President of the Mexican Centre of International Theatre Institute. CARLOS USIGLI - director, theatre scholar. Secretary-General, Mexican Centre of International Theatre Institute.
MONGOLIA	E. OIUUN - People's Artist of Mongolia, playwright. Chairman of Artists' Union of Mongolia. Winner of Mongolian State Prize.
POLAND	HENRYK JURKOWSKI - puppet theatre historian and critic. President of International Puppeteers' Union (UNIMA). TADEUSZ JASTSZEMBOWSKI - Chairman of the Polish Stage Artists' Union. Actor of Polski Theatre. BOGDAN SUCHODOLSKI - Chairman of the Culture Council.
PORTUGAL	FRANCISCO REBELLO - playwright, public figure. President of the Portuguese Centre of International Theatre Institute.
ROMANIA	DINA COCEA - People's Artist of Romania. President of the Association of Romanian Theatre and Music Workers.
SPAIN	ANTONIO GALA - playwright, public figure. President of the Spanish Centre of International Theatre Institute.
SWEDEN	VIVICA BANDLER - director. President of the Swedish Centre of International Theatre Institute. Senior official at the Theatre Union of Nordic Countries. MONICA DOMINIK - musician. Chairman of the Swedish organization "Artists for Peace". Member of the Board, Swedish Centre of International Theatre Institute. MICHAEL MESCHKE - art adviser of the Stockholm Puppet Theatre. Vice-President of International Puppeteers' Union (UNIMA).
SYRIA	GHAASSAN MALEH - Rector of Damascus Theatre Academy. Member of the Executive Committee of International Theatre Institute.

UNITED KINGDOM

JOHN BURRY - theatre designer, public figure. Chairman of the British Scenographers' Association. Member of the Executive Council of International Organization of Scenographers, Theatre Technicians and Architects (OISTAT).

JOHN OGDON - pianist. Winner of the Second International Tchaikovsky Contest.

USA

EDITH MARXON - President of the Association of International Theatre Exchanges.

JOSEPH PAPP - director.

PATRICIA SNYDER - art adviser of the Institute of the Performing Arts, New York State, and Children's Theatre at Albany.

CHARLES STRAUSS - drama and libretto writer.

PETER SCHUMANN - art adviser of "Bread and Puppet" Theatre. Works for International Puppeteers' Union (UNIMA).

ELKA SCHUMANN - works for "Bread and Puppet" Theatre.

ROBERT JOFFREY - ballet-master of "City Center Joffrey Ballet". Co-chairman of Dance Institute of the International Theatre Institute.

ARTHUR MITCHEL - ballet-master. Performer of the main parts in "New York City Ballet" and "Harlem Dance Theatre"

PETER MARTINS - ballet-master.

JEROME ROBBINS - ballet-master. One of the managers of "New York City Ballet".

SAMMY DAVIS - singer.

USSR

VIJA ARTMANE - People's Artist of the USSR. Actress of the Rajnis Drama Theatre. Latvian State Prize winner.

SERGEI DANCHENKO - People's Artist of the Ukrainian SSR. Art director of the Kiev Ivan Franko Theatre. Laureate of State prizes.

OLEG EFREMOV - People's Artist of the USSR. Art director of Moscow Art Theatre. USSR State Prize winner.

KIRILL LAVROV - People's Artist of the USSR. Actor of the Gorky Drama Theatre. Chairman of the Board, USSR Theatre Workers' Union. Lenin Prize winner. Hero of Socialist Labour.

SERGEI OBRAZTSOV - People's Artist of the Soviet Union. Art director of State Puppet Theatre. Winner of Lenin and State prizes. Hero of Socialist Labour.

NATALYA SATS - People's Artist of the USSR. Art director and manager of Children's Musical Theatre. President of the Soviet Centre of ASSITEJ. Winner of Lenin and State prizes. Hero of Socialist Labour.

ALEXANDER STRELETS - publicist, public figure.

ROBERT STURUA - People's Artist of the USSR. Art director of Rustaveli Drama Theatre. Winner of State prizes.

OLEG TABAKOV - People's Artist of the RSFSR. Rector of Moscow Art Theatre Workshop named after Nemirovich-Danchenko. USSR State Prize winner.

MIKHAIL TSAREV - People's Artist of the USSR. Art adviser of the USSR Maly Theatre. President of the Soviet Centre of International Theatre Institute. Winner of State Prizes. Hero of Socialist Labour.

GEORGY TOVSTONOGOV - People's Artist of the USSR. Art director of the Gorky Drama Theatre. Winner of Lenin and State prizes. Hero of Socialist Labour.

MIKHAIL ULYANOV - People's Artist of the USSR. Chairman of the Board, RSFSR Theatre Workers' Union. Actor of the Vakhtangov Theatre. Winner of Lenin and State prizes. Hero of Socialist Labour.

NATALYA BESSMERTNOVA - ballerina, People's Artist of the USSR. USSR State Prize winner.

YURI GRIGOROVICH - ballet-master of the Bolshoi Theatre. People's Artist of the USSR, Winner of Lenin and State prizes.

MAYA PLISETSKAYA - ballerina, People's Artist of the USSR. Lenin Prize winner.

VENEZUELA

MARIA CASTILLO - President of Venezuelan Centre of the International Theatre Institute.

POLAND

RAFAIL SKAMPSKI - head of the office, Council for Culture

F I L M M A K E R S

ALGERIA SLIM RIYAD - director, screen writer.

ARGENTINA FERNANDO BIRRI - film director, poet, critic. Director of the Cuba-based Cinematography and Television International School. A pioneer of the "new Latin American cinema".

AUSTRIA KLAUS MARIA BRANDAUER - actor of the Vienna burgteatr and the cinema.

BOLIVIA JORGE SANJINES - director. Winner of the prize of Leipzig International Film Festival.

BULGARIA GEORGY STOYANOV - director of the Boyana Film Studio. Chairman of the Bulgarian Film Makers' Union.
HRISTO HRISTOV - director of the Boyana Film Studio.

CHILE MIGUEL LITTIN - film director, documentalist. Winner of prizes of Leipzig and Havana International Film Festivals.
PATRICIO GUSMAN - film director.

COLOMBIA LUIS ALFREDO SANCHEZ - director of documentaries, mostly political. Winner of the 8th Moscow International Film Festival prize.

CUBA SANTIAGO ALVAREZ - director, documentalist. Honorary Member of the GDR Academy of Arts. A founder of Nuestro tiempo Culture Society and of the Cuban Institute of Cinema Art and Industry. Winner of more than 40 national and international prizes.

DENMARK HAGEN HASSELBACH - producer, film director, screen writer.

EGYPT SALAH ABOU SEIF - film director, producer. Founder of the realistic wave in Egyptian cinema.
SAAD EL-DIN WAHABA - Chairman of the All-Arab Film Makers' Union.
MARIANNA HOWRY - producer.
YOUSSEF CHAHINE - film director, producer. Professor of Cairo Cinema Institute.

FINLAND MIKKO NISKANEN - film director, producer, professor. Graduate of Soviet State Cinematography Institute, Yuri Raizman workshop.

FRANCE
BERTRAND TAVERNIER - film director, critic, screen writer.
Winner of the national prize.
MARCEL MARTIN - author of works on theory and history of
films. President of the International Cinema Journalists'
Federation (FIPRESSI).
GEORGES CHEIKO - producer. Director of "Mediterrannes cinema"
company.
COSTA GAVRAS - President of French Cinematheque.
MARINA VLADI - actress.

FRG
MARIA SCHELL - stage and cinema actress. Author of memoirs.
Winner of Vienna and Cannes Film Festivals prizes.
MAXIMILIAN SCHELL - actor, film director.
PETER FLEISCHMANN - director, public figure, a representative
of "New Cinema in the FRG" progressive movement. Former
President of European Film Directors' Association.
HANNA SCHYGULLA - actress. Winner of Golden Palm Branch
Prize of the Cannes Film Festival.
MONIKA MAURER - film director

GDR
WALTER HEINOWSKI - director.
GERHARDT SCHEUMANN - director.

GREECE
THEODOROS ANGELOPOULOS - film director, screen writer,
a representative of political cinematography. Cannes
Festival prize winner
MANOS ZACHARIAS - film director. Counsellor on Cinematography
to the Minister of Culture.
NIKOS KOUNDOUROS - film director.

HUNGARY
ISTVAN SZABO - film director.

INDIA
MRINAL SEN - film director. Winner of the prizes of Moscow
International Film Festival.
SIAM BENEGAL - director. Co-producer on the Soviet-Indian
documentary Nehru. USSR State Prize winner.

ITALY
SILVIA DOMINICO - producer.
GIAN-MARIA VOLONTE - actor, stage and film director, public
figure. Many-times winner of Grand Prix "Golden Palm Branch"
of the Cannes Festival and the Golden Prize of Moscow Film
Festival.
DAMIANO DAMIANI - director of socio-psychological and
political films.
CLAUDIA CARDINALE - actress.
CARLO LIZZANI - film director, critic, actor, author of the
works on the history of Neorealism.

MARCELLO MASTROIANNI - actor. Winner of many prizes at International Film Festivals in Cannes and San Sebastian.

ALBERTO SORDI - actor.

PASCUALE SKUTYERE - director, screen writer. Works in political films.

VITTORIO STORARO - cameraman on the films of Bertolucci, Coppola, Visconti.

PAOLO and VITTORIO TAVIANI - directors of documentary and feature films. Creators of Italian political cinema of early '60s.

JAPAN

KOMAKI KURIHARA - actress. Starred in two Soviet-Japanese co-productions.

YOZI YAMADA - director of documentary films.

MALI

SULEIMEN SISSE - director.

MEXICO

BLANCA GERRA - stage, cinema and TV actress. Starred in more than 30 films. Member of the judges panel on feature films of the 13th Moscow International Film Festival.

GONSALO MARTINEZ - film director. Participant in Tashkent and Moscow International Film Festivals.

MOROCCO

SOUHEIL BEN BARCA - film director. Over 30 documentaries for Italian TV. His Amoc won Golden Prize of 13th Moscow International Film Festival.

POLAND

KRZYSZTOF ZANUSSI - director. Winner of international prizes at Chicago, Mar-del-Plata, Locarno, Manheim and other film festivals.

JERZY KAWALEROWICZ - film director. Professor of Lodz Cinema School. Honorary Chairman of the Polish Film Makers' Union, Head of the "Kadr" artistic group.

JANUSZ MAEWSKI - director of documentary and feature films. Chairman of Polish Film Makers' Union.

ROMANIA

ION POPESCU GOPO - film director.

SWEDEN

BO WIDERBERG - director, screen writer, writer and critic. A pioneer of the "new Swedish cinema". Holder of special prizes of Cannes festivals.

SYRIA

SALAH DIHNI - film director, critic. Senior official of the General Office for the Syrian Films. Director of the Damascus International Film Festival of Arab, Asian and Latin American Countries.

SPAIN	JUAN ANTONIO BARDEN - film director.
UNITED KINGDOM	LINDSAY ANDERSON - director. A founder of the "Free Cinema" movement. Winner of the top prize of the Cannes Film Festival.
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	JOHN RICHARD BRAILEY - screen writer.
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	PAUL NEWMAN - actor, director, producer.
	LAWRENCE SCHILLER - President of the NGM Company.
	MILOS FORMAN - film director.
USSR	ALEXEI BATALOV - People's Artist of the USSR. Professor, a workshop in the State Cinematography Institute. Secretary of the Board, USSR Film Makers' Union. USSR State Prize winner.
	ROLAN BYKOV - Merited Artist of the RSFSR, director. USSR State Prize winner.
	ZHANNA BOLOTOVA - actress. People's Artist of the RSFSR. USSR State Prize winner.
	VICTOR DYOMIN - cinema critic. Candidate of Sciences (Art). Secretary of the Board, USSR Film Makers' Union. Chairman of the National Commission on Theory and Criticism.
	NIKOLAI GUBENKO - film director, actor. People's Artist of the USSR. Winner of Vasilyev Brothers State Prize.
	RUSTAM IBRAGIMBEKOV - prose, drama and screen writer. Merited Artist of Azerbaijan. USSR State Prize winner.
	ELEM KLIMOV - film director at Mosfilm Studios. Merited Artist of RSFSR. First Secretary of the Board, USSR Film Makers' Union. Winner of many international prizes.
	TATYANA LIOZNOVA - People's Artist of the USSR. Film director. Winner of Vasilyev Brothers RSFSR State Prize.
	IGOR LISAKOVSKY - cinema critic. Doctor of Sciences (Philosophy) Secretary of the Board, USSR Film Makers' Union.
	KONSTANTIN LOPUSHANSKY - film director, Candidate of Sciences (Art). Winner of many international prizes.
	GLEB PANFILOV - film director. People's Artist of the RSFSR. Secretary of the USSR Film Makers' Union. Chairman of the National Commission on Cinematography. Winner of the Vasilyev Brothers State Prize of the RSFSR.
	LYUDMILA CHURSINA - People's Artist of the USSR. RSFSR State Prize winner. Starred in more than 30 films.
	ANDREI PLAKHOV - film critic. Candidate of Sciences (Art). Secretary, Board of Film Makers' Union of the USSR. Chairman, Moscow section of the National Commission on Theory & Criticism.
WEST BERLIN	WOLFGANG PFEIFER - director. Winner of "Golden Dove" Prize in Leipzig.
	MICHAEL HANSMEYER - film critic.
	KRISTINA ERIKSON - journalist.
YUGOSLAVIA	VELJKO BULAJIC - director of documentary and feature films.

P A I N T E R S

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FRG	OTTO DRESSLER - painter, former President of the FRG Union of Fine Arts. OTTO HAYEK - sculptor. LOTAR GUNTHER BUCHHEIM - painter.
HUNGARY	IMRE VARGA - sculptor, public figure. Participant in many international exhibitions.
IRELAND	ROBERT BALLAH - painter, public figure. Participant in many international exhibitions.
SPAIN	SANTIAGO DE SANTIAGO - painter.
SWEDEN	EGUIL MALMSTEN - painter.
SYRIA	FATEH MUDDARES - painter, professor. Union of Fine Arts, President.
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YURI KOROLEV - People's Artist of the USSR. Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Fine Arts. Director of the Tretyakov Gallery.

EVSEI MOISEENKO - People's Artist of the USSR, Academician. The Lenin Prize and the USSR State Prize winner. Hero of Socialist Labour.

NIKOLAI PONOMAREV - People's Artist of the USSR. Member of the USSR Academy of Fine Arts. The USSR Painters' Union Chairman. The USSR State Prize and Jawaharlal Nehru Prize winner. Merited Cultural Worker of Poland.

TAIR SALAKHOV - People's Artist of the USSR, Academician. The USSR Painters' Union, First Secretary. The USSR State Prize laureate.

BORIS UGAROV - People's Artist of the USSR. The USSR State Prize laureate.

IRINA ANTONOVA - Director of Pushkin Fine Arts Museum.

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BULGARIA GEORGY STOILOV - President of International Union of Architects, Chairman of Bulgarian Architects' Union.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA PAVEL ZIBRIN - Doctor of Sciences (Architecture). President of the Czechoslovak Union of Architects. Member of the Council of International Union of Architects.

FINLAND PEKKA OJONEN - architect. Head of design bureau.

FRANCE GEORGES CANDILIS - architect.
 MANOLO NUNEZ-JANOWSKI - architect.

SPAIN RAFAEL DE LA HOZ - architect.

SWEDEN SVEN THIBERG - Professor, Faculty of Architecture, Stockholm Royal Polytechnical College; Chairman of the Society "Swedish Architects against Nuclear Weapons".

UNITED KINGDOM PATRICK HARRISON - Secretary, Royal Institute of Architecture.

USA RANDALL VOSBECK - Member of the Council of International Union of Architects, Member of the American Institute of Architects
 TICIAN PAPACHRISTOU - President of American public organization "Architects, Designers, Planners for Social Responsibility, for the Prevention of Nuclear War".
 DONALD MACDONALD - architect, professor, American Institute of Architecture.

USSR IGOR VOSKRESENSKY - architect. Secretary of the Board of the USSR Union of Architects.

 YURI GNEDOVSKY - architect. Secretary of the Board, USSR Union of Architects, Merited Architect of the RSFSR.
 VICTOR EGEREV - architect. Member of the Secretariat, Board of USSR Union of Architects. Director of Research Institute for Design of Educational Buildings.

 ALEXANDR KUDRYAVTSEV - architect. Secretary of the Board, USSR Union of Architects.
 ANATOLI POLYANSKY - People's Architect of the Soviet Union. Academician, USSR Academy of Arts. First Secretary of the Board, USSR Union of Architects.

October 18th

Mr. Hailer —

Just a last minute reminder re
our format —

You'll be introduced at 11 a.m. and
speak until 12 when lunch will be
served. The Q and A will begin at 1 p.m.
We will have gathered the written
questions from our audience prior
to that time to give you time to
review them. When the Q + A comes
to a natural conclusion (1/2 hour or
more, hopefully) those invited to the
press conference will adjourn to a
smaller, private area.

We're thrilled you're here and
look forward to a great day!

Carolyn Kriegman

Instructions

1 Please remember to retain this brochure for reference as it and your calendar postcard will be the only Town Hall Lecture Series mailings until you receive your subscription renewal form for the 1997-1998 season. The subscription cost for the upcoming series is \$185.

PLEASE NOTE: To assure your subscription, your renewal form and check must be received by March 31, 1996.

2 Because of Town Hall's prepaid luncheon plan, reservations are assured for all five lectures. You need only check in *personally* at the reception desk upon arrival to receive your table number.

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Lecture 3 before January 24, 1997

Lecture 4 before February 21, 1997

Lecture 5 before March 21, 1997

Refunds will only be given if written request are received prior to these dates.

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Tuesday, October 1, 1996

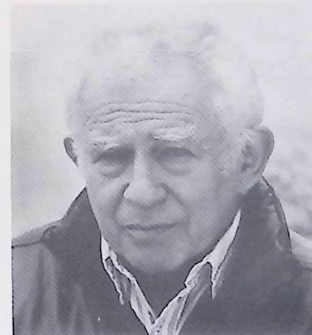
MENU

chilled tomato juice

*grilled vegetable
plate*

*petite roasted
potatoes*

eclair



Norman MAILER

Written by one of the most renowned authors in the world of literature, Mailer's profuse and diverse masterpieces began reaping critical acclaim twenty-seven years ago upon the publication of his first novel, *The Naked and the Dead*, a process further enhanced by his most recent non-fiction book, *Picasso as a Young Man*.

Lecture begins promptly at 11:00 a.m.

MENU

spinach salad with
bacon dressing

prime rib, english cut

potatoes a la Birchwood

peas with pearl
onions

ice cream with chocolate
sauce



Almost unanimously the word "riveting" appeared in literary reviewers' accolades for Preston's painstaking research into confounding viruses, new and old, that scientists everywhere are working to eradicate. Entitled *The Hot Zone*, his gripping book has also provided the basis for two major motion pictures.

Lecture begins promptly at 11:00 a.m.

Richard
PRESTON

MENU

poached pears

chicken crepes

steamed vegetables

carrot cake



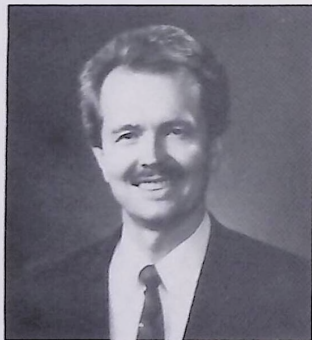
W. Randall
JONES

A whiz-kid in the publishing field, Jones left his role as Publisher of *Esquire* to found *Worth*, a magazine devoted to financial journalism that, from its first issue, garnered admiring kudos from critics-at-large for its accessible language and clear-minded, practical, responsible reporting.

Lecture begins promptly at 11:00 a.m.

MENU

petite antipasto
penne with vodka
sauce
spumoni



Dr. John Edward HASSE

Curator of American Music at the Smithsonian Institution, Dr. Hasse is not only a historian but also a gifted performer and story-teller whose research into this country's rich musical heritage focuses on such important contributors as Porter, Carmichael, Joplin, Gershwin, Sinatra and Ellington.

Lecture begins promptly at 11:00 a.m.

MENU

sliced cheese and fruit
platter
Hawaiian coconut
chicken
snow peas with pecans
raspberry sherbet with
melba sauce



Formerly Chief Washington correspondent for the MacNeil/Lehrer News Hour, and now the anchor at CNN, Emmy-award-winner Ms. Woodruff is in immediate touch with news as it happens world-wide and brings her balanced perspective and astute journalistic instincts to every subject she covers.

Lecture begins promptly at 11:00 a.m.

Judy WOODRUFF

Russian articles

[N.Y. Times articles
Feb - March, 1984]

Trudeau Hails Session With Chernenko

By DOUGLAS MARTIN

Special to The New York Times

OTTAWA, Feb. 16 — Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau says his talks with Konstantin U. Chernenko, the new Soviet leader, suggested that Moscow might be prepared to accept the Canadian leader's proposal that the five major nuclear powers meet to discuss arms reductions.

The Prime Minister said Mr. Chernenko had commended his disarmament initiative for "its usefulness and practicality."

"Obviously, the initiative begins to live," Mr. Trudeau said Wednesday at a news conference in Moscow after meeting with Mr. Chernenko.

In Canada and elsewhere, Mr. Trudeau's disarmament effort has been criticized for reasons ranging from suggestions of political motivations by his ailing Liberal Party to suggestions that Mr. Trudeau is trying to win a Nobel Peace Prize as the cap to a long political career. In the face of such criticisms, the Moscow trip was hailed by Government officials today as a substantive accomplishment.

A 35-Minute Meeting

Mr. Trudeau met with Mr. Chernenko for 35 minutes. He said Mr. Chernenko indicated that he hoped to return to the sort of détente prevailing in 1975. He also suggested that the new leader might be in a better position to pursue peace than his predecessor, Yuri V. Andropov, who died last Thursday.

Mr. Trudeau said the new leader was "not particularly an Andropov man — he goes back to Brezhnev and the days of détente — therefore he doesn't have to be saddled with specific positions." The Prime Minister said Mr. Chernenko spoke from notes and specifically encouraged Mr. Trudeau to continue his initiative.

"The General Secretary began, practically, by saying that political dialogue was important, that he valued the Canadian initiative for its usefulness and practicality," Mr. Trudeau said.

A principal part of Mr. Trudeau's agenda has been to persuade the United States, the Soviet Union, China, Britain and France to get together and discuss strategic arms cuts. He suggested that the Russians might be "supportive" but provided no details.

The initiative has drawn criticism at home for ignoring Parliament and the normal mechanisms of Government, for sometimes running counter to the policies of the United States and other allies, and for its strong political flavor. A Gallup Poll issued this week shows Mr. Trudeau's approval rating climbing from 30 to 40 percent since the effort began.

"We regret his disrespect for Parliament," Brian Mulroney, leader of the opposition Progressive Conservative Party, said last week, dismissing the effort.

Suggests Meeting With Gromyko

At the Moscow meeting, the Soviet Foreign Minister, Andrei A. Gromyko, specifically urged that Western nations respond to an eight-month-old Russian proposal to reduce conventional forces when negotiations on that topic resume next month in Vienna.

Mr. Trudeau said both Mr. Chernenko and Mr. Gromyko appeared to make every effort to be conciliatory. He said "they didn't return once" to the issue of the Russians' having left the negotiations in Geneva on reducing European missiles or to "former opinions they have expressed about President Reagan, and so on."

Mr. Trudeau said the Russians made no specific reference to any particular forum such as the Geneva talks except for the reference to the Vienna meeting. "There was a great openness and effort to indicate that they wanted the dialogue to remain open in whatever forum, in whatever way that both sides

could agree on," he said. He also said the two Soviet leaders accepted his view that a "window of opportunity" exists for better East-West

relations. He quoted Mr. Gromyko as saying, "Yes, there is that window of opportunity and we want to make sure that you put something into it, too."



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Konstantin U. Chernenko, Soviet leader, greeting Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau of Canada in Moscow.

Tass via United Press International

Russians Hope Andropov Aims Hold

By JOHN F. BURNS

Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, Feb. 16 — As Russians picked up the rhythms of their lives again this week, there were some who had fresh worries to add to the daily concerns about food lines, adequate winter clothing and the fortunes of Soviet athletes in the Winter Olympics.

The focus of the anxiety was Konstantin U. Chernenko, new leader of the Communist Party, and whether he will be effective in tackling the nation's store of domestic problems.

In particular, there were many who wondered whether he would press forward with the modest economic improvements started by Yuri V. Andropov or will allow the bureaucracy to lapse back into the stagnation of Mr. Andropov's predecessor, Leonid I. Brezhnev, whose 30-year sponsorship lifted Mr. Chernenko from a provincial party career to the heights of power.

Sifting the Clues in Moscow

Along with students of Soviet affairs, Russians have been sifting the clues in an effort to determine how power in the new leadership will be divided.

Few doubt that it will be a collective leadership that balances competing interests, but only limited inferences can be drawn so far about the influences of the power blocs as the armed forces, the K.G.B., the intelligence and internal security and intelligence agencies, or the balance in the ruling Politburo between the older group around Mr. Chernenko and the younger men in their 50's and early 60's.

A fresh clue today suggested that one of the younger men, Mikhail S. Gorbachev, 52, a national party secretary under Mr. Chernenko, would be a man to be reckoned with.

A booklet containing official documents from the Central Committee meeting that appointed Mr. Chernenko last Monday revealed that Mr. Gorbachev had made a previously undisclosed speech appealing to the Central Committee's 300 members to show unity and unanimity in carrying out party policy.

Possibly the Second-Ranking Man

The fact that Mr. Gorbachev had made such a speech suggested to Western diplomats that he might well be the second-ranking party secretary, after Mr. Chernenko, the General Secretary. The national party secretaries carry

out on a day-to-day basis the policy made by the Politburo, and the party's General Secretary is, in effect, the Soviet leader.

Mr. Gorbachev made his speech at the close of the Central Committee meeting. In the past, such closing speeches have usually been offered by losing candidates in contests or by men recognized as leaders of a crucial bloc.

The fact that the speech was not published earlier in the press along with other documents on the meeting was perplexing, diplomats said. Some saw this as a sign that powerful interests wanted to play down the importance of Mr. Gorbachev and that the balance in the leadership was thus an uneasy one. Others said the Politburo might not have wanted speculation about a power struggle to detract from the original announcement that the top job had gone to Mr. Chernenko.

At all events, the fact that Mr. Gorbachev twice appeared standing next to Mr. Chernenko at Mr. Andropov's bier, and that they stood opposite each other at the front of M. Andropov's coffin as it was carried to the grave, took on new significance.

Among Russians, the tentative conclusion was that Mr. Chernenko might have won the leadership on a pledge to allow Mr. Gorbachev and others to press ahead with the economic measures started by Mr. Andropov.

As one of three party secretaries — with Mr. Chernenko and Grigory V. Romanov — who sit on the Politburo, Mr. Gorbachev would be well placed to press the Andropov policy.

Concerns About Chernenko

Such a role for Mr. Gorbachev would allay at least some of the uneasiness among Russians. Discussions with Muscovites suggest that their principal concerns about Mr. Chernenko are his age, 72, his health — he is said to suffer from emphysema, or shortness of breath — and his close ties to Mr. Brezhnev, whose 18-year tenure ended in disaffection at corruption in the bureaucracy and at the relative inaction in the face of shortages of food and other goods.

Sampling opinion here among people on the street on political matters is difficult for Western reporters. Several of those approached were plucked away by policemen or by passers-by. But there were enough indications that Mr. Chernenko will have to prove he will

not bow to restiveness in the bureaucracy and will not turn back the clock in the crackdown on corruption, in economic experimentation with more decentralized management and in the drive for greater work discipline.

"How old did you say he was?" asked a machine-shop foreman encountered walking past the tan-brick facade of Lefortovo prison in a rundown area of street-car tracks, disused churches and dimly lighted stores.

When told, the man added:

"Of course, he was close to Brezhnev. We will have to see what that means. But we must hope that it does not mean going back to the old times."

In the prison, dozens of officials arrested under Mr. Andropov have been awaiting trial on charges of corruption and abuse of privilege.

Almost every person approached at random in the street voiced support for Mr. Andropov's tough measures and disappointment that his tenure had been cut short before he had a chance to put things right, as one bus driver put it. The driver was one of several people who cited Mr. Andropov's campaign to crack down on sloth and alcoholism in the work force, an effort that the driver said had really cleaned things up at his depot.

A man who said he was a construction supervisor in Ufa, in the western Urals, said the drive had similarly affected his crew.

"It is too bad," the construction man said. "Andropov had some good ideas but he ran out of time. We waited a long time for a strong fellow like him at the top. Now, we will just have to see."

Nine Britons to Live In Tents in Antarctic

PORTLAND, England, Feb. 16 (Reuters) — Nine British soldiers leave tomorrow to spend nine months in the Antarctic with no base hut to protect them from the savage winter.

The men, who will study physical and psychological problems associated with cold, will rely on tents and holes in the snow for protection from 100 mile-an-hour winds and temperatures 60 degrees below zero.

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A Bolshevik, Of Old Mold Rises to Top

2/14

By SERGE SCHMEMMANN

Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, Feb. 13 — In selecting Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko to be the next leader of the Soviet Union, his comrades on the Politburo went for a Bolshevik from the old mold.

Mr. Chernenko is widely regarded here as an ideologue, low on formal education or managerial experience but high on old-fashioned propaganda and party loyalty.

If Yuri V. Andropov began his 15-month tenure saying that tired slogans would no longer suffice, Mr. Chernenko began his with a handful of slogans: "Our party's principled stand on these issues is clear, pure and noble," "The party, which is selflessly devoted to the masses, enjoys full trust of the masses," "The inexhaustible strength of Soviet Communists is in cohesion of their ranks."

The occasion, of course, was one that demanded some ceremonial platitudes. Mr. Andropov had not yet been buried and Mr. Chernenko had just been selected General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, and the theme of speeches on such occasions is invariably the unity, strength and inevitable triumph of the party.

But Mr. Chernenko's remarks fit neatly into the pattern of all his major pronouncements since he came to prominence as Leonid I. Brezhnev's closest ally on the Politburo.

It was a style probably derived from his years working in agitation and propaganda, or "agit-prop," in Siberia and Moldavia and on the party's Central Committee. But it also reflected a

Continued on Page A11, Column 3

asant



TAS

PAYING LAST RESPECTS: Vice President Bush and members of U.S. delegation at House of Unions where Yuri V. Andropov lies in state.

Bolshevik of the Old Mold Rises to Kremlin's Peak

Continued From Page A1

faith Mr. Chernenko probably found as an impoverished peasant lad suddenly seized by the excitement of revolution and radical change.

Little is known of Mr. Chernenko's private life today, but he has offered a telling image of his Siberian childhood in the introduction to a collection of his speeches and articles.

"I was born into a large and poor peasant family in the Krasnoyarsk region of Siberia in 1911," Mr. Chernenko wrote. "I left my mother when I was a young boy. At 12 I went to work for a wealthy master to earn my living. New Soviet life was just coming into its own and I felt its fresh winds when I joined the Young Communist League. That was back in 1926. We studied and held down our jobs at the same time. We were underfed and poorly clothed, but the dreams of a radiant future for all fascinated us and made us feel happy."

Some here said they found it notable that Mr. Chernenko held his childhood up as an example of the opportunity opened by the new Soviet system. With evident pride, he portrayed himself as

the Soviet version of the self-made man — from a start as a boy in rags slaving for a kulak, or well-to-do private farmer, in the Siberian backwoods, he had climbed to "top party and Government jobs in Moscow," as he wrote even before he was tapped for the very top job.

Hard Work and Loyalty

Woven through Mr. Chernenko's published thoughts is the belief that if he could make it through hard work and loyalty, others could too; the faith in what he repeatedly refers to as the Leninist course of work, motivated by moral rather than material considerations; and a belief that ideology — if only it is properly served up — should be capable of inspiring young Russians the way it inspired him.

In his speech today to the Central Committee, Mr. Chernenko declared that continuing and advancing Mr. Andropov's work "is the best way of paying tribute to his memory," and he endorsed the need for a "serious restructuring" of Soviet economic machinery. But he also seemed to include enough subtle qualifications into the tribute to suggest that his own approach would be more conservative.

Mr. Chernenko also said that economic progress was impossible without improved "social consciousness," reflecting a faith in propaganda as a means of boosting productivity.

Mr. Chernenko's specific actions are likely to be influenced by existing policy, by the evolution of his powers within the Politburo, and by powerful comrades like Defense Minister Dmitri F. Ustinov or Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko. But at 72 years of age it is unlikely that his own philosophy will undergo any evolution.

And that philosophy is a profoundly conservative one. The cures for all Soviet ills, he teaches, are ideology, propaganda and party discipline. He is skeptical of the need for new models or incentives, he is scornful of consumerism, suspicious of intellectuals, critical of anything in the arts that deviates from socialist realism.

Ideology, he writes, should be creative. This should mean, he says, a resolute struggle against distortions of "our revolutionary teaching either from the right or from the left." Pluralism is dismissed with scorn. "Where pluralism flourishes it leads only to the loss of the fighting efficiency of the party and to the erosion of its ideological foundations and class frontiers," he wrote in 1982.

A constant theme in Mr. Chernenko's works is the need for the Communist Party to maintain contact with the masses. But it is a demand rooted in the view of the party as a paternalistic guider of the masses, not as their voice, a party in which ideological work is enhanced by knowing what people are thinking.

On the arts, Mr. Chernenko is firm: Their task, he wrote in June, is to create "an adequate hero of our times capable of leaving a deep imprint in human souls and serving as an attractive example for young people." Mr. Chernenko's directives have caused serious trepidations among Moscow's intelligentsia. In that same speech, he called television variety shows "ideologically and esthetically harmful" and accused writers of having too many "loose and whining characters."

Mr. Chernenko's statements on foreign affairs have generally followed the Kremlin line in favor of détente. But his domestic speeches have been laced with distrust of foreign "class enemies" and calls for vigilance against them. "We face attempts to organize against us a full-scale information and propaganda invasion," he warned last June.

Mr. Chernenko seems to share the world-view of the majority of Soviet party members of his generation, and the system of which he takes charge was fashioned over the past 30 years by men very much like himself. His ca-

reer suggested that what he lacked in sophistication or economic expertise, he made up in familiarity with party organization and in skill as an administrator. Though unlike many of the younger members of the Politburo he never managed a factory or large enterprise, he spent his entire career in party work without known setbacks or scandals.

For most of Mr. Brezhnev's tenure, Mr. Chernenko headed the General Department of the Central Committee, exercising extensive control over party correspondence and personnel, and acting effectively as the leader's top aide.

The fact that he rose to the pinnacle of Soviet power despite what must have been serious obstacles speaks of a tenacity and political skill that may enable him to quickly accumulate power.

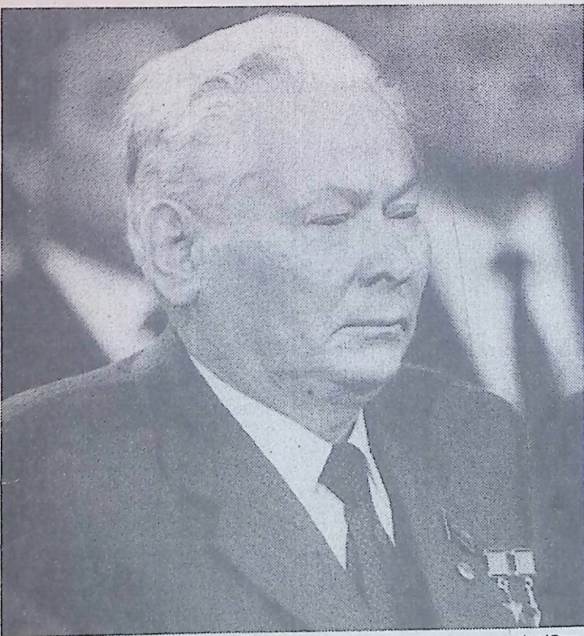
But it seemed likely that Mr. Chernenko would become another transitional figure, a temporary extension of the Brezhnev era. Western diplomats expected that foreign policy, dominated by Mr. Gromyko and Marshal Ustinov, would remain largely the same. Internal policy was likely to continue along the lines set in the 18 years of Mr. Brezhnev's tenure, with restrictions on the arts, dissenters and foreign contacts.

Mr. Andropov's economic experiments were likely to continue, though it was questionable whether changes would be permitted in the central planning and control mechanisms. The lingering question was why the Politburo, after having endorsed Mr. Andropov and his qualified efforts to break with the Brezhnev era, had returned to a politician so closely identified with Mr. Brezhnev — and one who at 72 was unlikely to rule for long, however healthy he may be.

In the absence of concrete information on what transpired in the Kremlin, the most logical explanation was that older Politburo members had decided that it was safest to stay with one of their own, while the younger members figured this would give them time to organize their assault on the top.

In the streets, the sense of disappointment was muted but clear. Politics is of marginal concern for most ordinary Russians, since so little is known of debates on high and public discussion of the relative merits of one leader over another is considered subversive. But after the stultifying years of the Brezhnev era, Mr. Andropov had raised expectations of a new order and motion. Those hopes were dashed, but still most Russians had expected that he would be replaced by a man of a younger generation.

"What does this mean?" snapped a disappointed young clerk. "We're back to nowhere, that's what."



Associated Press

HONORING HIS PREDECESSOR: Konstantin U. Chernenko, the new Soviet leader, viewing the body of Yuri V. Andropov yesterday.

New York Times

Late Edition

Weather: Morning fog and drizzle, afternoon rain, mild today; rain, fog tonight. Gradual clearing, mild tomorrow. Temperatures: today 49-51, tonight 41-43; yesterday 36-45. Details, page C10.

NEW YORK, TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1984

60 cents beyond 76 miles from New York City, except on Long Island.

30 CENTS

CHERNENKO IN TOP SOVIET POST; VOWS TO RETAIN ARMS BALANCE, WARNS AGAINST 'ADVENTURISTS'



Associated Press; Tass

Konstantin U. Chernenko, above at left, with Politburo members at the House of Unions in Moscow where Yuri V. Andropov lies in state. From the right are Dmitri F.

Ustinov, Andrei A. Gromyko and Nikolai A. Tikhonov. Below: President Reagan signing book of condolences yesterday at the Soviet Embassy in Washington.



NOTABLE COMEBACK

New Chief, 72, Succeeds
the Rival Who Foiled
Him in '82 Contest

By JOHN F. BURNS

Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, Feb. 13 — Konstantin U. Chernenko was chosen by the Communist Party's Central Committee today to succeed Yuri V. Andropov as its General Secretary.

His assumption of the post automatically made Mr. Chernenko the Soviet Union's pre-eminent leader. At 72 years of age, he is the oldest of the men named to lead the party since the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917.

Mr. Chernenko immediately made a wide-ranging speech to the Central Committee in which he praised Mr. An-

Excerpts from speech, page A11.

dropov for the "tremendous prestige and respect" he had gained among the Soviet people and endorsed many of Mr. Andropov's domestic policies.

Selection Termed Unanimous

On relations with the United States, he said that while the Soviet Union remained committed to peaceful co-existence and elimination of the threat of nuclear war, it would insure that it had enough arms "to cool the hotheads of militant adventurists."

"We need no military superiority," he said. "We do not intend to dictate our will to others. But we will not permit the military equilibrium that has been achieved to be upset. And let nobody have even the slightest doubt about that: We will further see to it that our country's defense capacity be strengthened, that we should have enough means to cool the hot heads of militant adventurists."

An official announcement said that the 12 members of the ruling Politburo had unanimously recommended the appointment of Mr. Chernenko and that the Central Committee, which has about 300 members, had also been unanimous in approving the nomination.

An Aide to Brezhnev

The appointment marked what appeared to be a remarkable political comeback for Mr. Chernenko, a Russian peasant's son from Siberia who left school at the age of 12 and worked his way through party ranks to the Kremlin as an aide and protégé of Leonid I. Brezhnev. He was the losing candidate 15 months ago when Mr. Andropov was named party leader in succession to Mr. Brezhnev and in the months

Continued on Page A11, Column 1

Chernenko Gets Top Post; Vows to Keep Arms Parity

Continued From Page A1

after that he appeared to go into a partial political eclipse.

Public reaction to the appointment was muted. Russians, always wary of offering opinions of their leaders, found little to say to Western reporters who sought them out in the markets, standing guard at checkpoints around the Kremlin, and in rush-hour lines at bus stops. But some seemed disappointed at the choice of a man of Mr. Chernenko's age and reputation as a close ally of Mr. Brezhnev.

"I hope this does not mean a return to things as they were under Brezhnev," a merchant at the Central Market said. "Nobody wants to go back to the slack times anymore."

Mr. Chernenko's appointment had been widely expected after he was named chairman of the funeral commission for Mr. Andropov, who died of a chronic kidney ailment last Thursday. But it came as a surprise to many Western analysts of the Soviet Union, some of whom predicted last spring that Mr. Andropov would ease Mr. Chernenko out of the Politburo to blunt resistance to his policies from Brezhnev allies.

Today, many diplomats acknowledged they were stumped for a ready explanation of Mr. Chernenko's appointment to a job that was widely thought to be lost to him forever after Mr. Andropov defeated him in November 1982.

Some thought that it meant the effective abandonment of Mr. Andropov's efforts to revitalize the party and the economy while others thought that Mr. Chernenko, as an experienced politician, would retain at least those elements of the Andropov legacy that were widely popular, such as the crack-down on sloth and corruption.

While these issues were debated, it was clear that the most powerful job in the Soviet political structure had passed to a man vastly different in character and background to Mr. Andropov.

While the former leader came to the post from 15 years as K.G.B. chief and was considered an intellectual by Kremlin standards, Mr. Chernenko has never ventured outside the ranks of the party bureaucracy and lacks Mr. Andropov's reputation for subtlety. His principal field of expertise in a 52-year party career has been ideology and propaganda, overall responsibility for which was assigned to him under Mr. Andropov.

Bush Arrives in Moscow

In his first public appearance as party leader, standing with other Politburo members before Mr. Andropov's bier, Mr. Chernenko appeared somber and preoccupied. He was absent from the Kremlin for several weeks last spring with what his office said was pneumonia, but Soviet officials said today that he had followed a regular work routine since then and was in good health.

The announcement of Mr. Chernenko's appointment coincided with the arrival here of the first of several dozen world leaders who will attend Mr. Andropov's funeral Tuesday in Red Square.

Among them was Vice President Bush, who was accompanied on by Senator Howard H. Baker Jr., the Senate majority leader. The two went directly from Sheremetyevo airport to pay respects at Mr. Andropov's bier. After pausing for 20 seconds before the open casket, the Vice President approached members of the dead leader's family seated to one side of the bier and conversed briefly with Mr. Andropov's son, Igor, a diplomat.

In an arrival statement distributed to reporters, Mr. Bush said he was attending the funeral as President Reagan's representative to symbolize American "regard for the people of the Soviet Union" and to "signify the desire of the United States to continue to work for positive relations between our two countries."

The statement added: "We believe there are important opportunities ahead to help bring peace to regions torn by conflict, to achieve substantial reductions in nuclear weapons and to increase contact and cooperation between our peoples."

In his remarks to the Central Committee on domestic matters, Mr. Chernenko, a short white-haired figure with slightly hunched shoulders, voiced his support for the drive for greater re-

sponsibility from party officials, for more effort from the work force and for a "serious restructuring" of the economy, policies associated with Mr. Andropov.

But as befitted the closest political confidant of Mr. Brezhnev, whose political sponsorship over 30 years lifted Mr. Chernenko from the obscurity of a provincial propaganda chief to the inner circles of the Kremlin, the new leader also praised the country's past economic achievements and warned against "belittling" them.

In this and in other passages that blurred the distinction that Andropov supporters have made between the Brezhnev and Andropov periods, Mr. Chernenko appeared to be trying to ease the anxieties of party officials at all levels who felt threatened by Mr. Andropov's tough policies.

But while the tone of the speech was considered by some diplomats here to be conservative, they said it was too early to conclude that the new party leader intended to turn the clock back to the Brezhnev period, with its accumulation of bureaucratic privileges and relative immobility.

The diplomats said that more information was needed on how the decision on the leadership was made before reliable projections of Mr. Chernenko's course could be made.

Among other things, the diplomats said, it was important to know whether Mr. Chernenko's candidacy had faced opposition and if so on what basis and whether he had given undertakings to Andropov loyalists in the Politburo, a number of them younger men who were closely identified with Mr. Andropov's efforts to stimulate the party and the nation.

Although various accounts circulated in Moscow, none of these matters could be satisfactorily clarified. The Central Committee meeting appeared to have taken place in the Kremlin but even this had to be inferred from the movement of Zil and Chaika limousines that swept out of sight through the Borovitsky gate before 11 A.M., when Soviet sources had said the gathering was to begin.

The meeting appeared to be brief. At 2 P.M. (6 A.M. New York time), the official press agency Tass and announcers on radio and television made simultaneous statements on Mr. Chernenko's appointment and followed with a formalized account of the proceedings, a biography of Mr. Chernenko and texts of the speeches made by the new leader and by Prime Minister Nikolai A. Tikhonov, who placed Mr. Chernenko's name in nomination.

Mr. Tikhonov's role in nominating the new party leader was one of several clues being sifted by analysts. Aged 78, he is the oldest member of the Politburo and had links with Mr. Brezhnev going back to the 1930's, when both were metallurgical engineers.

This and the fact that Mr. Chernenko was flanked by Mr. Tikhonov and other members of the Politburo in their late 60's and 70's on his appearances today and on Saturday at Mr. Andropov's bier suggested to some observers that an "old guard" had swung the leadership to Mr. Chernenko.

Some analysts inferred from Mr. Tikhonov's role in nominating Mr. Chernenko was that there had been no formal contest for the leadership. This inference was based on a party tradition, followed most recently when Mr. Andropov was nominated by Mr. Chernenko, that assigns the job of nominating the new leader to his defeated rival.

The procedure is intended to show unity, but since Mr. Tikhonov's age and other factors made him an improbable candidate for the leadership, analysts felt that there had to be another reason for his being given the task.

One theory was that there had been resistance to Mr. Chernenko, probably not in the formal Politburo meeting but in maneuvering that occurred in the four days that passed between the appointment today and Mr. Andropov's death.

When Mr. Brezhnev died, Mr. Andropov was named the new leader in only two days. Speculation about a possible power struggle focused on two men who seemed close to Mr. Andropov, Mikhail S. Gorbachev and Geidar A. Aliyev, and on a third who was thought to have a chance of succeeding Mr. Andropov, Grigori V. Romanov. These three form the core of the Politburo's younger members — Mr. Gorbachev is 52, Mr. Aliyev is 60 and Mr. Romanov is 61.

U.S. Says the Chernenko Speech Hints Door May Be Open to Talks

2/14

By BERNARD GWERTZMAN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 13 — The United States said today that it welcomed some apparently conciliatory comments in the speech by the new Soviet leader, Konstantin U. Chernenko. American officials said the comments suggested that the door might be open to reviving a dialogue.

Senior Reagan Administration officials said Mr. Chernenko's speech, which he gave after being chosen as the new General Secretary of the Communist Party, broke no major new ground. But they said it appeared to respond indirectly to President Reagan's call for a new "constructive dialogue."

Late this afternoon, President Reagan arrived at the Soviet Embassy in Washington and signed the condolence book for Yuri V. Andropov that was opened to the public this morning. The White House said Mr. Reagan signed this message:

"Please accept my condolences on the death of Chairman Andropov and convey my sympathy to his family."

The White House said Mr. Reagan

had signed a similar book after the death of Leonid I. Brezhnev in 1982.

In responding to Mr. Chernenko's speech, State Department officials glossed over his tough-sounding words. Instead they focused on his comments about Soviet readiness to "cooperate with" countries that were prepared to help lessen tensions "through practical deeds."

From the context of his remarks, he could have been placing responsibility on the United States to come up with "practical deeds," a position voiced earlier by Mr. Andropov in responding to Mr. Reagan's overture.

But the State Department chose to put a more positive interpretation on Mr. Chernenko's remarks by making it appear that it was the Soviet Union that was ready to offer "practical deeds."

The senior Administration officials said they expected Mr. Chernenko to move cautiously in foreign affairs and rely, perhaps more than had any previous Soviet leader, on collective deci-

Continued on Page A13, Column 1

CHERNENKO SPEECH WELCOMED BY U.S.

Continued From Page A1

alons within the ruling Politburo.

Nevertheless, the intelligence officials, who are experts on the Soviet Union, said Mr. Chernenko appeared committed to the policy of détente fostered by his mentor, Mr. Brezhnev.

The intelligence officials said Mr. Chernenko, 72 years old, who took part in the last Soviet-American summit meeting, set a more moderate tone by avoiding detailed criticism of American policy.

The State Department, in a statement that deliberately avoided any mention of Mr. Chernenko's criticism of "some leaders of the capitalist countries," said, "We do of course welcome his expressed support for solving international disputes through negotiation."

In the last months of Yuri V. Andropov's tenure, substantive talks between the two countries virtually ceased and relations seemed to harden on both sides. Now, on the basis of President Reagan's emphasis in the last month on opening serious talks and the hints in Mr. Chernenko's speech, the mood within the Administration is clearly one of sensing that an opportunity might develop.

Bush Asks to See Chernenko

Vice President Bush, who will be in Moscow for the Andropov funeral on Tuesday, has asked to see Mr. Chernenko, and State Department officials said Mr. Bush was authorized to stress an American desire for talks that might lead to a summit meeting.

"I think we have bottomed out in relations," one senior State Department official said, "and we're probably going to see a gradual probing on both sides, leading perhaps to enough progress to warrant a meeting between Reagan and the Soviet leaders later in the year."

The official said he used the term "Soviet leaders" because it was possible that Mr. Chernenko may have to share power, as occurred in the first years of Mr. Brezhnev's tenure.

American analysts of Soviet affairs, in examining the text of Mr. Chernenko's speech, said they were struck by the lack of any direct criticism of either the United States or Mr. Reagan. His criticism instead pointed at "some leaders of the capitalist countries."

Mr. Andropov, in his statements in recent months, often singled out the Reagan Administration for attack.

Chernenko's Comment Is Quoted

CHERNENKO SPEECH WELCOMED BY U.S.

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American analysis of Soviet efforts in examining the text of Mr. Chernenko's

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Chernenko Comment Is Quoted

Mr. Chernenko said the Soviet Union "will cooperate in full measure with all states that are prepared to assist through practical deeds to lessening international tensions and creating an atmosphere of trust in the world."

The State Department statement spoke of the Soviet Union's own "readiness to 'assist through practical deeds in lessening international tensions'" and went on to say:

"As the President has stated, these are our goals as well. What is needed is to move from words to deeds in building a more constructive U.S.-Soviet relationship."

Mr. Chernenko has built his career in Communist Party ranks as a senior apparatchik, mostly under the direct patronage of Mr. Brezhnev. He first met Mr. Brezhnev in Soviet Moldavia after World War II, when Mr. Brezhnev headed the party there. He followed Mr. Brezhnev to Moscow and had several jobs within the party Central Committee, in effect becoming the senior administrative official in the party.

Visited U.S. In 1960's

Mr. Brezhnev promoted him in the late 1970's to become a party secretary and then to be a member of the ruling Politburo. In the late 1960's, American officials said, Mr. Chernenko made an unpublicized visit to the United States to study modern management.

Over all, one authority on Soviet affairs said today, Mr. Chernenko has developed the reputation of being a "team player." Mr. Brezhnev relied on him completely, the analyst said.

Mr. Chernenko lived in an apartment one floor below Mr. Brezhnev's in an apartment house for Soviet leaders on Kutuzovsky Prospekt in Moscow. Mr. Andropov also lived in the same building.

In Mr. Brezhnev's last years in office, when he was physically able to work only an hour or two a day, Mr. Chernenko was inseparable from him, an analyst said, performing tasks that would usually be assigned to personal aides rather than to a Politburo leader.

"Chernenko would help Brezhnev get up from a sofa, would tell the interpreter to speak louder and would serve as the guard at the door," one analyst said. "And in return, it looks as if Brezhnev tried to set things up so that Chernenko would replace him."

Role at Vienna Talks Recalled

It was in this period that Mr. Chernenko accompanied Mr. Brezhnev to international meetings. He was with him at the Helsinki conference on security and cooperation in Europe in 1975 when Mr. Brezhnev met with President Ford. And he was in Vienna in June 1979 when Mr. Brezhnev and President Carter signed the treaty on limiting strategic arms.

At the Vienna meeting, Mr. Chernenko did not leave much of an impression on the American participants, who said they tried and failed to engage him in serious conversation at a dinner Mr. Carter and Mr. Brezhnev held with only a few aides. Zbigniew Brzezinski, then the national security adviser, said Mr. Chernenko "was jovial and quite amiable in private conversation" on peripheral matters, but cautious and close-mouthed on significant issues.

Former Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance said Mr. Chernenko was "very much in the background at the dinner and did not say anything of significance."

"However," he said, "in recent years I have talked to a number of officials in the Soviet hierarchy who have told me that in the last few years, Mr. Chernenko has assumed a stronger and more positive role and has not hesitated to speak out."

SOVIETICUS.

STEPHEN F. COHEN

America's renewed crusade against the "Soviet threat," from Central America and the Middle East to outer space, has reopened an old question: Do mainstream American newspapers, magazines and television networks, with their collective power to shape public opinion and influence government policy, give concerned citizens a balanced view of the Soviet Union?

Whether purposely or inadvertently, they fail to do so in at least three fundamental ways. The first is through a pattern of media coverage that systematically highlights the negative aspects of the Soviet domestic system while obscuring the positive. Soviet crop failures and abuses of political liberties have been the regular focus of American news stories since the early 1970s, but expanded welfare programs and the rising living standard have gone largely unreported.

Nor is the disparity corrected by what passes for informed analysis, even in widely respected publications. Efforts to show both Soviet achievements and failures are exceedingly rare, whereas wholesale vilifications of the Soviet Union appear frequently. A 1982 article in *The Wall Street Journal* by the influential academic Irving Kristol, for example, informed readers that the entire Soviet system is simply a "regime of mafioso types" with "pathological" beliefs and "no popular roots." The problem is not that the opposite is true but that, as a *Washington Post* correspondent returning from Moscow concluded several years ago, "If Americans know anything about the Soviet Union, we probably know what is bad about it."

The second media offense is more subtle. Objective political analysis requires language that is value free. But much American commentary on Soviet affairs employs special political terms that are inherently biased and laden with double standards. Consider a few of them. The United States has a government, security organizations and allies. The Soviet Union, however, has a regime, secret police and satellites. Our leaders are consummate politicians; theirs are wily, cunning or worse. We give the world information and seek influence; they disseminate propaganda and disinformation while seeking expansion and domination.

Obviously, the two systems are not alike, but such prejudicial language is incompatible with fair-minded analysis. In 1982, for example, the C.I.A. reported the existence of 4 million Soviet "forced laborers." The report, based largely on the fact that all Soviet penal inmates must work, was widely and uncritically publicized in the media, sometimes with references to "slave labor." But convicted prisoners in most American penitentiaries must also work. Does that mean we, too, have "forced laborers"?

Finally, there is the media's habit of creating a popular perception that the Soviet Union is guilty of every charge made against it. In recent years, initial newspaper and television reports virtually convicted the Soviet leadership of the following offenses: increasing military spending by an ominous 4 to 5 percent a year; invading Afghanistan in order to seize Persian Gulf oil; attempting to assassinate the Pope; waging chemical warfare ("yellow rain") in Southeast Asia;

and destroying what it knew to be a Korean commercial airliner carrying 269 people. Subsequent less-publicized evidence disproved some of those charges and raised serious doubts about the others. Nonetheless, it seems that in the minds of most Americans, the Soviet Union remains guilty of all of them. The result is increased acceptance of cold war policies.

Can anything be done to correct this wicked-witch image of the Soviet Union? People who acknowledge the problem say we need more information to overcome widespread ignorance about complex Soviet realities. Indeed, there is an appalling lack of elementary knowledge about almost everything Soviet, even among educated Americans. A State Department expert thinks, along with President Reagan, that the founding father of the Soviet Union was "Nikolai" Lenin. Too many college students are not certain about which side the Soviet Union fought on in World War II, and most are surprised to learn that talented writers live and publish in that country today.

But knowledge alone will not solve the problem. A growing body of more balanced information about Soviet life has been available since the 1960s. It has had little positive impact on the media or on public opinion. We know a great deal more about the Soviet Union than we do, for example, about China, which receives far more favorable press attention. And no amount of information would prevent a high-level science and technology official in the Reagan Administration, William Schneider Jr., from publishing this judgment: "The Soviet state has contributed practically nothing at all to science, culture, art, industry, agriculture, or to any other field of human endeavor."

Clearly, the problem is also American indifference or resistance to balanced information about the Soviet Union. Other countries frequently receive favorable coverage in the U.S. media because of America's historical sympathy for them or because of domestic lobbying in their behalf. No such pro-Soviet factors are at work in the United States, and anti-Soviet lobbies stand ever ready to explain away facts that might suggest some improvement in the Soviet system. Thus, in the February 1983 *Commentary*, the eminent intellectual Walter Laqueur writes: "There are at present in the Soviet Union relatively few political prisoners. . . . This is not because the Soviet Union is a less repressive regime, but on the contrary, because it is repressive and effective."

The solution, if there is one, requires not simply new information but old-fashioned American common sense and fairness. Common sense would tell us that the Soviet leadership had no motives for some of its alleged crimes. Fairness would not allow us to defame a nation that has suffered and achieved so much. Both have been lacking in our thinking about Soviet realities. The reason must be embedded in our history and needs. As an American historian of U.S. attitudes toward the Soviet Union concluded, "When talking about the U.S.S.R., Americans were really talking about their own nation and themselves."

ALEXANDER COCKBURN

at the anniversary of that discreditable episode. An interesting article by Gitta Sereny in the *New Statesman* of April 20 discusses the aftermath of the affair—when the diaries had been exposed, Lord Dacre humiliated and *Stern* rightly rendered an object of derision.

Sereny is convinced that Gerd Heidemann, indicted for defrauding *Stern*, was a dupe in an elaborate conspiracy. A fanatical collector of Hitleriana—pictures and statues signed by *der Führer* surround his marriage bed—Heidemann believed that the diaries were genuine. Konrad Kujau, alias Fischer, is under indictment as well and claims to be the forger. He has managed to sell his life story to *Bild Zeitung* for \$38,500, and entertains a flood of visitors in his cell.

Kujau boasts that he was the onlie begetter of the forgery. Sereny thinks that this is nonsense and that he is a pathological liar. Last December she published two articles in *The Sunday Times* of London showing that Heidemann had been used by a network of former S.S. officers who were trying to make a financial killing and simultaneously to "cleanse" Hitler's image. Prominent among them was Medard Klapper, who claims to have been Hitler's bodyguard and is a director of a mutual aid society of former S.S. officers. The network's message—evident in the forgeries published here—was of course that Hitler, a misunderstood fellow, had been forced reluctantly to war.

Sereny says sourly that no U.S. or German newspaper has published the results of her inquiries and that "the truth may be that the only acceptable Nazi past now is a prettified one, like the film *Holocaust* or the belief that the forging of the 'Hitler diaries' is a petty crime. The real Hitler and his legacy is something the world cannot bear to face." I don't know about that. The men who set up Orden should be able to face anything.

Mr. Zhou Changes Planes: Tales of Terror Continued

The coincidence of Reagan's horrible antiterrorism proposals and his visit to China reminds me of an episode that was certainly not raised amid all those toasts in Beijing last week.

In 1955 the nonaligned nations gathered for a great conference in Bandung, Indonesia. Among those leaders heading toward the town was Zhou Enlai, Foreign Minister and Premier of the People's Republic of China. The Chinese delegation flew in two rented Air India planes. Zhou and his party stopped over in Hong Kong before the final leg to Bandung. Gamal Abdel Nasser, who was stopping over in Rangoon, invited Zhou to visit for private consultations. At the last moment Zhou took a regularly scheduled flight to Rangoon and his party left for Bandung.

Seven hundred miles from its destination one of the rented planes, the Kashmir Princess, blew up; the shattered fragments, in people, eight of them Chinese diplomats, fell into the South China Sea. The British sent divers to examine the wreckage and concluded that the plane had been blown up with a sophisticated device of Western

manufacture. The Chinese intimated soon after that they thought the United States had been behind the attempt to murder Zhou.

On November 22, 1967, *The New York Times* reported that American defector John Discoe Smith had published an article in the Soviet periodical *Literaturnaya Gazeta* claiming that the C.I.A. had been involved in sabotaging the Air India plane and that he had delivered the timing device—later recovered by the British—to Chinese Nationalists in Hong Kong. The Hong Kong police described the affair as "carefully planned mass murder."

There is at least the appearance, the strong possibility, that the C.I.A. had been involved in an attempt to assassinate Zhou. In the mid-1970s more than a hundred staffers on Senator Church's Intelligence Committee toiled away, but none of them ever bothered to look into the Bandung incident. At the time of the furor over the C.I.A. and assassinations, someone who remembers the Bandung episode well asked Chinese officials why they did not press the matter. They smiled, saying the situation had changed since those difficult times.

Those who like to keep files on the inhuman beasts who blow civilian airliners out of the sky may also care to recall the Cuban airliner which, in October 1976, exploded shortly after it had taken off from Barbados, killing all seventy-three people on board, including Cuba's Olympic fencing team. As Jonathan Kwitny recalls in his excellent new book, *Endless Enemies*:

Riding the plane from Trinidad to Barbados, and getting off there minutes before the fatal blast, was Hernan Ricardo, a current or former—who knows?—C.I.A. operative who was traveling under a false passport. Ricardo immediately headed back to Trinidad. From there, he telephoned an associate in Caracas, Venezuela, and used euphemistic words to indicate that a mission had been accomplished. The conversation was overheard by authorities.

Kwitny adds, "Were Ricardo and [Cuban exile terrorist Orlando] Bosch killing people on behalf of the C.I.A. in 1976? Probably not. . . . Ricardo and Bosch were killing people with weapons just like the ones the C.I.A. had given them, and trained them how to use." All of which reminds us of Allan Nairn's findings.

Coming soon: the Unita truck-bomb in Angola, and the inhuman beasts who blow up barracks.

Fancy That

Allies in so many ideological ventures—though primarily in their desire to suppress any material offensive to any government of Israel—Mort Zuckerman, spring-heeled real estate operator, and Marty Peretz, galley master of *The New Republic* coffle, find themselves on opposite sides of the fence in their attempts to buy *U.S. News & World Report*. Zuckerman was mentioned early on as someone interested in acquiring that odious publication. Now Peretz has gone into partnership with Wall Street operator Ivan Boesky in pursuit of the same objective.

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Reagan Answers Questions

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 15 — *Following are excerpts from a White House transcript of a question-and-answer session between President Reagan and reporters at the White House today:*

Q. Mr. President, when Mr. Chernenko made his speech the other day, he said he wanted to maintain the equilibrium between East and West. What does equilibrium mean to you? Is there now a balance?

A. I think that we've gone a long way toward redressing what was a great imbalance with the Soviet Union. Back in the campaign, I was referring to our problem as having opened a window of vulnerability. I think we had. I think we've gone a long way toward redressing that. But we still haven't done it to the extent that part of our redressing is still promised, that is of the deployment of the MX missile, the putting on line of the B-1 bomber. Those things, I think, are necessary to give us what I believe would be a sufficient deterrent power. I don't think it still makes us equal to them. And I still am determined that the answer for both of the superpowers is to arrive at an agreement on real reduction of nuclear weapons. And my hope is that once started down that road, we will realize those weapons should be eliminated.

Relations With Soviet

Q. Do you feel more optimistic this week than you did last week, as a result of Mr. Chernenko's speech?

A. Yes, I do. Yes.

Q. Why? Has anything happened between Mr. Chernenko and the Vice President?

A. No. Well, they had a meeting, a half hour meeting, and I have heard from the Vice President about that meeting. While Secretary Chernenko did not retreat from his — from the basic Soviet positions, at the same time he expressed a desire for better relations. He felt that we must both take a part in seeing that regional conflicts did not get out of control, that there should be safeguards against any inadvertent use of nuclear weapons. In other words, he spoke — his whole tone and his words were such that indicated that he believed that there was an area for us to come to agreement.

Lebanese-Israeli Accord

Q. There are reports out of Beirut this morning, Mr. President, indicating that President Gemayel of Lebanon may be on the verge of abrogating the May 17 agreement with Israel. If it were necessary for the Gemayel Government to survive, would your Administration be willing to accept the abrogation of that agreement?

A. I have to say with regard to the agreement, since we're not a party to it, we did help and encourage the development of it; we're not a party to it, so there's no way that we should have a position one way or the other on whether it is abrogated or not. That is up to the parties involved. And, no, it would not change our position that as long as there's a chance for peace there, we're going to keep striving.

up to the parties involved. And, no, it would not change our position that as long as there's a chance for peace there, we're going to keep striving.

Length of Marine Tour

Q. Mr. President, in the week before you announced the redeployment of the Marines in Lebanon, you used very strong language to criticize Speaker O'Neill and others who were calling for a pull out. There's two questions about that. One is, do you think that your statements at a time when you were, in fact, considering strongly redeployment, if not a total pullout, has created any credibility problems? And secondly, how long do you anticipate the Marines staying on the ships off the coast?

A. The length of stay will be determined by what happens and whether we succeed or not. And it will be no different in length than it would be if they stayed in their positions on shore.

The remark, and maybe it was facetious in a way of flippant when I responded to a question out in the Rose Garden about the Speaker's position versus ours, was because my understanding was that he was suggesting that we bug out, that we just turn tail and run. And all that we were considering and had been planning for quite some time was how to continue the mission, but with a restationing of our forces, an improvement in that.

Q. So in other words, you expect them to stay possibly up to the full 18-month period of the authorization?

A. Yes. We hope that it won't be that long.

Missile Deployment

Q. Mr. President, as a gesture of good will toward the new leadership in the Soviet Union and in an effort to break the ice on the nuclear arms negotiations, would you consider suspending further deployment of U.S. Pershing 2 and cruise missiles in Western Europe for a period?

A. No, I don't think we should. The intermediate-range missiles of the Soviet Union number well over a thousand, someplace in the neighborhood of 1,500, 1,350 or something of that kind, with nothing comparable as a deterrent force for NATO.

Now, NATO — our allies asked for this deployment of missiles in 1979 and it was agreed to by the Administration at that time. We inherited that situation and agree with the fact that there should be such a deterrent policy — or force — there. I think that the Soviet Union made it very plain during the negotiations that their target was the prevention of our deploying those missiles.

I still believe my original proposal of zero option on both sides was the most sensible answer to get them completely, on both sides, out of Europe. But I think the best chance of getting agreement from the Soviet Union is dependent on us having that deterrent force. And I think it would be a retreat and it would not do anything to speed up negotiations with them if we now fell back and delayed deploying.

World Attention Turns to Chernenko's Health

By JOHN F. BURNS

Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, Feb. 15 — As the normal rhythms of life returned to the Soviet capital after Tuesday's burial of Yuri V. Andropov, whose death came after months of medical problems, Western diplomats began to raise questions about the health of the new Soviet leader, Konstantin U. Chernenko.

At the funeral, the new party chief, who is 72 years old, appeared to be short of breath. This was noted among the foreign dignitaries attending the rites, one of whom, Dr. David Owen, the leader of Britain's Social Democratic Party, is a physician.

On his return to London, Dr. Owen said in a radio interview about Mr. Chernenko:

"He has got what we call emphysema, which is shortness of breath. It is not a good illness to have. It tends to be something which brings on heart disease."

The same conclusion was reached by other Western medical experts who watched the funeral on television. Apart from Mr. Chernenko's breathing problems, particularly noticeable after he had mounted the steps to the top of the Lenin Mausoleum, the experts cited his hunched shoulders, the difficulty he appeared to have in holding up

his arm in a salute as Mr. Andropov was buried and, afterward, when he reviewed troops, and the uneven quality of his speaking voice.

Publicly, Western leaders who met with Mr. Chernenko said he appeared to be in sound physical condition. Privately, it was another story. One Western leader was reported to have told his ambassador here, "I am afraid you are going to have to go through this all over again," meaning the formalities associated with a state funeral, held in November 1982 for Leonid I. Brezhnev and this week for Mr. Andropov.

The envoy who conveyed the remark said Mr. Chernenko appeared to be

"not frail, like Mr. Brezhnev at the end, but certainly not strong."

Emphysema is a condition related to the overdistention of the lungs, and one of its symptoms is a difficulty in breathing. Medical studies have shown that it can result from longstanding respiratory ailments such as chronic bronchitis or from cigarette smoking. It is progressive but can be treated, for example, by aerosol sprays that increase lung capacity.

People suffering from emphysema seek to avoid respiratory infections, which can complicate the condition.

Although there was no sign of it in his formal appearances in recent days, Mr. Chernenko is known to have been a heavy smoker in the 30 years that he served as an aide to Mr. Brezhnev. Last spring, he was absent from his

Kremlin duties for five weeks with what aides in his office described first as bronchitis, later as pneumonia.

On at least one occasion later last year he disappeared from public view again. No reasons were given.

After the experience with Mr. Brezhnev and Mr. Andropov, some Soviet citizens, generally remote from the political maneuvering at the top, appear to share an interest in their leader's health.

After a heart attack in the mid-1970's, Mr. Brezhnev's health deteriorated. In the last two or three years of his life, he reduced his workload and struck some visitors as more and more of a figurehead. He died in November 1982 at the age of 75.

Mr. Andropov, who was 69 when he died last week of a kidney ailment,

looked pallid from the outset of his 15 months in power. He disappeared from view in August and spent his last six months under close medical care, including treatments on a kidney machine.

Such infirmities have compounded the uneasiness among Russians over the elderly cast of their leaders. The nation once saw the top roles going to younger men — Stalin was 42 when he succeeded an ailing Lenin in 1922; Khrushchev was 58 when Stalin died in 1953, and Brezhnev was 57 when Khrushchev was ousted in 1964.

But the two most recent leaders were appointed in the closing stages of their careers, 30 years or more past the time when their duties kept them in close contact with life at the grass roots.

Warsaw Cardinal Transfers a Militant Priest

By JOHN KIFNER

Special to The New York Times

WARSAW, Feb. 15 — Roman Catholic Church sources said today that Cardinal Glemp, under pressure from the authorities, had begun to transfer activist pro-Solidarity priests from their parishes.

The move has come amid Government concern over politically charged lectures given by intellectuals in churches.

One priest, the Rev. Mieczyslaw Nowak of the Church of St. Joseph the Worker, whose parish includes the Ursus tractor factory, once a Solidarity stronghold, received a letter from the

Cardinal on Tuesday ordering him to take over the parish of Lekki Koscielne. This covers some 4,000 people scattered in 20 villages.

Special worker masses held Sundays in Father Nowak's church have sometimes ended with marches behind the banned Solidarity union's red and white banners. The priest's sermons have often evoked nationalist sentiment and rebuked the authorities.

Among other likely candidates for transfers, according to reports in church circles, are the Rev. Jerzy Popieluszko, who holds a heavily attended monthly "mass for the nation" at the Church of St. Stanislaw Kostka,

and the Rev. Henryk Jankowski, pastor and adviser in Gdansk to Lech Walesa, the Solidarity founder.

Father Nowak recalled in an interview today that the Cardinal told him in a meeting on Jan. 9 to "calm things down." He said Father Popieluszko had a similar meeting.

Cardinal Glemp also told Father Nowak, the priest said, "not to have actors mixing with the mass."

His services, along with those by Father Popieluszko, often included the recitation of patriotic poems by actors. Such recitations have been taken as an expression of opposition sentiment.

Father Nowak was summoned today

to police headquarters for questioning, partly about an incident involving the carrying of a Solidarity banner after a mass he celebrated honoring coal miners on Dec. 16. But much of the questioning, he said, concerned the series of Friday lectures by historians, sociologists and others that his church has been sponsoring.

He said the police has asked him who was organizing the lectures, who was giving them and what the speakers were saying. "I did not give them any names," the priest said.

At the evening mass at his church, a crowd of several hundred people refused to leave until he appeared to tell them about his questioning and impending transfer. The priest, speaking from an altar decorated with a red and white Solidarity banner, said he would

go to see the Bishop of Warsaw about his transfer and would report back.

An intellectual who has lectured at the church on Polish cultural traditions said in an interview that the self-education movement represented by the lecture series was "the most important thing that is going on right now." He said the tractor factory workers gathered in the church were "a good audience, very political."

Dissident sources said similar lectures and other cultural programs stressing both Polish history and the current affairs had been held elsewhere since last fall. In Wroclaw, 15 churches were said to have organized a program on Christian culture, whose message was a tacit challenge to the authorities.

The self-education movement hark-

ens back to a 19th-century underground tradition, closely linked to the church, of keeping Polish nationalism alive under the rule of the Russian czars.

One indication of official concern is that Tadeusz Mazowiecki, a writer, has twice been detained in the last month while on his way to deliver church lectures.

At the beginning of January, Cardinal Glemp met for five hours with Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, the Polish leader. Church spokesmen and the official press later said the meeting had paved the way to cooperation.

Last fall, church sources said the Government had given the Cardinal a list of 60 priests whose activities were to be stopped.

DO NOT FORGET THE NEEDIEST!

FRENCH OPTIMISTIC ON ARMS PARLEYS

Leaders, Back From Moscow,
Expect Russians to Return
to the Bargaining Table

By JOHN VINOCUR

Special to The New York Times

PARIS, Feb. 15 — French officials, back in Paris after meetings with the Soviet leaders in Moscow, said today that they had the clear impression the Russians would soon return to nuclear arms talks with the United States.

A high-level official said this analysis was based partly on the tone of the discussions in Moscow on Tuesday and on what France sees as signs of change in Soviet attitudes.

A French delegation headed by Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy and Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson met for 40 minutes with Konstantin U. Chernenko, the new Soviet leader, and with Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko.

One official familiar with the content of the talks said he felt Soviet readiness to return to the Geneva arms negotiations was now very real.

He said he believed Soviet-American nuclear discussions would develop in the next few months. Moscow broke off talks on middle-range nuclear weapons in November, and has said since then that it will not return to them in their previous form. The Soviet delegation also left the talks on strategic, or long-range, weapons subsequently, but without foreclosing their resumption.

Resumption Before U.S. Election

The French official said he thought the new talks on nuclear weapons would start before the Presidential election campaign goes into full swing in the United States. He said he had the impression that the Russians thought President Reagan would be re-elected.

Some French sources try to minimize reports from Moscow on French television that Mr. Chernenko appeared fatigued and halting in his appearances during Yuri V. Andropov's funeral. At close range, the sources said, Mr. Chernenko gives an impression of robustness.

He was described as having read from a prepared text, in the manner of Leonid I. Brezhnev, during his meeting with the French leaders. Mr. Gromyko was said to have played an active role in the conversation.

Western military sources in Moscow said Tuesday that Russians had told them Mr. Chernenko has emphysema. And today the former British Foreign Secretary, Dr. David Owen, a physician, said in a radio interview after returning to Britain from the funeral that Mr. Chernenko has emphysema.

The French view on the likelihood of



Vice President Bush with President François Mitterrand at Elysée Palace yesterday in Paris at conclusion of their meeting.

a return to nuclear arms talks became known as Vice President Bush arrived for talks with President François Mitterrand that French aides said would deal mainly with Lebanon.

The French are reportedly irritated about the circumstances of the announcement of the pullback of United States troops from Beirut airport. The French suggest that no serious consultation had occurred and that the American decision had been relayed more as a closed matter than as a subject for discussion between the two principal Western allies in the multinational force in Lebanon, to which Britain and Italy have also contributed.

A source familiar with the French Government's attitude said the American pullback would shake the confidence of Arab and other third-world allies in United States commitments.

Another view of the French attitude was that the American decision would permit France to make the same choice soon while deflecting attention and responsibility to the United States. For the time being, Mr. Mitterrand has ordered the French contingent to maintain its positions in Beirut.

Bush Is Cautious on Arms Talks

Mr. Bush, after his meeting with Mr. Mitterrand, was asked at a news conference whether he had detected during his conversations in Moscow a willingness to resume arms control talks.

"I can't say that I did," he replied. "But I didn't detect an unwillingness. I can't say willingness, but I also don't want to leave the wrong impression. My view is that there will be a resumption of talks. But I can't say out of that

meeting I detected a schedule or an agenda or anything of that nature. But I did detect on their part an interest in arms reduction."

The French official back from Moscow said the conviction that Soviet-American arms talks would resume was a basic change in the French analysis.

The French had thought that the talks would resume only after a gradual increase in Soviet-American contacts on nonmilitary issues.

The official said he now believed that Mr. Gromyko's presence in Stockholm last month at the start of the East-West talks on security and confidence-building measures in Europe signaled a change in course. The deployment of the new American missiles in Europe, Mr. Gromyko's meetings in Stockholm with Western foreign ministers, expressions of Western interest in developing contacts, and the possibilities opened by the change in Soviet leader all contributed to what France now regards as a Soviet opening, he said.

In Stockholm, Mr. Cheysson was the first Western Foreign Minister to confer with Mr. Gromyko. Mr. Cheysson said then that he saw no likelihood of an early return to negotiations.

France, which has supported the Western missile deployment as a counterbalance to the buildup of Soviet SS-20's targeted on Western Europe, has tried to improve relations with the Soviet Union. A visit here by a Soviet First Deputy Prime Minister, Ivan V. Arkhipov, has run parallel to efforts by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher to develop British contacts with the Russians.

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REAGAN APPLAUDS 'TONE AND WORDS' FROM CHERNENKO

Says Soviet Leader Told Bush of Wish to Avert Regional and Nuclear Conflicts

By BERNARD GWERTZMAN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 15 — President Reagan said today that Konstantin U. Chernenko had told Vice President Bush the United States and the Soviet Union should see to it "that regional conflicts did not get out of control."

In the first detailed discussion of what was said between Mr. Chernenko and Mr. Bush in Moscow on Tuesday, Mr. Reagan said the new Soviet leader also said there should be "safeguards against any inadvertent use of nuclear weapons."

"His whole tone and his words were such that indicated that he believed that there was an area for us to come to agreement on these things," the President said of Mr. Chernenko.

'A Desire for Better Relations'

Mr. Reagan made his remarks while meeting with a group of reporters this morning. Mr. Bush, who met with the press after his session with Mr. Chernenko, had said they agreed on the need "to place our relationship upon a more constructive path."

French officials who met with the new Soviet leadership in Moscow said they thought the Russians would soon return to nuclear arms talks with the United States. [Page A10.]

Mr. Bush and Mr. Chernenko met for only 30 minutes and had to use interpreters.

Mr. Reagan said the Soviet leader "did not retreat from his — the basic Soviet positions."

"At the same time, he expressed a desire for better relations," he said.

Avoiding a Direct Confrontation

In the past, both the Soviet Union and the United States have separately underscored the need to prevent regional conflicts from enlarging to the point that the superpowers could risk a direct confrontation. In practice, this has produced a certain restraint by Moscow and Washington in the level of their own direct military involvement in such areas as the Middle East and Central America.

Both have nevertheless continued to supply military aid to their allies while condemning each other for doing so. In the Middle East, for instance, the Soviet Union has supplied vast

Continued on Page A10, Column 4

Reagan Applauds Chernenko's 'Tone and Words'

Continued From Page A1

amounts of military equipment to Syria while condemning the United States for doing the same with Israel, and vice versa.

The Russians have taken the position that the superpowers should not let their own relations suffer because of regional conflicts, while the United States has usually sought to link relations with restraint in regional conflicts.

Efforts by the United States and the Soviet Union to discuss putting curbs on military supplies sent to volatile regions of the world foundered during the Carter Administration.

Mr. Reagan explained today that he thought it best to use "quiet diplomacy" in dealing with the Russians. "We seek whatever channels will be the most productive to us," he said.

The President did not indicate any change in the American bargaining position on arms control matters or other issues. He also made some denigrating comments about the Soviet Union, reminiscent of past statements that some experts believe contributed to tensions.

He said, for instance, that while flying by helicopter he has often "fantasized" about having Soviet leaders sitting next to him and saying to them: "That's where the workers in America live. They live like that. How long are you going to cling to that system of yours that can't provide anything like that for these people?"

Not 'a Reckless Cowboy'?

Mr. Reagan reaffirmed that before agreeing to a conference with the Soviet leader, he would want it well-prepared and likely to produce concrete results.

When a correspondent said former

President Richard M. Nixon had advocated a "get-acquainted" meeting to demonstrate that Mr. Reagan, the former actor, was not "a reckless cowboy," Mr. Reagan referred to the meeting between President Kennedy and Nikita S. Khrushchev in 1961 that led to disagreements and increased tensions over Berlin.

"There was a letdown all over because nothing practical was accomplished," he said.

"I don't know whether they really believe that I'm a 'reckless cowboy' or not," Mr. Reagan added. "I only got to play in a couple of westerns. I wanted to play in more. I liked riding the horses. But maybe I could send them a print of 'Bedtime for Bonzo.'"

Comments From Speech

Later, in a speech commemorating the anniversary of Susan B. Anthony's birth, the President said Mr. Bush in his meeting with Mr. Chernenko had emphasized American desires "for greater mutual understanding and genuine cooperation between our two countries."

Mr. Bush also "made clear our concerns over issues such as human rights and regional conflicts," the President said in his prepared remarks.

"Vice President Bush and I have the impression that the new Soviet leadership is making an effort to downplay rhetoric and to explore ways to promote a more useful dialogue," he said.

"America has always been willing to meet the Soviets half way to find solutions to the many problems that divide us and to reach fair arms-reduction agreements," he said. "If the new Soviet leadership decides to join us in a good faith effort, we can accomplish much good together. And there's no better time to start than right now. If the Soviet Government wants peace,

then there will be peace."

Baker 'Optimistic'

Special to The New York Times

MIAMI BEACH, Feb. 15 — The Senate Majority Leader, Howard H. Baker Jr., Republican of Tennessee, said today that he was "moderately optimistic" about the chances of improving relations with the Soviet Union under the leadership of Konstantin U. Chernenko.

Mr. Baker said he thought a meeting between President Reagan and Mr. Chernenko should be "approached carefully." He added: "But if we are speaking about conversations between the two leaders, I think they are a pretty good match for each other and should get along well. I think they can do business together."

Mr. Baker said he had heard before meeting him that Mr. Chernenko was not in the best of health, but the Senator described the Russian as "a young 72" who is "strong and quick and spoke without prompting."

"He looked better than I would have after a funeral in zero degrees in Red Square," Mr. Baker said. "It must have been a tough day for him."

The 30-minute meeting was also attended by Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko and Vice President Bush along with the United States Ambassador to Moscow, Arthur A. Hartman. Mr. Baker said Mr. Chernenko spoke with and without notes, and in the final moments spoke "extemporaneously."

While Mr. Baker did not disclose details of the conversation, he said "the tone and substance of the meeting were very much different from the tough public statement."

"He doesn't have any hostile feelings towards the United States," he said. "I think we can do business with him."

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Remarks By 3 Leaders At Funeral

MOSCOW, Feb. 14 (AP) — Following are excerpts from the speeches made by General Secretary Konstantin U. Chernenko, Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko and Defense Minister Dmitri F. Ustinov today at the funeral of Yuri V. Andropov, as translated and distributed by the Soviet press agency Tass:

Chernenko Speech

The passing away of Yuri Vladimirovich Andropov has evoked deep sorrow in the hearts of Soviet people. A glorious son of the Communist Party, an outstanding political figure, a person of great soul and kind heart has departed from life. Yuri Vladimirovich devoted all his strength till the very last day in the cause of the party and people.

His remarkable qualities as a Communist-Leninist — faithfulness to Communist ideals, unbending will, modesty and business ability, concern for a working man — all this won him immense prestige in the party and people. A leader of Leninist type, Yuri V. Andropov possessed a gift of insight into the sense of developments and the ability to comprehend them, make precise and clear conclusions, rally people together and guide them.

An ardent champion of world peace, Yuri Andropov did a good deal to consolidate the international positions of our country, to increase its defense capability and combat might. His thoughts and practical work were concentrated on safeguarding peace and saving mankind from the threat of nuclear catastrophe. In today's extremely tense international situation, too, we are stating clearly that the Soviet Union will continue its policy of peace, a lasting and just peace for all the nations, big and small.

We are also reiterating our readiness for talks, but for honest talks on the basis of equality and equal security. We will not be scared by threats. Our defences are strong and we will be able to protect everything accomplished by all Soviet people.

In this sad hour when we are saying farewell to Yuri Andropov, I want to express the deepest condolences to his family and relatives.

Farewell, our dear friend and comrade, Yuri Vladimirovich! Your bright image will remain with us forever.

Gromyko Speech

Yuri Vladimirovich concerned himself with foreign politics on a day-to-day basis. His hallmark was the ability to grasp the essence of difficult international problems. He could size up both prospects and what had to be done at the moment and knew what decisions had to be made at any given time.

Taking forced measures to strengthen its own security and that of its allies — measures which are necessary — the Soviet Union and its leadership are not slackening and will not slacken their efforts aimed to avert the war threat from mankind and to improve the international situation.

Our country has put forward a series of major initiatives of principled importance. Their aim is to strengthen peace. For this it is necessary first and foremost that the attempts to tip the existing military-strategic equilibrium be renounced, that the nuclear arms buildup be stopped and that efforts be made to limit these weapons.

Those who are pursuing a policy of militarism, the mad arms race and interference in the internal affairs of other countries should renounce this policy and substitute for it a policy of peace and cooperation.

The Soviet Union stands resolutely for reaching accord on major confidence-building measures. This would be promoted to a large extent by the obligation of all the nuclear powers not to be the first to use nuclear weapons and by an international agreement on not using armed force altogether.

The proposals of the Soviet Union are not to anyone's prejudice, they are equally beneficial to all. We expect the Western countries to respond to them and to join us in working for the cause of peace.

Ustinov Speech

Yuri Vladimirovich was a tireless, courageous fighter for peace, for averting the threat of war. He had a firm belief in the possibility of curbing the forces of aggression, and did his best to improve the international climate.

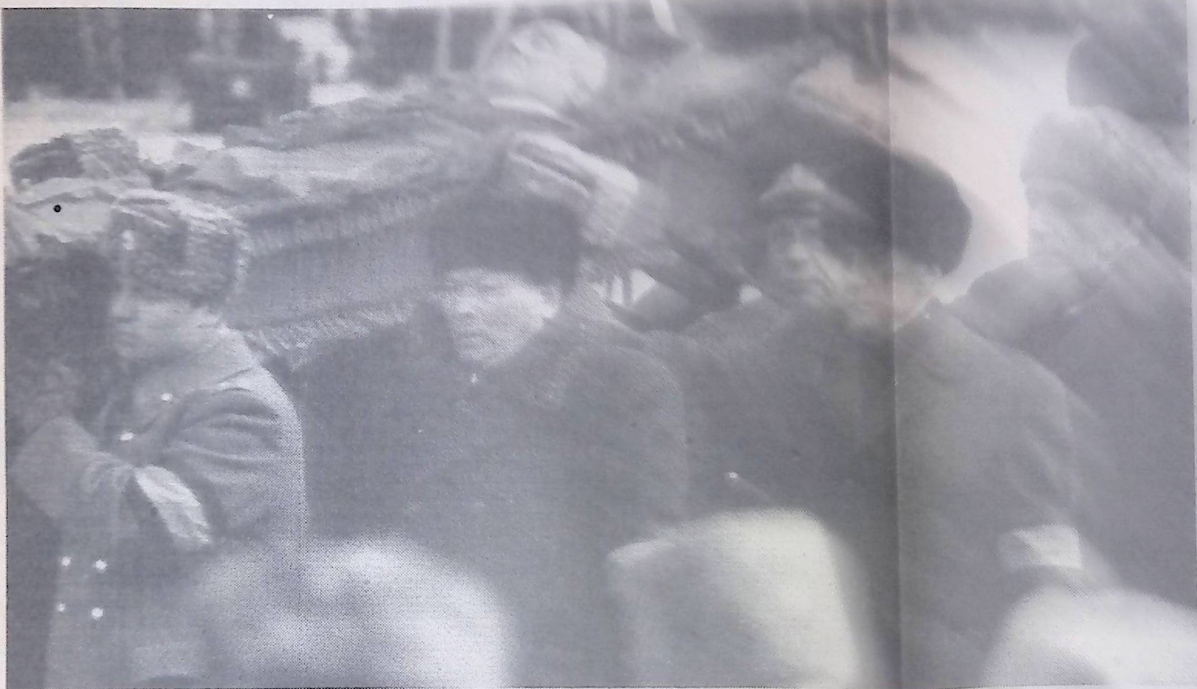
Yuri Vladimirovich Andropov, in upholding the cause of peace, paid unflagging attention to securing a reliable defense of the Soviet state. He displayed constant attention to and concern for the further development and consolidation of the Soviet armed forces, their technical equipment, and maintenance of combat readiness at high level.

Yuri Vladimirovich Andropov devoted much strength and energy to implementing Lenin's directive on all-round consolidation of the unity of the army and people, improvement of military-patriotic education and all-sided preparation of Soviet youth for defense of the motherland.

Yuri Vladimirovich Andropov made an invaluable contribution to promoting the all-round cooperation and strengthening of the combat might of the joint armed forces of the Warsaw treaty countries.

The Leninist party course is unshakeable. The Soviet people, servicemen of the armed forces, are infinitely loyal to the ideas of Marxist-Leninism. On this mournful hour, they are rallying their ranks ever closer round the Communist Party and its combative headquarters — the Leninist Central Committee and the political bureau of the CPSU Central Committee.

Servicemen of the army and navy, educated and guided by the Communist Party, will continue to stand reliably on guard of our socialist motherland, of peaceful construction work of the Soviet people, and no threats will intimidate us.



United Press International

Konstantin U. Chernenko, center, helping to carry bier of Yuri V. Andropov across Red Square at funeral yesterday in Moscow. Other officials in pro-

cession were, from right, Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko, Prime Minister Nikolai A. Tikhonov and Defense Minister Dmitri F. Ustinov.

Andropov Buried Amid Somber Martial Grandeur

By JOHN F. BURNS
Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, Feb. 14 — Yuri V. Andropov was buried today in Red Square amid the somber military grandeur that also marked the funeral of Leonid I. Brezhnev, his predecessor, 15 months ago.

A gun carriage flanked by a high-stepping honor guard bore Mr. Andropov's coffin on the 600-yard journey from his lying-in-state to the Lenin Mausoleum.

There, to the accompaniment of Chopin's funeral march and before an assemblage that included representatives from 111 countries, the Soviet hierarchy and thousands of mourners, Mr. Andropov was eulogized by the three of the older Politburo members who seem to have come together in the core of the new leadership.

The speakers — Konstantin U. Chernenko, 72, the new party leader; Defense Minister Dmitri F. Ustinov, 75, and Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko, 74 — praised Mr. Andropov and his policies.

Communist of 'Unbending Will'

Mr. Chernenko described his predecessor as a Communist of "unbending will, modesty and ability, and concern for the working man" and said his death had evoked "deep sorrow among the Soviet people."

"Farewell, dear friend and comrade, your bright image will remain with us forever!" Mr. Chernenko said.

The funeral oration marked Mr. Chernenko's first appearance since his appointment Monday as the party's General Secretary, the most important of the posts Mr. Andropov left vacant.

Mr. Andropov, who died Thursday of a kidney ailment at the age of 69, also headed the Defense Council, which au-

dropov's coffin with its red satin covering was lowered into a grave in a line of plots where Mr. Brezhnev and other leaders lie behind the mausoleum.

Mr. Andropov's grave, marked temporarily by a portrait and by wreaths, is next to that of Feliks E. Dzerzhinsky, the first head of the security police and intelligence agency, who died in 1926. Mr. Andropov led the organization, now known as the K.G.B., for 15 years before he returned to party work in May 1982, to succeed Mr. Brezhnev the following November. On the other side of Mr. Andropov lies Mikhail I. Kalinin, Soviet chief of state from 1919 to 1946.

Unusual Glimpse of Family

For viewers watching television, a major interest was Mr. Andropov's family. While he was alive, little was known about his personal life. Today millions saw his widow, Tatyana, sobbing as she was helped to the open coffin at the gravesite, clasped her husband's forehead and kissed him farewell. She was followed by Mr. Andropov's daughter, Irina; his son, Igor, a diplomat, and Mr. Andropov's grandchildren and other relatives.

Mr. Chernenko and other leaders saluted. A gun volley was fired and fog horns on the Moscow River joined in a three-minute farewell, along with Soviet vessels from the Baltic to the Pacific. Five minutes of silence were observed across the country.

After four days of official mourning, the nation returned swiftly to its routine. Military units and mourners moved out of Red Square, the flag atop the Kremlin returned to full staff and workers began pulling down the red and black bunting that had draped the capital since the announcement of Mr. Andropov's death on Friday.

The visiting dignitaries, among

Minister Andrei A. Gromyko and First Vice President Vasily V. Kuznetsov. Among the visitors were Gus Hall, the American Communist leader; Yasser Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, and a personal representative of Pope John Paul II.

For some guests, like Vice President Bush and Senator Howard H. Baker Jr. of Tennessee, the Senate majority leader, the encounter was limited to handshakes. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain spoke with Mr. Chernenko for two minutes.

The funeral took place under wintry blue skies. A light dusting of snow lay along the Kremlin's crenelated walls, but across the cobblestoned square and along Marx Prospekt, the route traveled by the cortege, recent snow had been cleared and ice had been chipped from manhole covers and and curbs.

Generals in Astrakhan Hats

In the procession were generals in Astrakhan hats bearing Mr. Andropov's medals on cushions of red satin, a military guard marching in slow time beside the caisson, and several hundred high-ranking officials, led by the 12 members of the Politburo in gray overcoats, red armbands and fur hats. Members of the Andropov family walked behind the gun carriage.

Mr. Andropov's wife was supported by women as she made her last visit to the bier, moments before the procession began, and was then driven directly to the square. But Mr. Andropov's son and daughter, arm in arm, made the 30-minute journey on foot along with other relatives. Irina Andropov, dressed in a blue woolen hat and a calf-length coat of red fox, clutched her husband, an actor, by the other arm.

At the Lenin Mausoleum, the cortege

and Ivan I. Senkin, regional party chief in Karelia, where Mr. Andropov was posted during the 1940's.

Mr. Chernenko's appearance provided some fresh clues to the state of his health, which has been in question since he was out for five weeks last year by what his office said at the time was pneumonia. Western military sources said today that they had heard from Russians that he has emphysema, but this could not be confirmed.

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Andropov's Policies Lauded

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He called for the momentum to be maintained and said, in language similar to that used by Mr. Andropov, that the party would rate officials, managers and enterprises on the basis of performance and "tangible results."

The signs so far suggest that Mr. Chernenko is likely to share power in a four older men who have lined up next to him in public appearances, the Defense Minister Ustinov, Foreign Minister Gromyko, Prime Minister Tikhonov, 78, and Viktor V. Grishin, 69, the Moscow city leader.

An effort to accelerate the reform in the leadership when the



Konstantin U. Chernenko, center, helping to carry bier of Yuri V. Andropov across Red Square at funeral yesterday in Moscow. Other officials in pro-

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Mr. Andropov, who died Thursday of a kidney ailment at the age of 69, also headed the Defense Council, which supervises the armed forces, and served as chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, or chief of state.

Precisely on schedule, at 12:45 P.M. (4:45 A.M., New York time), Mr. An-

dropov's coffin with its red satin covering was lowered into a grave in a line of plots where Mr. Brezhnev and other leaders lie behind the mausoleum.

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The visiting dignitaries passed through a door in the Kremlin wall to a reception in St. George's Hall, a grand, chandeliered room, where they were greeted by Mr. Chernenko, Prime Minister Nikolai A. Tikhonov, Foreign

Minister Andrei A. Gromyko and First Vice President Vasily V. Kuznetsov. Among the visitors were Gus Hall, the American Communist leader; Yasir Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, and a personal representative of Pope John Paul II.

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At the Lenin Mausoleum, the ceremony proceeded in a mixture of politics and ritual that characterizes official Soviet funerals.

Among the speakers, besides the three Politburo members, were Georgi M. Markov, head of the writers' union,

and Ivan I. Senkin, regional party chief in Karelia, where Mr. Andropov was posted during the 1940's.

Mr. Chernenko's appearance provided some fresh clues to the state of his health, which has been in question since he was out for five weeks last year by what his office said at the time was pneumonia. Western military sources said today that they had heard from Russians that he has emphysema, but this could not be confirmed.

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An effort to accommodate the younger men in the leadership seemed implied when the second and third-ranking party secretaries, Mikhail S. Gorbachev, 52, and Grigory S. Romanov, 61, lined up on Mr. Chernenko's other side during visits to the House of Unions, where Mr. Andropov lay in state.

Bush Says Talks With Chernenko Gave Promising Signal on Future

Continued From Page A1

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Minister Indira Ghandi of India.

Mr. Bush said he and his colleagues "felt the mood was good, the spirit was excellent, and we are grateful to the General Secretary and Mr. Gromyko and the others there for that tone." He added, "It signals that we can go from there."

Of Mr. Chernenko, the Vice President said: "He obviously ran the meeting with full authority. He looked very well and was very gracious, and beyond that it's hard to draw conclusions in this very short time. In this meeting he was running the agenda, responding without notes in the end, and clearly self-assured in his dealings with us."

The Tass account of the session was somewhat less enthusiastic. It said that "views were exchanged in a principled plane on the present state of the international situation and Soviet-American relations," a formula that does not reflect much warmth.

Remarks Relatively Tempered

Tass said Mr. Chernenko reiterated basic Soviet positions, and told the Americans that if they displayed "practical readiness" to adhere to principles like "equality and equal security," it would become possible "to start the tightening of relations between the two countries."

In his two pronouncements so far as General Secretary, Mr. Chernenko has touched only in general terms on foreign affairs. But diplomats say they have found his remarks relatively tempered. In his acceptance speech Monday, Mr. Chernenko emphasized commitment to détente with the West, and said that "we are for a peaceful settlement of all disputable international problems through serious, equal and constructive talks."

Mr. Bush told a news conference today that he had told Mr. Chernenko that "this is precisely our approach as well, and that we too want deeds and not just words."

In his funeral oration today, Mr. Chernenko again spoke of his "readiness for talks," adding the usual Soviet declaration that Moscow was ready to defend its interests.

His comments contrasted with the

more strident note struck by Mr. Gromyko in his eulogy. "Those who are pushing a policy of militarism, the mad arms race and interference in the internal affairs of other countries should renounce this policy and substitute for it a policy of peace and cooperation," Mr. Gromyko said.

At his news conference Mr. Bush appeared intent on putting the most promising face on his reception by Mr. Chernenko.

"We are dedicated to arms reduction and to peace in all regions of the world," Mr. Bush said. "And after my conversation with General Secretary Chernenko, I will report to the President that he agrees about the need to place our relationship upon a more constructive path, in the interest of peace."

Fifteen months earlier at Leonid I. Brezhnev's funeral, Mr. Bush made similarly upbeat comments after meeting Mr. Andropov, and relations between Washington and Moscow went on to worsen sharply.

Mr. Bush's remarks at today's fu-

neral seemed to raise somewhat higher expectations. Mr. Bush said he was not sure whether Mr. Chernenko was seeking to respond to President Reagan's overtures, but added: "It's fair to say that nothing there was stated in any way to antagonize us. The tone and mood were very positive."

The Vice President said it was too early to make predictions about any Chernenko-Reagan meeting, or to determine whether Mr. Chernenko was prepared to resume the nuclear arms control negotiations.

The 30-minute meeting between Mr. Chernenko and Mr. Bush was part of the busy round of diplomatic meetings among Government leaders and representatives who came to Moscow for the funeral. Mr. Chernenko stood at the head of a reception line after the funeral and greeted representatives of more than 100 governments and political movements. Western reporters at the reception in the Kremlin said he met each guest with a cordial handshake, but did not appear to engage in the personal diplomacy that Mr. An-

dropov practiced when he performed the same duty 15 months earlier.

Among those at the reception were Gus Hall of the American Communist Party and Mr. Arafat, whose military drabbing at the hands of Syrian-backed Palestinian rebels seems to have eroded his standing in Moscow. He appeared to cause some embarrassment by seeking to embrace Mr. Chernenko and Mr. Gromyko.

Mr. Bush met separately with President Mohammed Zia ul-Haq of Pakistan, Mr. Kohl, Foreign Minister Shin-ichi Abe of Japan and President Sandro Pertini of Italy.

The basic theme in the meetings between Western leaders and Mr. Chernenko was East-West relations.

Bush Arrives in Rome

ROME, Feb. 14 (AP) — Vice President Bush arrived here today for talks with Italian officials and with Pope John Paul II.

Text of Bush Statement After Kremlin Talks

MOSCOW, Feb. 14 (AP) — Following is the official text of the statement issued by Vice President Bush today after he met with Konstantin U. Chernenko:

For the second time in 15 months it has been my somber duty to convey the condolences of President Reagan and the American people to the family of a Soviet leader, and to wish a new leader well in the major responsibilities he faces.

We thank our hosts for their generous hospitality and kindness to us in this time of mourning. We had a useful and constructive meeting with General Secretary Chernenko this evening. As we leave Moscow, our thoughts and prayers are turned toward the future, and toward the cause of peace.

I delivered a letter from President Reagan to the General Secretary. I cannot go into its contents in detail, but I can say that it conveyed the

President's determination to move forward in all areas of our relationship with the Soviets, and our readiness for concrete, productive discussions in every one of them.

I welcomed the General Secretary's statement to the Central Committee yesterday that the Soviet Union is "for the peaceful resolution of all difficult international problems by means of serious, equal and constructive negotiations." I told him that this is precisely our approach as well, and that we too want deeds and not just words. I stressed the particular importance of real results in reducing nuclear weapons, resolving regional disputes, and improving human contacts and cooperation.

Let me direct a few parting words to the Soviet people and to the Soviet leadership. The Soviet people should know that like them, like people everywhere, the people of America are peaceful people. We in America share your yearning for lasting

peace, for peace that one day may not need armies and missiles to keep it.

The Soviet leaders should know that we are serious and steady. As President Reagan said this past Saturday: "We should find ways to work together to meet the challenge of preserving peace. Living together in this nuclear age makes it imperative that we talk to each other, discuss our differences and seek solutions to the many problems that divide us."

No one underestimates the seriousness of the differences between our two nations. Progress will not be easy or quick. But we understand our own basic needs and those of our allies, and we acknowledge those of the Soviet Union.

We are dedicated to arms reduction and to peace in all regions of the world. And, after my conversation with General Secretary Chernenko, I will report to the President that he agrees about the need to place our relationship upon a more constructive path, in the interest of peace.

The change of leadership in Moscow provides both dilemmas and opportunities for the United States.

On the one hand, it complicates the problem of Soviet decision-making and makes any basic change in Soviet policy, especially in the area of arms control, more difficult. For the next few months, if not longer, the Soviet leadership will focus primarily on the problem of transition. The new General Secretary of the Communist Party, Konstantin U. Chernenko, will be reluctant to take any dramatic initiatives until he has consolidated his power.

At the same time, Yuri V. Andropov's death presents an unexpected opportunity to begin to halt the downward spiral in American-Soviet relations and put them on a firmer footing. Although, in the short term, Mr. Chernenko is unlikely to be open to, or capable of implementing, new initiatives, he also has the advantage of not being wedded to the policies of his predecessor. Once the dust has settled and he has his own team in place, he may be more open to some changes or adjustments in policy. The Soviet Union's growing domestic problems, above all in the economic area, may push even a reluctant leader toward change.

The United States should recognize this opportunity and take advantage of it. What is needed is a careful and deliberate effort to change the tone of relations and lay the groundwork for an improvement in ties once the new leadership has sorted out its goals. Without such an effort, arms control negotiations are likely to make little progress, and political relations will remain in the deep freeze.

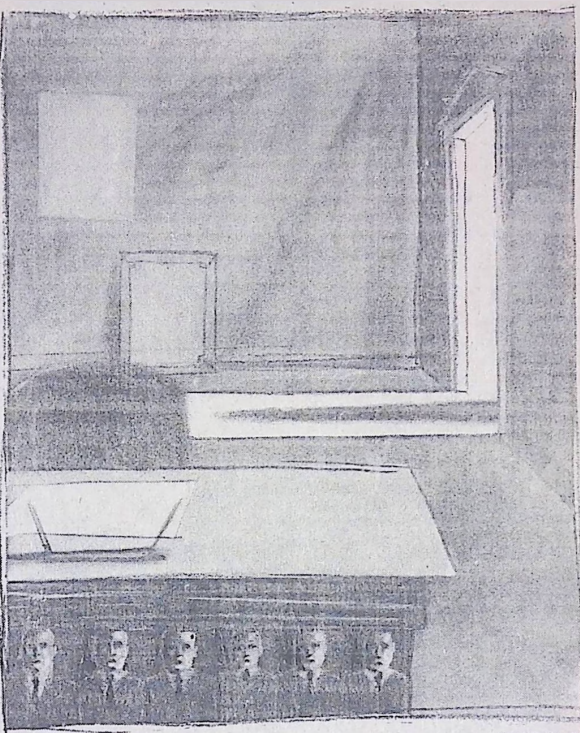
What specifically should the Administration do?

First, moderate its anti-Soviet rhetoric and adopt a more statesman-like tone in its public statements toward the Soviet Union. President Reagan's speech on Jan. 16, inviting the Russians to return to arms control negotiations, was an important first step in the right direction, but it needs to be complemented and followed up by specific actions.

Second, resume the discussions on a cultural agreement and the reopening of consulates in Kiev and New York City. We have as much of an interest as the Russians do in cultural exchanges: They are one of the few means for achieving access to the closed Soviet society and exposing Russians to American views. The consulate in Kiev, shut down in the aftermath of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, is an important "listening post" in the Ukraine — an area

Start Rehabilitating Relations With Soviet

By F. Stephen Larrabee



Andrei Dalsinski

that is likely to become increasingly important as nationalism among Soviet ethnic minorities increases. We worked hard to get Soviet permission to let us establish the consulate, and it is in our interest that it be reopened.

Third, broaden the political dialogue. We need to discuss a wide range of issues and, in particular, to find ways to dampen and moderate tensions in third areas — from the Middle East to Central America — that could lead to superpower confrontation and conflict. In most cases, the Russians have not caused the turmoil in these third areas, but they have sought to exploit it for their own political gain — often, as in Angola, Ethiopia and Afghanistan, with serious repercussions for relations between Moscow and Washington.

This is not to suggest the convocation of a American-Soviet summit meeting. As Henry A. Kissinger recently pointed out, such meetings are useful for putting the finishing touches on agreements, but they are not well suited for breaking the ice. Given the current state of relations and the deep Soviet suspicion of the Reagan Administration, a summit meeting — even a so-called "get acquainted summit" — would be premature. It would almost certainly be regarded by the Russians as a tactical ploy designed to improve President Reagan's electoral standing — something they have no interest in doing.

Moreover, at the moment, the Russians themselves are in no shape to hold a summit meeting, even if they were so inclined. Mr. Chernenko will

need time to consolidate his power and become more intimately acquainted with the intricacies of foreign policy, especially arms control. The dialogue, therefore, would best be conducted at the level of Secretary of State or possibly, on our side, through a special envoy who has the trust and confidence of both the President and the Russians.

Over the long term, however, there is a need for regular meetings between heads of state. These should be supplemented by regular meetings between defense ministers and high-ranking military officers on both sides. In contrast to past high-level contacts, the basic aim of such meetings would be specific and technical — to give both sides the opportunity to obtain a better understanding of the other's military forces, military doctrine and strategic concerns. While such a novel idea might at first be resisted by the Russians, over the long run it could have important benefits for both sides.

Fourth, modify the American position at mutual balanced force reduction talks in Vienna. These negotiations have been deadlocked for the past decade over the "data issue" — the number of men under arms that each side has in the "reduction zone." Last year, however, the Soviet Union offered to accept in principle the stationing of on-site, uniformed inspectors at specific entry and exit points. This represents an important step forward and could provide the means for breaking the current deadlock.

After close consultation with its European allies, the United States should defer solution of the data issue and instead move immediately to explore the Soviet proposal that a symbolic reduction of 16,000 American troops and a similar number of Soviet troops in a tank division be made a test case of on-site verification. A final accord would still be contingent on agreement on the data issue. But this shift in approach would offer the possibility for moving the talks forward and testing Soviet sincerity about on-site inspection while still maintaining the essence of the Western demand for equal ceilings on manpower.

None of these steps is likely to cause any fundamental changes in the character of superpower relations, which will remain strongly competitive for the foreseeable future. Given the current depth of Soviet suspicion toward the Administration, change is not likely to come easily or quickly. Yet, taken together, these steps could improve the atmosphere in which relations take place and lay the basis for a more substantial change later on.

What if the Russians are slow to respond to such gestures? They may well be, but it would then be clear that responsibility for the freeze in relations rests squarely on their shoulders. We have little to lose by taking these first small steps toward more constructive relations with Moscow.

F. Stephen Larrabee, who was a member of the National Security Council staff from 1978 to 1981, is vice president and director of studies at the Institute for East-West Security Studies, a public-policy institution.

Andropov 'Hardly Made a Start' Toward 'Some Sort of Order'

2/16

By Roy A. Medvedev

MOSCOW — Barely 15 months have passed since the day Yuri V. Andropov stood atop Lenin's tomb and delivered a eulogy at Leonid I. Brezhnev's funeral. Moscow is in mourning once more, but this time the city has said farewell to Mr. Andropov himself. When Mr. Brezhnev died, most people in this country reacted with an indifference that surprised Western correspondents — in fact, most people greeted the news with carefully disguised relief. But Mr. Andropov's demise evoked in many ordinary people sorrow, grief — even anxiety. "He hardly made a start on putting things in some sort of order and already — death," many could be heard saying.

The Soviet people came to know very little about Mr. Andropov as a political leader and human being during his period in the Kremlin. Before being put at the head of the party and state, he was in charge of the K.G.B. But the head of the secret police is not a foreign minister, nor even a Central Committee secretary. He does not seek the limelight and could hardly expect to be popular. Public interest in his personality was intense, at home as well as abroad. The autumn of 1983 saw the publication of at least eight biographies abroad, but there was more to the man than such distant interpretations could offer.

The K.G.B. job was not his calling. By vocation, he was a politician of larger caliber. Politics was his lifeblood; it was not without protracted and bitter fighting that he made his climb to the top. But his sadness was that he ran out of time to capitalize on the political potential he gained. As head of state, he made no official visits outside the country. Nor did he travel in his official capacity to any region or republic of the Soviet Union. He fashioned his own brand of leadership, spontaneous and low-key: A year ago, he visited a Moscow factory, arriving toward the end of the work day without advance notice.

According to the medical bulletin issued after his death, there was an irreversible turn for the worse in his condition a full year before he died. Last June saw his election as chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidency, but by August he was no longer able to travel to the Kremlin. He was confined to his residence, where he was allowed to work only under the eye of physicians.

Far from all that was being said about Mr. Andropov was flattering. Many described him as a tough and unemotional pragmatist, a man of

inadequate economic experience and excessive reliance on disciplinary measures. But there was another side, that of an outwardly urbane and civilized leader, a man of intellectual interests who was fond of painting and music, fluent in English, German and Hungarian, and a good conversationalist. He was regarded as demanding and stern, but not cruel, incorruptible in matters involving the state's interests as he understood them. Long before the onset of his illness, he had developed a distaste for hunting in game preserves around Moscow, luxurious Western cars, thrillers, gluttonous meals, women, feasts with a coterie of cronies — all the trappings Mr. Brezhnev loved so much. Likewise, he had no tolerance for dishonest officials and negligent work attitudes — something Mr. Brezhnev's admirers presented as "kindness."

Mr. Andropov was not a democrat. He was not even a liberal despite the

Public interest in him was high. For many, his death evoked sorrow, grief and anxiety.

occasional Western references to him as such. No reminder is needed that the K.G.B. under Mr. Andropov dealt harshly with dissidents, although it would be wrong to compare their treatment with Stalin's terror. In 1983, the K.G.B.'s Lefortovo prison was overcrowded, but the inmates were not dissenters. Nearly all were former executives, ranking militia officers and procurators, foreign trade officials, customs officers, party functionaries and black market chieftains.

Mr. Andropov initiated a determined drive to combat the corruption that under Mr. Brezhnev permeated all levels of party and state machinery, including the circle surrounding Mr. Brezhnev himself. Mr. Andropov was not prepared to undertake sweeping reforms of the economy, let alone the political system. But he was making an honest effort to put the economy on a sound and efficient footing and to make the hard life of most of the country's population less difficult. Some improvements can be seen already. The crisis is not overcome as

yet, but agriculture, transport and the metallurgical industry are doing marginally better now than they did from 1980 to 1982. There also has been a slight improvement in the food supply.

Nor did Mr. Andropov envision any drastic changes in foreign policy. But he was sincerely committed to negotiations and to peaceful settlement of international issues. He sought an end to the endless escalation of the arms race, for its own sake and to lift the drag it imposes on the economy; these efforts were significant and visible, even if success eluded him in the short time allotted to him. He also launched a vigorous campaign to rejuvenate and cleanse the leading bodies of the party and the Government. But these goals too were unfulfilled when he died.

Mr. Andropov was, as we know now, a gravely ill man. He went to lengths to keep his condition a secret, even from his Politburo colleagues. But even at his election in 1982 he must have known that he was not destined to hold power for long. He was in a hurry, and within a few months of Mr. Brezhnev's death he consolidated his power to an extent that took Nikita S. Khrushchev at least three years, and Mr. Brezhnev six years, to accomplish.

To all appearances, Mr. Andropov set himself a minimum program aimed at establishing a new dominant group in the party and the Supreme Soviet, at charting a new course and a new style of leadership, and at preparing the party for a new congress that would legitimize the changes in the party and in society that he planned. But he did not live to see the next congress, let alone the elections to the Supreme Soviet, to be held in March.

He concerned himself little with culture and ideology, and in these fields in the past year things got worse, not better. But in the last speech that he made in public, to a group of party veterans last August, he put forward the crucially important notion that ideology should be made relevant to everyday social and economic activities, since disorder, mismanagement and money-grubbing nullifies the work of propagandists and agitators.

In sum, Mr. Andropov accomplished much in his brief time. Our country has lived through four eras — those of Lenin, Stalin, Khrushchev and Brezhnev. Between each there was a period of transition. Mr. Andropov did not shape an era of his own. He did not even manage to fulfill his own limited goals. But his name will go down in our history, and for many years' most of our people will recall his death with regret.

Roy A. Medvedev is a dissident Marxist historian and author, most recently, of "Khrushchev." This article was translated from the Russian by The New York Times.

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That's Fit to Print"

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Tass via United Press International

Vice President Bush being greeted by the new Soviet leader, Konstantin U. Chernenko, in Moscow yesterday.

Bush Says Talks With Chernenko Gave Promising Signal on Future

By SERGE SCHMEMMANN

Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, Feb. 14 — Vice President Bush met with Konstantin U. Chernenko today and said afterward that the new Soviet leader agreed on the need "to place our relationship upon a more constructive path."

Mr. Bush said he had delivered a letter from President Reagan to Mr. Chernenko, with whom he met after Yuri V. Andropov's funeral. The Vice President declined to divulge the let-

ter's contents, but said "it conveyed the President's determination to move forward in all areas of our relationship with the Soviets, and our readiness for concrete, productive discussions in every one of them."

Text of Bush statement, page A6.

ter's contents, but said "it conveyed the President's determination to move forward in all areas of our relationship with the Soviets, and our readiness for concrete, productive discussions in every one of them."

Mr. Bush also declined to go into details of his conversation with Mr. Chernenko, who was accompanied by Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko.

Cordial and Promising

But Mr. Bush, who was accompanied by Senator Howard Baker, the majority leader, and Arthur A. Hartman, the United States Ambassador to Moscow, repeatedly characterized the session as cordial and promising, and spoke positively of Mr. Chernenko.

At the funeral in Red Square, Mr. Chernenko praised his predecessor as a Communist of "unbending will, modesty and ability." [Page A6.]

At the Kremlin reception after the funeral, Mr. Chernenko briefly greeted

dignitaries from all over the world, ranging from the leaders of Moscow's Communist allies and heads of NATO nations to Yasir Arafat of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

After the reception, Mr. Chernenko met individually with the chiefs of all the Warsaw Pact nations, and then separately with Mr. Bush, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain, Chancellor Helmut Kohl of West Germany, Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy of France, Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau of Canada, and Prime

Continued on Page A6, Column 3

Excerpts From Speech by Chernenko to Members of the Central Committee

2/14
MOSCOW, Feb. 13 (AP) — Following are excerpts from the text of a speech delivered today by Konstantin U. Chernenko to the Central Committee of the Communist Party, as distributed in translation by the official Soviet press agency Tass:

Dear comrades,
I cordially thank the members of the Central Committee for the great honor bestowed on me — election as General Secretary of the Central Committee. I fully realize the enormous responsibility which is placed on me.

Yuri Vladimirovich Andropov was destined, comrades, to work at the head of our party for a short, painfully short, time. We will all miss him. He passed away at the very height of a great and tense work aimed at powerfully accelerating the development of the national economy, at overcoming the difficulties which our country encountered at the turn of the Eighties. But we all know what a large amount of work our party has succeeded in doing over that time, how many new and fruitful things have been introduced and reaf-

2/14
**'I fully realize
the enormous
responsibility
placed on me.'**

firmed in practice. Carrying on and further advancing by collective efforts the work started under the leadership of Yuri Vladimirovich is the best way of paying tribute to his memory, of insuring continuity in politics.

Continuity is not an abstract notion, but a live, real cause.

Strength in Unity

The strength of our party is in its unity, adherence to Marxism-Leninism, ability to develop and guide the creative activity of the masses, to unite them ideologically and organizationally, under the guidance of the tested Leninist principles and methods. You know, comrades, what im-

mense attention our Central Committee, Political Bureau of the Central Committee and Yuri Vladimirovich Andropov paid of late to questions of perfecting the work of the state apparatus, of improving the style of party leadership.

One of them is a clear distinction between the functions of party committees and the tasks of state and economic bodies, elimination of duplication in their performance. This is a major issue of political significance. Frankly speaking, not everything has been properly adjusted here.

The whole of our experience confirms: The most important source of the party's strength were, are and will be its contact with the masses, civic activity of millions of working people, their practical attitude to production matters, to problems of public life.

It is the duty of the Communist Party to constantly check its course, its decisions and actions primarily with the thoughts of the working class, with its great sociopolitical and class intuition.

Need a Serious Restructuring

The question of organization, order is a key, principal one for us. There

can be no two views on this. Any slackness, irresponsibility brings to society not only material losses. They inflict serious social, moral damage. We, Communists, and millions of Soviet people understand this well. And it is quite natural that the measures adopted by the party with a view to enhancing labor, production, planning and state discipline and strengthening socialist legality have evoked nationwide approval.

The system of economic management, the whole of our economic machinery need a serious restructuring. Work in this direction has only been started.

We expect from our economic executives more independence at all levels, a bold search and, if necessary, a well-justified risk in the name of increasing the effectiveness of the economy and insuring a rise in the living standards of the people.

Now about relations with the capitalist countries. Great Lenin bequeathed to us the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. We are invariably loyal to this principle. Nowadays, in the age of nuclear weapons and superaccurate missiles, people need it as never before. Deplorably, some

leaders of the capitalist countries, to all appearances, do not clearly realize, or do not wish to realize that.

Need No Military Superiority

We can very well see the threat created today to humankind by the reckless, adventurist actions of imperialism's aggressive forces — and we say about it in full voice, drawing to that danger the attention of the peoples of the whole Earth. We need no military superiority. We do not intend to dictate our will to others. But we will not permit the military equilibrium that has been achieved to be upset. And let nobody have even the slightest doubt about that: We will further see to it that our country's defense capacity be strengthened, that we should have enough means to cool the hot heads of militant adventurists. This, comrades, is a very substantial prerequisite for preserving peace.

The Soviet Union as a great socialist power fully realizes its responsibility to the peoples for preserving and strengthening peace. We are open for peaceful, mutually beneficial cooperation with the states in all continents. We are for a peaceful settlement of all disputable interna-

tional problems through serious, equal and constructive talks. The U.S.S.R. will cooperate in full measure with all states which are prepared to assist through practical deeds to lessening international tensions and creating an atmosphere of trust in the world; in other words, with those who will really lead things, not to preparation for war, but to a strengthening of fundamentals of peace. We believe that with these aims, full use shall be made of all the existing levers, including, certainly, such as the United Nations, which has been created precisely for preserving and strengthening peace.

Comrades, we Soviet Communists are sincerely gratified that in the struggle for a peaceful future and progress of humankind, we march hand in hand with the millions of our class brothers, with numerous contingents of the world Communist and working-class movement. Being unswervingly loyal to the principle of proletarian internationalism, we treat with ardent sympathy and deep respect the struggle waged by our foreign comrades for the interests and rights of the working people and see our duty in comprehensively strengthening the bonds linking us.

Succession in Moscow: The Path to Power



United Press International



Tass from Sordoba

Glimpses of Soviet Leader's Career

Konstantin U. Chernenko was a longtime political ally of Leonid I. Brezhnev. At left, he accompanied the Soviet leader to Vienna in 1979 for the signing of a strategic arms agreement. He was present, above, at right, in the Crimea in 1982 when Mr. Brezhnev met with Erich Honecker, the East German leader. He is shown at right as chief of staff to President Ananias I. Mikoyan in 1964. Mr. Chernenko was brought to Moscow to fill that post by Mr. Brezhnev, who preceded Mr. Mikoyan as President.



Tass from Sordoba

Scholars See a Temporary Victory for the Old Guard in Kremlin's Selection

By SETH MYDANS

American experts on the Soviet Union agreed yesterday with diplomatic assessments from Moscow that the elevation of Konstantin U. Chernenko to the top post in the Soviet Union marked at least a temporary victory for the old guard in the Politburo.

The coming period, the experts said, is likely to be one of conservatism and consolidation, with few initiatives.

It may also be one of jockeying for position as members of the leadership who are in their 50's and 60's seek to appoint power among themselves.

"The younger men have been waiting and waiting and waiting, and now they see their hopes set back again," Seweryn Bialer, director of Columbia University's Research Institute on International Change.

Had Yuri V. Andropov lived some months longer, some analysts said, the younger men he brought into the leadership might have had time to consolidate their positions.

Some of the experts suggested that the younger men had in fact won the power struggle, but decided for the time being to exercise power from behind the scenes.

There is even a school of thought that the younger men now hold the majority and that either their strength was divided among candidates or they did not yet feel strong enough to wield power from the front rank.

Most experts believe that the collective leadership that has been running Soviet affairs will continue.

Mr. Chernenko himself poses a problem to analysts, as a man who did not appear, to most of them, to be a strong or dynamic personality.

"He clearly is not himself a major

power," said Carl Jacobsen, director of Soviet and Strategic Studies at the Graduate School for International Studies at the University of Miami.

"Chernenko is just a total mystery," said Peter Hauslohner, a political scientist at Yale University. "In terms of his personal qualifications, leadership or technical qualifications, his career betrays absolutely no talent, no particular leadership or problem-solving abilities."

Dmitri K. Simes, a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for Inter-

national Peace, cautioned against underestimating the new leader.

He said that Stalin, Khrushchev and Brezhnev all appeared to have been chosen as relatively colorless compromise figures, and each went on to make a strong imprint on the country.

He called Mr. Chernenko "a rather complicated figure."

"He does not appear to be a formidable, dynamic leader," Mr. Simes said, "but I don't think you can reduce him to the simplistic image of an incompetent, colorless Soviet apparatchik. He

was sufficiently bright and forceful to understand what his colleagues wanted and to position himself sufficiently well during the Andropov rule."

Kremlin-watchers will now be keeping their eyes on the younger men, on their promotions or demotions.

Potential younger candidates to assume the leadership ultimately are two national party secretaries under Mr. Chernenko who are also full members of the Politburo — Grigory V. Romanov, 61, the former Leningrad leader who was shifted to Moscow only last

summer, and Mikhail S. Gorbachev, 52, who has been a member of the leadership since 1978.

Another appointment that will be watched by the experts for a sign of Mr. Chernenko's authority is that of chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, the chief of state or President of the Soviet Union. Both Mr. Brezhnev and Mr. Andropov held this post in addition to heading the Communist Party, apparently to be in a position to deal directly with foreign leaders.

Meanwhile, as Stephen Cohen, a Princeton University political scientist says, the appointment of Mr. Chernenko has sent a message to the entrenched bureaucracy that the older men are still in charge and that the transition to the next generation continues to be deferred.

At the same time, Mr. Simes foresees no rollback from the program of discipline that was instituted by Mr. Andropov and has apparently drawn widespread support.

American Experts' Comments on the Appointment of Chernenko

Following are excerpts from interviews with experts on Soviet affairs who offered their analyses of the appointment yesterday of Konstantin U. Chernenko as General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party.

Cyrus R. Vance

Former Secretary of State

Both countries should use this occasion to improve the dismal state of U.S.-Soviet relations. From our standpoint, I hope that the Reagan Administration will alter its bellicose rhetoric and that both nations will re-examine their policies with respect to each other. A change in leadership in the Soviet Union is always a political turning point, and our policies and actions toward them can affect the direction in which the Soviets move.

Dmitri K. Simes

Senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

I think there was no real power struggle.

They functioned for a number of months as a collective leadership without Andropov. One can speculate that they wanted a caretaker, there was no heir apparent among younger men and the old guard wanted continuity and stability.

We should not dismiss Chernenko too easily and prematurely. We always have this temptation, especially if we compare him to a colorful man like Andropov. But his selection was much more typical than that of Andropov. The way a person acts as a subordinate is not always a key to how he will act in a supreme position.

Adam Ulam

Director of Harvard University's Russian research center

The whole development since Brezhnev's death demonstrates the conspiratorial character of the Soviet regime. To a man who was 68 and already seriously ill at the time of succession, there now succeeds a man who will be 73

this year and who had been bypassed at the time of the last selection. It demonstrates how little even the Soviet elite has to do with the selection of leaders.

The most logical explanation of what happened is that there was a split between proponents of the two other logical candidates, Grigory Romanov and Mikhail Gorbachev. In the deadlock the only other eligible man, being a member of both the Politburo and the Secretariat, was Chernenko. I think that, on the one hand, the older people did not like the idea of someone as young as Gorbachev, who is a generation younger, 52 going on 53, becoming the boss, and, on the other hand, there was evidently a feeling that Romanov was too tough, even by Soviet standards.

Seweryn Bialer

Director of Columbia University's Research Center on International Change

The election of Chernenko signifies that the

core group of the Politburo, which is formed of men of his own generation, asserted its dominance. Andropov was eager and partly able to put younger men in the Politburo. Had he lived one more year, the selection would have been different.

From the point of view of policy, in the short range it does not signify anything. The leadership is collective. The policy toward President Reagan — total mistrust and an unwillingness of deals helping him in the election — is apt to continue.

But in the longer term, it does make a difference who runs this top office. From that point of view, the choice of Chernenko is not a positive development for the United States. We are engaged in serious arms negotiations, and there is need for a strong leader in the Kremlin who could push through arrangements in arms control despite the opposition of various groups. I doubt that Mr. Chernenko will have time to accumulate enough power to become a strong leader.



AMERICAN CONTACTS: Mr. Chernenko accompanied Mr. Brezhnev to Vienna in 1979 for the signing of arms limitation agreement, where he met President Carter and Zbigniew Brzezinski, in foreground. Also there were Marshal Nikolai V. Ogarkov, left rear, and Andrei A. Gromyko.

Ex-U.S. Envoy Calls Chernenko Dullard

By ROBERT PEAR
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 13 — Americans who have met Konstantin U. Chernenko, the new Soviet leader, say they were not particularly impressed with the caliber of his mind or his command of information.

The Americans gave their impressions in interviews today after it was announced that Mr. Chernenko had been chosen General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party.

Malcolm Toon, a former Ambassador to the Soviet Union, said Mr. Chernenko struck him as "a dullard" at a dinner held in Vienna in 1978 to mark the signing of a strategic arms limitation treaty.

"The only impression I formed," he said, "is that he was a dullard."

Mr. Toon, who said his Russian was "pretty good," said he "tried desperately" to draw Mr. Chernenko into a discussion of the treaty and its significance for Soviet-American relations, but he failed in this effort and "we had a few words about the weather in Vienna."

Mr. Toon also said he tried to inform Mr. Chernenko about the possible difficulties of getting Senate concurrence for the treaty. "I had the impression that he really didn't know much about the American political process," Mr. Toon said.

Cyrus R. Vance, the former Secretary of State, who was also at the dinner, said: "Mr. Chernenko was very

much in the background at the dinner and did not say anything of significance. However, in recent years, I have talked to a number of officials in the Soviet hierarchy who have told me that in the last few years, Mr. Chernenko has assumed a stronger and more positive role and has not hesitated to speak out."

Zbigniew Brzezinski, who was President Carter's national security adviser, said he found Mr. Chernenko "jovial and quite amiable in private conversation" on "peripheral" topics, but "cautious, close-mouthed and not very forthcoming" when the discussion turned to more significant matters.

"He had a very shrewd look on his face," Mr. Brzezinski said, and "from his eyes, you had the impression you were dealing with a person who's very calculating."

Mr. Brzezinski said Mr. Chernenko "struck me as the least dynamic and formidable" of four leading contenders to succeed Yuri V. Andropov. But he said the selection of Mr. Chernenko was "good for the West" in the sense that it would make the Soviet Union "less competitive" than it might have been under a more formidable leader. Mr. Brzezinski listed the other leading candidates as Mikhail S. Gorbachev, Grigory V. Romanov and Dmitri F. Ustinov, the Defense Minister.

Recalling the dinner in Vienna, Mr. Brzezinski said Mr. Chernenko spoke less forcefully and less authoritatively than Mr. Ustinov and Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko. Mr. Chernenko

seemed to be "closed within himself" and highly deferential toward Leonid I. Brezhnev, who was then the Soviet leader, Mr. Brzezinski said.

Mr. Toon said that once, in a speech in this country, he referred to Mr. Chernenko as "a paper-shuffler of the Politburo." Upon returning to Moscow, he said, "I was scolded by Soviet officials for demeaning the man."

"He's not the jazziest type to take over the Politburo," Mr. Toon said. "He will simply take over as the head of the collective leadership. There probably will not be any basic change in Soviet policies and behavior."

President Carter, who also met Mr. Chernenko, was in New Zealand on a fishing trip today and could not be reached for comment.

Murray Feshbach, an expert on Soviet demography who used to work at the Census Bureau, said he met Mr. Chernenko in the late 1960's, when the Soviet official visited the United States. Mr. Chernenko was interested in the use of computers to handle large amounts of data, Mr. Feshbach recalled. At the time, Mr. Chernenko was responsible for keeping records of Communist Party membership.

"The guy was businesslike and straightforward and properly addressed the issues at hand," said Mr. Feshbach, now a senior research scholar at Georgetown University's Center for Population Research. "I remember him asking several questions that seemed germane and appropriate."

A Sampler of Chernenko's Speeches

Konstantin U. Chernenko, as the Soviet Union's second-ranking Communist Party secretary under both Leonid I. Brezhnev and Yuri V. Andropov, generally reflected the views of the collective leadership in his speeches. Here are excerpts from some speeches he delivered to Soviet audiences in the last two years.

"European theater of operations" have led to increased nervousness and anxiety in Western Europe.

Relations With U.S., 1982

The Soviet Union is opposed to a further increase in tension in Soviet-American relations. We favor normalization and improvement, and we are prepared for businesslike, thorough talks in which the interests of the two sides would be taken into account.

But if Washington cannot rise above primitive anti-Communism, if it continues to follow a policy of threats and dictat, well, we are strong enough, and we can wait. Neither sanctions nor militant posturing frighten us. We believe in reason. We believe that sooner or later—and the sooner, the better—reason will triumph and the threat of war will be lifted.

Peace Program, 1982

We have a broad, concrete peace program for the 1980's. It conforms to the aspiration of people. Détente, disarmament, the overcoming of conflict situations, the elimination of the threat of nuclear war—these are the tasks that we have set ourselves. We want security for ourselves, for our friends, for all the people of the world.

Reagan's Policy, 1982

For nearly two years, the rulers of the United States have been flexing their muscles. For nearly two years, abuse directed at the Soviet Union and the other socialist states has been coming out of Washington. For nearly two years, myths about a "Soviet threat" and the "hand of Moscow" have been serving as an ideological foundation for United States foreign policy.

What has Washington gained? It probably has more nuclear bombs. Military programs are vying to outstrip one another. But the international position of the United States has not become any stronger. On the contrary.

Détente's Meaning, 1982

Détente is a process operating at many levels and in various dimensions. Détente is unquestionably the path to peace and cooperation. But that is not all. Détente is inseparable from the recognition of the right of every people to determine its own destiny and to choose its own way of life and the direction of its social development.

To hope that the sociopolitical status quo can be preserved and frozen is a reactionary utopia, nothing else.

Soviet Propaganda, 1983

Tass, the Novosti press agency, the State Committee for Radio and Television and other agencies engaged in propaganda abroad are charged with the important task of persistently and persuasively conveying the truth about our foreign policy, winning public opinion over to our side and exposing the plans of the imperialists. The Central Committee's International Information Department must coordinate this effort as much as possible.

It cannot be said that our foreign propaganda is always vigorous and skillful enough. Let us not deceive ourselves. If we explain an event superficially or report it belatedly, we are put in a position of having to dissuade rather than persuade, and that is far more difficult.

Western Buildup, 1983

The United States and the other NATO countries are counting on achieving military superiority over the U.S.S.R. and the other Warsaw Pact countries, and are pursuing an unchecked arms race under the cover of fabrications about a "Soviet military threat." By building up international tension to the limit, Washington's adventurist policy is pushing mankind toward a nuclear catastrophe.

Despite the highly strained state of international relations, the Soviet Communist Party is firmly convinced that the nuclear madness can be stopped.

Limited War, 1982

The cynical views of American politicians regarding the possibility of a "limited," "prolonged" or "rational" nuclear-missile war and their intention to localize such a war in the

is conveyed, and they must deliver a prompt and decisive rebuff to these incursions. The actions of those people who willingly or unwittingly echo foreign voices and spread all manner of gossip and rumors must not go without a principled assessment by the party.

Role of Teachers, 1983

Schoolteachers are the agents of society in indoctrinating our children. The 3 million teachers we now have induce young people with civic qualities and with knowledge that is supposed to serve them for long years. We must do everything possible to raise the prestige of teachers and show concern for their working and living conditions and their ideological and professional training.

About Youngsters, 1983

The party sees negative phenomena among young people. It is disturbed by the political naïveté of some young people and their unwillingness to work where society needs them. One cannot help being alarmed by a tendency among some young people to set themselves apart not their knowledge and diligence, but by expensive things bought with the money of their parents. I don't mean to grumble, as if to say that this is not the way young people used to be. The point is that they will face the complex tasks of the 21st century, and we want them to be in a position to resolve those tasks.

Influence of Church, 1983

A segment of the population, and, frankly, a rather sizable segment, is still under the influence of religion. The various ideological centers of imperialism are working not only to support religious sentiments among the Soviet people, but to give them an anti-Soviet, nationalistic slant. At the same time they are spreading allegations about "violations of the freedom of conscience in the U.S.S.R."

Our constitutional guarantees of freedom of conscience are common knowledge. Communists are consistent atheists, but they do not impose their views on anyone. Our method is one of enlightenment, persuasion and propaganda. But when we encounter cases in which laws are violated or cases of political subversion using religion as a front, we act in accordance with the precepts of the Constitution.

Counterpropaganda, 1983

Party committees must have a clear picture of what our adversary is trying to smuggle in to us, the forms it takes, and the channels by which it

Soviet Youths Embrace An 'Invasion' of English

By SERGE SCHMEMANN

Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, Jan. 13 — "I'm a khailaifist," wrote the 20-year-old, bragging of his American jeans, Japanese stereo, rock music collection and library of science fiction.

The belongings are fairly standard for a pampered member of the "golden youth," the well-to-do offspring of the Soviet elite. But "khailaifist?"

It turned out, according to the Soviet daily *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, to be "high-life-ist," a new entry in the ever-expanding, English-derived jargon of Soviet youth that has already enriched Soviet speech with *dzhins* for jeans, *dzhaz* for jazz, *rok* for rock, *disk* for records, *kassety* for cassette and even *sneki* for surprise, *shuz* for shoes, *vech* for watch and *fater* for father. The English words and phrases are retransliterated from the Cyrillic alphabet, used by the Russians.

'Used a Long Time'

"This English jargon has been used by a certain element of youths for a long time," noted Yelena L. Losoto, who had culled the letter from the *khailaifist* from among hundreds she said she received in response to her series in *Komsomolskaya Pravda* on elitism among Soviet youth.

"Some letters have been saturated with English words," she added. "Their writers sometimes even signed their names in Latin letters."

The injection of English words into Russian speech seems to act on older generations here much the way the language of some teen-agers affects their parents in the United States. But what seemed to grate most on Mrs. Losoto was not so much the slang as the fact that much of it emanated from the West, and specifically from the United States.

For Mrs. Losoto, the trend reflected a broader problem, the abandoning of national and social ideals for a veneer imported from the West, which is often portrayed as degenerate and immoral in the Soviet press.

"The severing of threads tying you to a nation and a society which gave you everything possible is self-decapitation, self-destruction," she wrote.

Her impassioned arguments, however, seem unlikely to curtail the fad for Western words any more than earlier official displeasure affected the allure of *okhaz*, *dzhinzi* or the Beatles. The fact is that modern Soviet Russian, of the variety dispensed by the gazette and television, is so riddled with foreign words that the most hard-line purist would have trouble drawing the line between borrowed words that have

grown to be felt as Russian through long usage and the "kalki," or what is sometimes referred to as a calque, as casually injected foreign words are known colloquially.

Inroads in Sports

In the age of *tekhniologia*, American technical jargon has so infiltrated Russian that even the old *vychislitel'naya mashina* is commonly known as the *kompyuter*. But it may be in sports that English has made its most thorough inroads.

One needs only a basic knowledge of Cyrillic to follow in a newspaper the final match of a basketball tournament, to find out which sportsmen or sportsmenka are leading (there is no sportsman in Russian, but the simple addition of *-ka* transforms any athlete into an athlete), or which forward has the best chance to score past the golkipper.

The sportscasters do get an occasional slip on the wrist for their excesses, but a glance at any *Pravda* or *Izvestia* newspaper suggests they are not the only culprits.

On Monday, for example, *Izvestia* urged a *kollektiv* of a tement factory to show greater *effektivnost* in the production of cement, and reported on the doings of the Chase Manhattan Bank in Colombia under the headline "Gangstery pod Maskoi Filantropov" ("Gangsters Under the Mask of Philanthropists").

Well-Equipped to Absorb

Though the newly minted words often grate harshly on refined Russian ears, what makes the practice so tempting — and the task of the purists so hopeless — is that the Russian language, with its myriad endings and prefixes, is exceptionally well-equipped to absorb a foreign root and transform it into a rich range of Russian variations.

There was *firma*, for example, a perfectly common derivative from *firm*, as in the Levi Strauss firm. Under the pressures of pop *kultura* and its additively for import Western goods, young people began to seek out products with a *firmy* *leib*, a label testifying to a modish Western brand name.

With time, *firmy* evolved into an independent adjective denoting any thing Western or desirable. The most sought-after brand names, like *Levi's* in jeans or *JVC* in stereos, have similarly metamorphosed into common nouns, much like *Frigidaire*, *Scotch tape* — or *Levi's* — did in the United States.

Mrs. Losoto, with evident distaste, noted that "if a young person doesn't



The cover of a recent issue of the Soviet satirical magazine *Krokodil* piling fun on the outlandish fashions of some modern youths. The bearded man at left is saying: "Some costumes these two dug up. They probably forgot that it's not a masquerade tonight but an ordinary discotheque." The sign over the door reads, "Disco."

want his *feis ob teib*, or face against the table, "he must be a *khailaifist*, wearing *Livais* and floating in *dzhayvisakh*," or *JVC's*.

In more practiced mouths, deft use of selected foreign words can often be used for ironic or even ideological effect. These days, for example, referring to someone as "ser" or "mister" invokes mild sarcasm, and President Reagan is often derided in the press as a "kovboi."

The pollination of one language by another is hardly limited to Russian, and in Russia it is hardly new. Under the czars, the Russians drew their alphabet and ecclesiastical terminology from the Greeks, their early technical jargon from the Germans and their social chit-chat from the French, among others.

The dispute over the practice goes just about as far back, and at least to the dawn of the debate between Sophocles and Westerners. Even Pushkin, now celebrated as the pre-eminent Russian stylist, was attacked in his day for linguistic impurity by the journal *Galatea*.

Such criticism continues today. Not so long ago *Komsomolskaya Pravda* bemoaned the "torture of the Russian language" and invoked Lenin in its arguments against excessive linguistic borrowing from abroad.

The prestigious *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, on the other hand, had the critic Vladimir Solovoy defend imported words as contributions to the "vital, changing nature of the Russian language."

Nothing to Worry About

Detant, parking, stripit, smog, isteblishment, uik-end and even kheppend (a transliteration of the Russian version of "happy ending") are nothing to be afraid of, Mr. Solovoy argued. "Our language," he said, "is strong enough to absorb and assimilate foreign words."

It had better be, because if foreign roots were excised too energetically, socialism and even kommunizm could find themselves with their *feis ob teib*, as they say.

Where would the Kremlin be without its *Politburo* and generally *skretsur*? Who would summon a meeting of the *Kommunisty*? Who would be the *avan-*

gard of the proletariat? Indeed, who would oppose the imperialism, dissident and other burzhuazny interventy who invented those foreign words to begin with?

For Mrs. Losoto of *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, however, the issue was not as much pollution of the Russian language as what the new slang seemed to say about the golden youth and its mores. The mindless aspect of Western pop culture and its lingo, she wrote, betrayed the adoption of "cynicism as a philosophy of life."

She quoted appreciatively from Dostoyevsky, who inveighed against the French-speaking elite of his day: "Crawling slavlike before forms of that language and before the opinions of garçons, Russian Parisians naturally become slaves to French thought. Thus they themselves condemn their heads to the dismal fate of never in their lives having their own thoughts."

The Allure Remains

But French survived as the medium of cultivated Russians, just as the allure of American pop culture seems to flourish through the crisis in Soviet-American relations.

As for those youths who choose to seek their "philosophy of life" elsewhere, they are as likely as the *khailaifist* to provoke the displeasure of *Komsomolskaya Pravda*. That is because, in keeping with the classic division of the Russian intelligentsiya into champions of the Russian soul and advocates of Western notions, for every golden youth drawn to Pink Floyd and JVC stereos, there is another wearing a baptismal cross and scouring the ancient Russian Orthodox monasteries for his spiritual roots. Hardly a model, in either case, for a morally member of the Young Communist League.

2 High Soviet Officials Are Executed for Graft

Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, Jan. 13 — Two senior Soviet foreign trade officials have been executed for "systematically taking big bribes," Tass reported today.

The unusual public announcement by the press agency said that Yuri V. Smelyakov, the chairman of Technopromexport, and his director for imports, identified as V. A. Pavlov, were sentenced to death by the Soviet Supreme Court, and that the President of the Supreme Soviet — of which Yuri V. Andropov is chairman — rejected their appeal for clemency.

The two were the most senior officials known to have been sentenced to death for gross corruption since Mr. Andropov began his campaign against it after he took the top Soviet office in November 1982. It was also the first time in recent memory that action against such officials has been announced by Tass.

The executions and the announcement were evidently intended to signal that the crackdown against corruption is continuing. Tass gave no details of the case against the two officials. Technopromexport is subordinate to the State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, which has had a major shakeup under Mr. Andropov, according to a Soviet source who usually has good information about changes in the bureaucracy.

Committee Chairman Replaced

The source said that the chairman of the state committee, Semyon A. Skachkov, who is also a member of the Central Committee, was dismissed last spring. The state committee coordinates the exports and imports of the many ministries dealing with foreign countries and firms, and the source said many of its officials were arrested on charges of taking bribes from foreign business contacts.

Mr. Skachkov was reportedly replaced by Yury P. Rykov, a first deputy chairman of Gosplan, the state planning committee, who from 1976 to 1979 was one of the powerful secretaries of the Communist Party Central Committee. The pattern of his career

Communists in Spain Confer To Form a Pro-Soviet Party

MADRID, Jan. 13 (Reuters) — Five Spanish Communist groups began a three-day meeting here today to form an orthodox pro-Soviet party opposed to the Eurocommunist line of Spain's existing Communist Party.

Delegates said the Communist Party Congress would try to unite hundreds of dissatisfied people who have left the Communist Party or been expelled from it because of its policy of independence from Moscow.

"This is a political space for a real Communist Party in Spain and that's what's being created here," said Chema Corral, one of the congress organizers. More than 800 delegates representing 25,000 people around the country were attending, Mr. Corral said.

A former member of the Communist Party executive committee, Ignacio Gallego, is expected to lead the new party, which proposes a Marxist-Leninist doctrine and clearer alignment with the Soviet Union and opposition to the United States than the current Communist Party does.

suggested that he was sent to the State Committee on Foreign Economic Relations to clean it up.

Although these changes have not been made public in the national press, the crackdown in the state committee would be general knowledge among senior officials in Moscow, and the announcement that Mr. Smelyakov and Mr. Pavlov had been executed would be a warning clearly understood in the upper ranks of the Soviet bureaucracy.

Death Sentence in November

Technopromexport, which Mr. Smelyakov headed, deals in technical assistance for power plants and transmission lines. He was 55 years old and had been chairman of the organization since 1976. No information was available on Mr. Pavlov.

The execution of these two officials suggested that some of their subordinates had been caught as well and sentenced to prison. Although death penalties for economic crimes are not rare in the Soviet Union, few executions of high-ranking officials or well-known figures have been disclosed in the last two decades. Last November, Tass reported that the head of Moscow's best food store, Gastronom N.I., had been sentenced to death for large-scale bribe-taking.

The director, Yuri K. Sokolov, was well known to the Moscow elite as a major supplier of illicit delicacies, and his clientele reportedly included Galina Churbanova, Leonid I. Brezhnev's daughter. His arrest shortly after Mr. Andropov took over and his execution were viewed as a strong signal to the high-living elite that their way of life was in peril.

Quiet U.S.-Soviet Talks Proposed by Kissinger

BRUSSELS, Jan. 13 (AP) — Former Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger said today that President Reagan and Yuri V. Andropov, the Soviet leader, should appoint special envoys to quietly pursue a reduction of East-West tensions. He said he was not a candidate for the job.

Mr. Kissinger made the proposal in a speech at a Brussels conference sponsored by the Georgetown University Center for Strategic and International Studies, and he expanded on it at a news conference.

He said such talks should not include Soviet activity in Central America, however, because it would wrongly legitimize the Soviet Union's involvement in that region.

In response to questions by reporters, he said he would not be a candidate for such an assignment.

"It would raise too many hackles among conservatives in the United States," he said. "It would not be a wise choice in an election year."

He said he had not discussed the idea with Mr. Reagan but had with other senior members of the Administration.

Ottawa Official to Australia

OTTAWA, Jan. 13 (Reuters) — Edward Schreyer, the Governor General of Canada for the past five years, was named High Commissioner to Australia today by Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau.

And It Works Both Ways

Modern Russian has been heavily invaded by English jargon, slang and technical terminology, but there has been no comparable cross-pollination of American English by Russian. Some Russian or Russian-influenced words and phrases have crept into common usage, some of them maintaining their original Russian meaning, and some taking on added applications. The borrowings include these:

Apparatchuk — Bureaucrat, or functionary.
Babushka — Grandmother, or a shawl like those worn by old women.
Balalaika — Russian stringed instrument.
Beatnik — Member of "beat" Generation.
Bolshevik — Nickname for Communist.
Bolshoi — Big or grand.
Borzoi — Wolfhound.
Commissar — High-level offi-

cial.

Cossack — Mounted trooper.

Czar — Ruler, or top official.

Dacha — Country house.

Gulag — Prison or prison system.

Intelligentsia — Intellectuals.

Kulak — Rich peasant.

Nyet — No.

Pogrom — Attack on people, especially Jews.

Samovar — Coffee or tea urn.

Soyuz — Council.

Soyuz — Union.

Ruble and Kopek — Units of currency.

Samizdat — Underground document.

Sputnik — Artificial earth satellite.

Tovarish — Comrade.

Troika — Body of three, from the name of a three-horse carriage.

Vodka — Diminutive of Russian word *voda*, or water; literally "little water."

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Reagan Reportedly Finds Soviet Breaches on Arms

Continued From Page 1

in Congress. The senior official was extremely careful in his choice of words in describing each case.

"After a careful Administration review over many months, the President has determined that Soviet violations of probable violations have occurred with respect to a number of Soviet arms control obligations and commitments," the official said.

The official detailed these "violations or probable violations":

"The Russians 'have repeatedly violated' the 1972 biological and toxic weapons convention, the Geneva protocol of 1925 and 'related rules of customary international law' by using chemical weapons and the 'yellow rain' in Southeast Asia and in Afghanistan. There has been a dispute among scientists about whether yellow rain is the result of a natural phenomenon or a weapon.

"With respect to the Helsinki agreement of 1975, which includes provision for notifying countries of large-scale maneuvers in advance, the Soviet Union has 'violated its political commitment' by not giving prior notification about the 'West-81' military exercise in September 1981.

"Regarding the Soviet-American treaty of 1972 on limiting each side's antiballistic missiles, which bars the construction of certain kinds of radar, the Soviet deployment of a so-called phased array radar near Krasnoyarsk in the central Soviet Union 'is almost certainly a violation of a legal obligation the Soviet Union has assumed.'"

"As to the Soviet-American strategic nuclear arms treaty of 1979, which was signed but not ratified, the flight test of an SSX-25 intercontinental ballistic missile 'probably violates the Soviet political commitment to observe the

unratified SALT II treaty' provision that limits each side to one new type of light ICBM. If it is not a new missile, as the Soviet Union contends, then another part of the treaty 'limiting the ratio of re-entry vehicle weight to throw weight to no less than 50 percent for existing types of ICBM's has been violated.'"

"The Soviet practice of encryption of telemetric data from missile tests is 'in violation of a legal obligation not to defeat the object and purpose of SALT II, prior to 1981, during the period when the treaty was pending ratification, and after 1981, Soviet encryption practices were in violation of a political commitment that the Soviets made not to undercut SALT II.'"

"We cannot reach a conclusive judgment" on whether the Soviet Union ignored a provision of the strategic arms treaty of 1979 by deploying so-called SS-16 mobile intercontinental ballistic missiles. But "certain activity under way" in the area around the Soviet testing facility at Plesetsk in the northwest Soviet Union leads "to the conclusion that SS-16's are probably deployed there." This would be "a probable violation" before 1981 of the "legal obligation not to defeat the object and purpose of SALT II, and after 1981 it represents a violation of a political commitment not to undercut SALT II."

"As to the 1974 agreement limiting each side to underground nuclear explosions of no more than 150 kilotons, 'we have been unable to reach a conclusive judgment on whether the Soviets are violating the yield limit for testing.' But 'we believe it likely, however, that Soviet testing violates their obligation not to defeat the object and purpose of the threshold test ban.'"

The Soviet Union has promised the United States that it will live up to the 1979 treaty, even though it has not been ratified, except for those parts calling for it to reduce the size of its forces.

The United States has said it would also comply with it so long as it was not undermined by the Russians. The senior official said the United States would continue to do so.

Of the allegations, the most serious from a military point of view dealt with the 1972 antiballistic missiles treaty, the senior State Department official said, because of the possibility that the Soviet Union was preparing a defense against incoming missiles that went beyond the limits of that accord.

The treaty allows each side to have phased array radar only at its borders and with the radar facing out to serve as an early warning system, the official said.

But the Soviet radar in the central part of the country seemed to the Americans to be "almost certainly" to be in violation.

The official said the reason for the qualification was that when asked about it, Soviet officials said the radar was being used to track objects in space, something American officials determined was not a credible explanation.

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Public Pomp and Private Yawns as Russians Vote

By SERGE SCHMEMANN

Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, March 4 — The Soviet Union held national elections today, an event rich in civic ceremony but entirely lacking in suspense.

All across the Soviet Union, loudspeakers above red-draped polling places began blaring patriotic songs at 6 A.M. Red flags and banners fluttered over the streets, and all newspapers appeared with bold red headlines across the top proclaiming: "Everyone to the elections!"

Television news showed helicopters flying ballot boxes to remote Arctic settlements and ships at sea, and even the three cosmonauts orbiting the earth aboard the Salyut space laboratory came on the telecast to announce their votes and their endorsements of everything that the new Soviet leader, Konstantin U. Chernenko, had proposed in his campaign speech two days earlier.

Mr. Chernenko, the new party leader, and his wife, Anna Dmitriyevna, cast their ballots in central Moscow. Polling officials welcomed him with carnations, and he greeted them with a jovial "S prazdnikom!" or "Happy holiday!"

Woe to Tardy Voters

Every hour, radio announcers broadcast what they called results — 75 percent of eligible voters had cast their ballots by 11 A.M., 89.42 percent by noon, and by 6 P.M., four hours before polls were to close, the figure was already at 99.59 percent.

The remaining 0.41 percent, about 735,000 people in a nation of 272 million, were not likely to get off easily. As 10 P.M. neared, armies of what are called agitators went to track down the tardy voters. By evening, some agitators privately admit, many would just check the remaining names off their lists and dump some ballots in the boxes.

And soon Pravda will again triumphantly announce that 99.99 percent of about 180 million eligible voters cast ballots for the only slate, the "monolithic bloc of party and people."

Before the election, Pravda reported that Soviet voters "experienced with special strength the sense of being total masters of their country." The only thing missing from the pomp, papers and progress reports — and pretty much from the elections in general — was any identifiable concern over who was being elected.

Boxes Carried to Trains

Voters were given ballots with the names of the two local candidates to the two chambers of the Supreme Soviet, the ceremonial Parliament. All a voter had to do was get checked off a list and stuff two pieces of paper into a box under a bust of Lenin. The task was difficult to avoid — television showed ballot boxes taken into fields, and agitators said they had them carried to hospitals, trains, even homes.

A curtained booth at the end of every polling station is provided for those who want to exercise their right not to vote for the official candidate. But the booths stand in full view of election workers, and statistics suggest that people sufficiently bold or disgruntled to do so are very, very few.

According to people who have served on election commissions, many of those who do go in the curtained booth do so to write a complaint or denunciation, knowing that such a message in



Tass/Associated Press

Konstantin U. Chernenko, the Soviet leader, voting in Moscow. Mikhail S. Gorbachev, right, a Politburo member, casts his vote with the aid of a granddaughter. His wife is with him.



the ballot box will get attention considerably faster than in the mailbox.

The election process began more than two months ago when thousands of storefront agitation points, or agitpunkts, sprang up all over the Soviet Union. Thousands of appointed "volunteer" agitators updated election lists, sought new voters, heard complaints and worked to insure that everyone voted. The agitators are reported to number almost nine million workers, a ratio of one worker to almost 20 voters.

Kremlinologists got a wealth of gists for their mills as the candidates began election meetings, culminating with speeches by the 12 Politburo members, including Mr. Chernenko's speech to his constituency in Moscow two nights ago.

Attention for Leaky Pipes

Many citizens use the campaigns to get attention to some nagging problems. Russians have learned that agitators and election officials are keen to satisfy voters, and a complaint to an agitator can get results — in fixing leaky pipes, installing lights in dark basements, patching cracked walls, or even making progress in finding a new apartment.

To Westerners, the question is why the Soviet Union suddenly starts fixing lightbulbs just to insure a whopping turnout for an uncontested slate? The answer may lie in the observation of the American scholar of the Soviet Union, Jerry F. Hough, that everything in the Soviet Union has been politicized except politics, which have been thoroughly depoliticized.

The election of the 1,500 members of the Supreme Soviet is a major ritual in affirming the legitimacy of the Government. It is a rite of fealty, a demonstra-

tion of support critical to the Government. And, coupled with the concern for demonstrating unanimity is the demand that every election show better results than the last.

In the first elections to the Supreme Soviet in 1937, Stalin claimed a 98.6 percent turnout. Elections in the 1950's, 60's and 70's all reached 99.98, and in 1979 the state said 99.99 percent of all eligible voters had cast their ballots.

Some wags have suggested going to yet another percentage point, but for the time being the authorities compete to achieve a total turnout earlier.

Lines Form Before 6 A.M.

So great have pressures become to finish the voting early that ambitious apparatchiks line up before 6 A.M. to be the first to vote. For less motivated citizens, the system simply makes it desirable to vote early and avoid having an agitator come looking for you.

Once nominated, candidates are barred by tradition from showing any interest. Their role is that of the modest servant called to serve the people, and their praises are recited by "authorized persons" who introduce candidates and arrange public meetings.

The candidate in the Krasnogvardeyskiy district this year is Valery T. Saikin, a burly 46-year-old director of the giant ZIL truck factory for whom a seat in the Supreme Soviet is a step toward higher councils of power. Meeting with reporters, Mr. Saikin treated the very idea of seeking office as almost insulting. "I can assure you I didn't put forward my name," he said.

Rima V. Medvedeva, a 23-year-old worker and party activist who serves as Mr. Saikin's "authorized person," added: "Our candidate doesn't agitate for himself." Mr. Saikin seemed

equally taken aback at the notion, raised by a Western correspondent, of having two candidates for one seat.

'No Interest in Competing'

"In principle, I have no interest in competing," he said, and then smiled broadly as he added: "I used to compete as a wrestler, but that's where competition belongs. It was a great honor to be nominated as a candidate, and now I'm more interested in fulfilling my trust as a candidate than in competing."

The notion of competitive elections, in fact, is treated with steady scorn. The journal New Times wrote of the millions spent on American elections, adding that "the dollar has transformed the supreme organ of legislative power in the U.S. into a kind of political marketplace, where everything is for sale and can be bought."

In Moscow News, a weekly intended for foreign readers, Konstantin Gutsenko explained the advantages of having one candidate: "The existence of several candidates is meaningful, I believe, only when they represent different parties and different electoral platforms. In the U.S.S.R. there is one political party which expresses the interests of the whole people."

For many Russians, however, voting is simply another symbolic act required by the Government, like marching on Revolution Day or attending a political meeting at work — chores that are far easier to perform than to avoid.

One woman, an editor, said she voted because she felt sorry for the agitators. Another voter, an old woman, said she went because workers came and threw sand on her icy stoop after she complained.

China and Soviet Open New Round of Talks

Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, March 12 — The Soviet Union and China began a new round of talks today on a normalization of relations, but there appeared to be little expectation on either side of a breakthrough on the issues that have impeded progress.

Neither side made a statement after the initial meeting here between Leonid F. Ilyichev, the Soviet negotiator, and his Chinese counterpart, Qian Qichen. The talks, fourth in a series that began in October 1982, are expected to last two or three weeks.

After the initial series of talks Soviet officials were eager to impress West-

ern diplomats with the prospects for substantial improvement in the chilly relations between the two countries.

The calculation appeared to be that the possibility of warmer Moscow-Peking relations would give the Reagan Administration second thoughts about its own tough line toward Moscow.

But lately Soviet pronouncements have taken on a more wary tone, more in line with the assessments offered in Peking.

Officials on both sides now say that building a closer relationship after 20 years of bitterness will take prolonged effort and that the cycle of negotiations, alternating between the capitals

every six months, could continue for years without achieving the stated goal of "normalization."

Statements in Moscow and Peking indicate that so far the talks have served largely to clarify the points of serious disagreement. Principal among these are the situation in Cambodia, where Moscow supports the Vietnamese-backed Government and China arms the insurgents, and the strife in Afghanistan, where China supports rebels battling to topple the Soviet-supported Government in Kabul.

Despite earlier hints from both sides that a limited troop disengagement might be possible, there has been no

sign of an accommodation between the Soviet and Chinese armies along the two nations' common frontier.

A point of particular friction is the Soviet troop strength in Mongolia, which has brought Soviet air bases and ground combat units within 400 miles of Peking.

China has demanded Soviet concessions on these issues as a condition for warmer ties, but Moscow has been equally firm in rejecting the demands.

Ten days ago the new Soviet leader, Konstantin U. Chernenko, in a reference to the disagreements over Cambodia, Afghanistan and Mongolia, said, "In particular, we cannot make any agreements to the prejudice of the interests of third countries."

Get The Living Section Wednesday

U.S. Criticizes Soviet Arms View

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 12 — The State Department said again today that there was "no justification" for the continued Soviet refusal to resume negotiations on limiting nuclear weapons.

Responding to the remarks made by Konstantin U. Chernenko, the Soviet leader, the department rejected the contention that the United States had created "obstacles" that had to be removed before talks could start again.

"Our position is clear," the statement said. "The United States is prepared to resume the negotiations on reducing strategic and intermediate-

range forces at any time, without preconditions, and to meet the Soviets halfway in the search for mutually acceptable agreements."

Soviet negotiators broke off the talks on medium-range missiles in Europe in November because of the deployment of new American missiles, which the United States says is a response to a Soviet advantage in that type of weaponry.

The Russians have also declined to agree to a date to resume negotiations on strategic arms because of the American deployment.

2/13/84

MOSCOW REPEATS ARMS TALKS STAND

Chernenko Says Meetings Can Resume Whenever the U.S. Removes 'Obstacles'

By JOHN F. BURNS

Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, March 12 — Konstantin U. Chernenko, the Soviet leader, said today that talks with the United States on limiting strategic and medium-range nuclear weapons "can be resumed at any moment" if Washington removes "the obstacles" it created by deploying new missiles.

Mr. Chernenko's reference to a possible resumption of talks, coupled with other comments he made about the need for "a real turn for the better" in world affairs, attracted the attention of Western diplomats here for their positive tone. But there was no sign of any substantive change in the position set forth on nuclear arms talks by Mr. Chernenko and his predecessor, Yuri V. Andropov, who died on Feb. 9.

Both leaders have placed the blame for the breakdown of the talks last year on the United States and have said that it is up to Washington to create conditions that will make resumption possible. Mr. Chernenko's remarks today appeared to stake out essentially the same position, without saying exactly what Washington was expected to do to get the negotiations started again.

The Soviet leader's comments were made in a 35-minute meeting with Hans-Jochen Vogel, the West German opposition leader.

'Soviet Union Is Still Ready'

"The Soviet Union is still ready to resume the problem of both strategic and 'European' nuclear armaments on a constructive, mutually acceptable basis," Mr. Chernenko said, as quoted by the official Soviet press agency Tass.

"The talks," he said, "can be resumed at any moment — let only the United States remove the obstacles which it created by fielding its new missiles in Europe. Then there will be no need for our response measures."

The Soviet Union broke off negotiations in Geneva on Nov. 24 after the first batteries of medium-range Pershing 2 and cruise missiles were transported to their bases in West Germany and Britain. It followed up by adjourning the negotiations on strategic weapons without agreeing to a date for their resumption. The United States had proposed Feb. 8.

The suspension of the two sets of talks is believed to have been a central concern of United States policy makers who met in Washington earlier this month for a review of United States-Soviet relations. The American Ambassador to Moscow, Arthur A. Hartman, who took part in the review, returned to the Soviet capital last week and met on Sunday with Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko.

No Details Disclosed

Neither side has disclosed any details of the Hartman-Gromyko discussion.

But in his remarks to Mr. Vogel, Mr. Chernenko implied that nothing had

No Details Disclosed

Neither side has disclosed any details of the Hartman-Gromyko discussion.

But in his remarks to Mr. Vogel, Mr. Chernenko implied that nothing had happened to raise Moscow's hopes of renewed negotiations on nuclear arms or its willingness to suspend "counter-measures" it has ordered in response to the new United States deployments in Europe.

"Regrettably, no signs are in sight of the U.S. Government's striving to come to agreement on the limitation and reduction of nuclear armaments on the basis of the principle of equality and equal security," Mr. Chernenko said.

At the same time the Soviet leader renewed the call he made in a Kremlin speech on March 2 for increased efforts toward an accommodation on nuclear weapons. "We must do our utmost to prevent nuclear catastrophe," he said. "This means striving for a real turn for the better in the dangerous development of events in the world."

Mr. Chernenko used the session with Mr. Vogel to renew Soviet pressure on West Germany for a break with Washington on the medium-range missile issue. Mr. Vogel is leader of the Social Democratic Party, the opposition to Chancellor Helmut Kohl's governing coalition, and Tass said that the Soviet leader had "positively assessed" the Vogel party's vote at its congress in November against the American missiles, a reversal of the Social Democrats' earlier stand.

'Fruitful' Cooperation Suggested

Mr. Chernenko said that the Soviet Union and West Germany "could fruitfully cooperate on both economic matters and political questions," a prospect with broad appeal to West Germans, who are the Soviet Union's largest Western trading partners.

However, the Soviet leader said, "we cannot fail to take into consideration" the Bonn Government's agreement to turn its territory "into a forward-based nuclear bridgehead of the United States."

This, he said, "is a real threat to the security of the U.S.S.R. and its allies, and we will draw proper conclusions from that."

The remarks seemed to suggest that Moscow has not given up hope that pressure from Washington's European allies, particularly West Germany, will force concessions on the missile issue.

At the same time, diplomats noted that Mr. Chernenko's meeting with Mr. Vogel today was a much friendlier session than Mr. Andropov's two-hour meeting with the West German before last March's West German elections.

An indication that American politics may now be as great a concern to the Soviet leadership as developments in Europe came in the presence at today's meeting with Mr. Vogel of Georgi A. Arbatov, head of the U.S.A. and Canada Institute, who is considered the leading Soviet specialist on the United States.

SportsMonday is more than the score

Emigré Novelists Look at U.S.

Concern Over Softness On Russians

By WALTER GOODMAN

THE scores of Soviet writers who have found their way to the West in the last decade were evidently accompanied by their Slavic muse. Most of them continue to write in Russian about Russia, to associate with other émigrés and to lament what they believe is a lack of understanding among Americans about the nature of the Soviet regime.

That concern came through forcefully in recent interviews with three novelists now living on the East Coast, whose work has made an impact here and abroad in the last few months. They are Vasily Aksyonov, author of "The Island of Crimea," published by Random House, a political fantasy about an independent Crimea trying to survive in the shadow of Soviet power; Sergei Dovlatov, author of "The Compromise," a takeoff on Soviet journalism published by Alfred A. Knopf, and Yuz Aleshkovsky, whose novel "Kangaroo," a surrealistic satire about the Soviet secret police, appeared in France last year to favorable reviews and is due to be published in this country in July by Farrar, Straus & Giroux.

The three are stars compared to Russian émigrés like those who have joined together for mutual support in a Russian Writers' Club that meets once a month at the Russian Institute at Columbia University. Last month,

the group of about 30, almost entirely Jewish, celebrated its fifth anniversary with a party at the Rasputin restaurant, not chosen for literary irony. "We have a big problem making a living," says Yevgeny Lubin, the club president. "Some of us write for Russian newspapers. Some of us have wives or husbands who have jobs. Nobody's work has been translated. When somebody makes a success, they don't come to our meetings any more."

Mr. Aleshkovsky is one of those who hasn't been to a meeting lately. Now 54 years old, he was a writer of children's books and stories as well as television and film scripts in the Soviet Union — "one of the most successful writers in Russia," he says. In 1979, he ran afoul of the authorities when he joined an attempt to persuade them to permit publication of "Metropol," a volume of censored works. He came to the United States in 1980 with his wife and 7-year-old son.

Now settled in a rambling old frame house in Middletown, Conn., close to Wesleyan University, Mr. Aleshkovsky has moved away from children's stories, which he wrote because "the world of childhood wasn't yet perverted by the cruelty of the political games," to fiction for adults. But his plots continue to reflect the imagination of a children's writer — with a difference. He is working on a novel about a group of Russians who save themselves during the Nazi invasion in 1941 by acting like monkeys. The Germans make a film about them, as a scientific phenomenon, which leads after liberation to the group's arrest by the Soviet army for collaborating with the enemy.

Despite appearances — his working outfit includes jogging shoes and a pair of corduroys — Mr. Aleshkovsky is far from Americanized. He confesses that even after four years in

this country, his English is "preeminent." ("I haven't finished solving the problems of the Russian language," he notes wryly, adding that the "soul" of his work remains in Russia.) He relies for help in interviews on his wife, Irene, who learned her very serviceable English in Soviet schools and who now teaches Russian at Wesleyan, and a friend from Wesleyan's department of Russian literature.

Although America has had little impact on Mr. Aleshkovsky's work so far, its politics are much on his mind. He says he is sure that he speaks for most Soviet émigrés in maintaining that "the fact of America's existence" is more important than any of its faults.

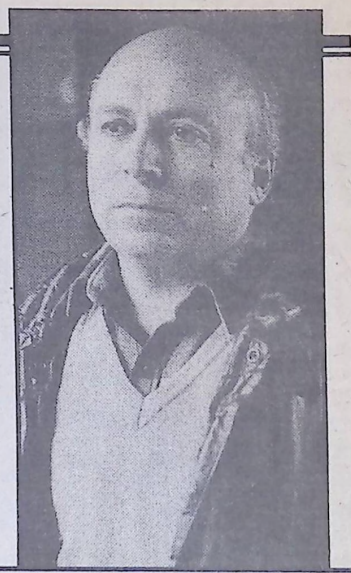
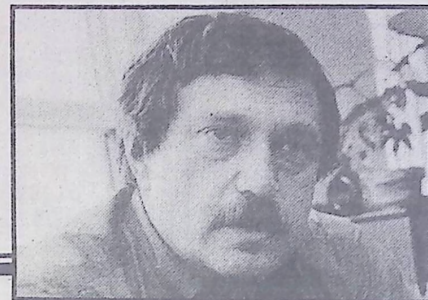
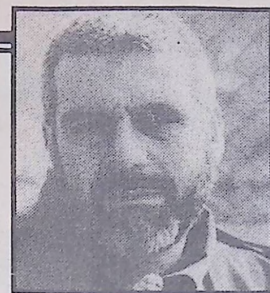
"In Russia," as he sees it, "the people love their leaders, who are trying to hurt them; in America, the people dislike their leaders, who are trying to help them. It's sado-masochism or masoch-sadism." Although he favors a nuclear freeze — "and to hell with the army" — he believes that the political demonstrations against nuclear weaponry should be taking place in Red Square. "I agree with Reagan," he says. "If the Soviet Union wants peace, there will be peace."

Mr. Aleshkovsky's favorite proposal for improving international relations — offered with a straight face — is for Washington to intervene to "defend the human rights of Soviet leaders." He explains: "Those people at the top are terrified that if they fall a little bit, there will be a complete collapse. That makes them dangerous to everybody. The number one problem in the Soviet Union is that its leaders are absolutely without culture, without spiritual values; they are not even truly pragmatic. There is no air up there. They have no autonomy. For the sake of the world, they must be saved."

As Mr. Aleshkovsky was leaving for Paris a few weeks ago, for the publication in French of a new novel, Vasily Aksyonov was returning after the opening in Paris of his play "The Heron," which he describes as a "sad comedy" modeled on "The Sea Gull" by Chekhov.

The 51-year-old writer, among the best-known in his homeland, arrived in this country in 1980, after resigning from the Soviet Writers' Union in protest against the expulsion of two younger writers for their part in the "Metropol" affair. His books, more than a dozen novels, were taken off the library shelves, his telephone was tapped, his mail blocked, the tires of his car slashed. His citizenship was revoked soon after his departure from the Soviet Union. He now lives in Washington, with his wife and a daughter and grandson by her first marriage, and teaches short-story writing at Goucher College in Maryland.

His novel "The Burn," written before "The Island of Crimea," will be published here in September. It takes place during what Mr. Aksyonov calls the Soviet Union's "soul period," the



Mark Serran; Jerry Bauer; The New York Times / Marilyn K. Yee

Three Soviet writers who have immigrated to the West, and continue to write in Russian about Russia, are: Vasily Aksyonov, below at left, Sergei Dovlatov, left, and Yuz Aleshkovsky.

relatively permissive late 1960's and early 1970's, and centers on five intellectuals linked together by their experiences of the Siberian gulag.

The gulag has figured intimately in Mr. Aksyonov's own life. His mother was Eugenia Ginzburg, whose books, "Journey Into the Whirlwind" and "Within the Whirlwind," recounted memorably her 10 years in Stalin's camps.

Mr. Aksyonov, whose English is more than passable, says that he is beginning "to feel some influence of my new country in my writing."

He plans to start work next year on a novel that will be set partly in the United States.

It seems to Mr. Aksyonov that Americans have been growing more

preceded here by his wife, Elena, who contributes to the family upkeep with a job as a phototype machine operator, and their daughter, 17-year-old Katherine, a senior at Forest Hills High School, who serves as interpreter for interviews, generally conducted in the small kitchen of their apartment in a large building near Queens Boulevard. "Russians do all their business in the kitchen," says Katherine. A son, Nicholas, was born in 1981.

Mr. Dovlatov's new novel, entitled "The Invisible Paper," which he hopes to complete this spring, reflects his experiences in trying to write for some Russian periodicals in this country. He complains that they are controlled by right-wing editors who refuse to print liberal opinions about subjects like racial prejudice in the United States.

"To such Russians," he says, "Reagan seems to be on the left. Although they hate the Soviet Union, they don't understand the American idea of freedom of speech. They would tell my friends, about me: 'This writer must not be published.' They are products of the Soviet system."

"The Invisible Paper" is a sequel of sorts to "The Invisible Book," the first of Mr. Dovlatov's novels to appear in America; it had to do with the difficulties in publishing honest work in the Soviet Union. A similar theme was sounded in "The Compromise," a series of skits based on his experiences as a journalist for Soviet Estonia.

He comments, in his self-deprecating style, "That was the high point of my journalistic career."

Although Mr. Dovlatov did not consider himself a dissident, he says that he left the Soviet Union because the

subjects he wanted to write about were deemed unsuitable. "You can't write about crime or slums or drunkenness or the emptiness, boredom, dullness of big-city youth today. You can criticize some aspects of the system, like the failure of a grain plan — but you can't criticize the system."

Mr. Dovlatov, who is given to telling little stories to make his point, tells this one about the prevailing silence on central issues: "Suppose my mother is living with my brother in California, and she's sick. So I call my brother and ask how she's feeling. He tells me that the weather is bad, transportation is bad and there's prejudice in California — but about our mother, nothing."

Soviet writers, he says, "must master the art of knowing what you can write and what you can't write. They know the line where you have to stop."

He tells a joke about a violin player who auditions for a job. The conductor listens approvingly, and when the audition is done says, "That's fine — but of course you have to play while walking on a tightrope." So the violinist plays while walking the tightrope. And the conductor says, "I'm sorry, I can't hire you. You're not doing somersaults."

Mr. Dovlatov works part time for Radio Liberty, which broadcasts to audiences across the Iron Curtain. He sees no prospect of change in the Soviet regime no matter who is on top. "Why should they change?" he asks. "The people in charge are in a privileged position. If you're walking in Leningrad, cross the street carefully because if a car driven by a member of the elite hits you, it won't even stop. The Soviet Union is a nation of winners and hostages. That's what Americans can't understand."

Existence of U.S. is more important than its faults.

what more realistic about the Soviet Union. "Before, the media tried to make an image of Russia on the American model," he says. "They tried to interpret all events from an American perception. But the Soviet Union is very different from America. It is an ideological empire."

He adds tentatively, "I'm afraid to sound a little bit conservative — but in spite of a sometimes too-harsh rhetoric, Reagan understands."

Like Mr. Aksyonov, Sergei Dovlatov, too, is working on a novel set in America, where he arrived early in 1979, at the age of 37, with his mother and a fox terrier named Glasha. He

3/7/84

Leading Soviet Director Is Said to Be Dismissed

By JOHN F. BURNS

Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, March 6 — Yuri Lyubimov, widely regarded as the Soviet Union's most politically daring and accomplished theatrical director, has been dismissed from his position at Moscow's Taganka Theater for failing to return from an eight-month trip to the West, sources at the theater said today.

A senior cultural official in the Moscow city government announced the dismissal at an angry meeting of actors and other creative staff that was held at the Taganka today, according to the sources. Several of the country's best-known dramatic actors were said to have expressed outrage at the decision and demanded that it be revoked.

Vladimir Shadrin, the head of the city's Main Cultural Board who is responsible for overseeing Moscow's theaters, was said to have opened the meeting by reading a three-sentence decree. As quoted by the sources, it said that Mr. Lyubimov, who is believed to be in Italy, had been dismissed from his position as director of the Taganka for not returning to the Soviet Union and for giving "no respectable reason for failing to return to his duties" at the theater.

If he remains abroad, his loss to the Soviet theater would be comparable to the blow inflicted on the literary world by the enforced exile a decade ago of Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn, the novelist whose chronicle of Stalin's labor camps provoked the enmity of the Kremlin.

The dismissal seemed likely to send shockwaves through the Soviet cultural world, particularly that part of it that looked to Mr. Lyubimov as an example of how a courageous innovator can gradually push back the limits of tight political and social constraints that were Stalin's legacy to the arts. Although it marked the culmination of years of skirmishing between Mr. Lyubimov and the Kremlin's cultural overseers, the dismissal had more immediate political overtones.

Arrived in England in Summer

It came barely three weeks after the appointment as Soviet leader of Konstantin U. Chernenko, who used his position last year as the party's chief ideologist to begin a conservative tirade against those deviating from party standards in the arts.

For Mr. Lyubimov, who is 65 years old, a dismissal could not have been a surprise. Since arriving in England to direct a highly acclaimed performance of Fyodor Dostoyevsky's "Crime and Punishment," he has

carried on a verbal war with the Kremlin through a series of newspaper interviews published in the West. In January, for example, he told a London evening newspaper that he feared that the K.G.B. might inject him with a drug and abduct him back to Moscow.

At times in recent months, Mr. Lyubimov has said that he intended to return to Moscow to continue the struggle for "a culture that will be worthy of my native land," as he put it in an interview last September. But reports circulating in the theatrical community here said that the director was held back by the anxieties of his Hungarian-born second wife, Katalin, with whom he has a 4-year-old son, Petya. Both of them are with the director.

There also were signs that Mr. Lyubimov was tiring of a battle that had seen three of his major productions struck down by the censors or sharply cut back in recent years. Before leaving for England, he wrote a letter to Yuri V. Andropov, then the Soviet leader, saying he would resign unless the restraints were eased. He sent a second letter from the London airport, and when that also went unanswered, he began a series of newspaper interviews.

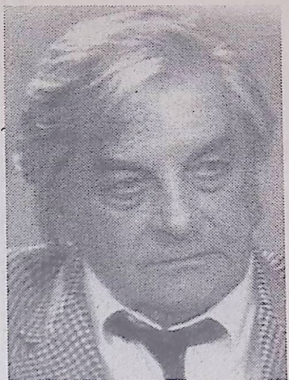
He told The Times of London, for example, that he could not "allow myself to be trampled underfoot," that he was a Christian despite belonging to the Communist Party for 30 years, and that he was despairing of ever achieving an understanding with the "chinovniki" — an old Russian word for bureaucrats — who control the theater. "Most of them simply have to be replaced by more humane and educated people," he said. "They're incompetent in the arts."

Mr. Lyubimov's "Crime and Punishment" was a big hit in Britain. "What has stopped London audiences in their tracks is the immense theatricality of the concept and the execution," wrote Robert Cushman, the theater critic of The Observer. "This 'Crime and Punishment' is one of the most sustained nightmares ever put upon the stage and yet it is completely free from sensationalism."

Mr. Lyubimov is in great demand as a director and has received offers from experimental theaters all over Europe. He also has been invited to New York by Joseph Papp of the Public Theater, who is also interested in bringing "Crime and Punishment" to New York.

From Britain, Mr. Lyubimov traveled to Italy, where he was to receive medical treatment and direct an opera. At last report, he was in Florence.

His impact on the Russian theater was said to have been one of the main



United Press International

Yuri Lyubimov

arguments made by actors who protested the director's dismissal at the Taganka meeting today. Those speaking out in angry terms were said to have included Nikolai Gubenko and Benjamin Smekhov, leading representatives of a corps of performers who have made major names during Mr. Lyubimov's 20-year tenure at the Taganka.

The 40-minute meeting at the theater was said to have broken up with Mr. Shadrin, the cultural official, indicating that the director's dismissal had been ordered at a high level and would stand. The official was reported to have said that repeated efforts had been made through Soviet Embassies in Italy and Britain to persuade Mr. Lyubimov to return to the Soviet Union, but these had been met with evasion and by pleas that the director needed further medical treatment for his eczema and bronchitis in the West.

The old Taganka Theater on Moscow's Inner Ring Road and the new one Mr. Lyubimov successfully campaigned for alongside it have been a mecca for theatergoers.

Mr. Lyubimov, who turned to directing in his 40's after achieving fame as a movie actor, brought an excitement and surprise to the stage that had disappeared under the stifling orthodoxy bequeathed by Stalin.

But it was in the sphere of politics that Mr. Lyubimov was at his most challenging. Audiences accustomed to numbing paeans to the genius of the party and its leaders received a jolt at the Taganka. An example was Mr. Lyubimov's production of "Boris Godunov," a chronicle of intrigue in the Russian imperial court. At the point in Pushkin's masterpiece where a nobleman upbraids the complacent Russian masses for doing nothing to challenge the repression of the rulers, Mr. Lyubimov had his actor step into the audience and speak the classic line: Why do you remain silent? The production was one that the censors halted.

Iraq Leaves Dead Iranians to Display to Reporters

By HENRY KAMM

Special to The New York Times

AL BEIDHA, Iraq, March 4 — The body of Mohammed Ali Balkhad Abadi is lying in a swamp here, together with the other Iranian soldiers who were killed when Iraq recaptured this village in the border marshes last Tuesday.

Next to the young soldier lay a book of injunctions and encouragements of various ayatollahs that is part of the gear issued to the Iranian early teenagers who are bearing the brunt of battle in this war.

When he died, he had left blank the pages on which the conscripts are invited to note whether there is anything they need



growers and their large families. Now only a few remain, and the Iraqi officers and Information Ministry officials point them out to the visiting television cameramen and news photographers. Iraqi generals speaking to the reporters emphasize that they should see the dead.

"I remember them when they were still warm," an American television cameraman said. He had photographed the scene shortly after the battle, but he did his job again.

The authorities had also brought back to the ruins of Al Beidha a handful of its former residents to be interviewed against the desolate backdrop of what had been a picturesque tradi-

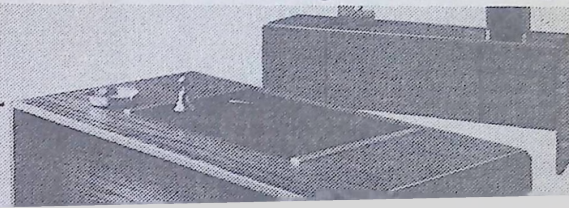
She is alone, she said; her sons are in the war. Her wrinkled face was thickly caked with dust.

A group of younger women, one breast-feeding an infant, broke into patriotic songs and chants at the sight of cameras. They said they did not care that they lost all they owned as long as the country and its President, Saddam Hussein, continued strong.

"Does she speak English?" a passing American television reporter asked, then continued on his way when he heard Arabic. The women, through an interpreter, said there had been a school in the village but they had not attended. None knew their ages

E.T.V.

(Extra-Terrific-Value)



Soviet Expels 2 Britons Over Zionist Literature

MOSCOW, March 5 (AP) — The Soviet Union has expelled two British tourists on charges of distributing Zionist literature in Leningrad, the Soviet press agency Tass said today.

It was the third such expulsion within a month of Western tourists in Leningrad. All were accused of distributing Zionist literature. Western sources in Moscow say the expulsions are designed to discourage Western tourists from having contact with Soviet Jews.

Howard Ingram, 32 years old, a rabbi, and his wife, Judith Levy, 26, a teacher, were expelled for "violating the rules of stay in the country established for foreign tourists," Tass said. The two are from Newcastle, England.

Tass mentioned the previous expulsions of two Britons and two Americans and said that in the last four weeks, 10 tourists in Leningrad "were warned about the need to observe norms of behavior of foreigners in the country."

Chile and Argentina Recess Talks on Channel

ROME, March 5, (AP) — Chile and Argentina agreed to a brief recess in talks on the Beagle Channel territorial dispute so that the two delegations can inform their Governments of the progress so far, the Vatican's mediation office announced today.

The brief announcement said the talks had been going on at an "intense" pace since the Foreign Ministers of the two countries accepted Pope John Paul

Around the World

II's initiative and signed a declaration of peace and friendship at the Vatican in January.

The Beagle Channel is at the tip of South America. A dispute over rights to the area brought the two countries to the brink of war in 1978.

BUENOS AIRES, March 5 (Reuters) — Negotiations on a Beagle Channel treaty between Argentina and Chile "are practically complete," a Foreign Ministry official close to the negoti-

tions said today. "The only thing left to do is to sign the treaty,"

Soviet Defense Chief, In India, Scolds U.S.

NEW DELHI, March 5 (AP) — Defense Minister Dmitri F. Ustinov of the Soviet Union, opening a five-day official visit to India today, accused the United States of seeking military domination in Southeast Asia.

Marshal Ustinov met for nearly two

hours with Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

"The situation has become grave with the United States militarizing and controlling countries of Southeast Asia," Marshal Ustinov said at a dinner in his honor, "including those that are next to peaceful India."

Both Marshal Ustinov and India's Defense Minister, Ramaswamy Venkataraman, criticized what they called the increasing militarization of the Indian Ocean by the United States.

Waffen SS Veterans Plan West German Reunion

BAD HARZBURG, West Germany, March 5 (UPI) — The town director here said today that 800 veterans of Hitler's elite Waffen SS were planning a

reunion at this vacation spa, where the event was billed as a conference of economic experts.

"We are doing everything possible to stop this meeting from going ahead," the town director, Horst Voigt, said in an interview. "It's a pity that the organization is not banned."

He said that the four-day reunion was scheduled to start May 17 and that the Waffen SS veterans had booked conference rooms at the town's health resort building.

The chairman of the Waffen SS veterans' group, Albert Stenwedel, refused to comment on the meeting. "What has it got to do with you?" he said by telephone from his Hamburg home.

Do you have The Times delivered?

3/6/84

Reagan and Kohl Discuss Soviet Parley

By STEVEN R. WEISMAN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 5 — President Reagan told Chancellor Helmut Kohl today that he would "explore every possible avenue for improvement of relations" with the Soviet Union, but repeated his view that a summit meeting should not be held unless there were prospects for "fruitful results."

Speaking after nearly two hours of meetings with the West German Chancellor at the White House, Mr. Reagan indicated that he remained committed to the conditions his Administration had outlined previously for a meeting with Konstantin U. Chernenko, the new Soviet leader.

"I'm ready to meet personally with the Soviet leadership if such a meeting is well-prepared and holds promise of fruitful results," Mr. Reagan said.

Mr. Kohl, repeating comments he has made elsewhere, said at the White House that Mr. Reagan should try for a meeting soon with Mr. Chernenko. Praising the President for bearing what he said was "personal responsibility for peace in the world," the Chancellor added:

"For that very reason, I again recommended to you, and in this very spirit, to seek, not as a propaganda coup, but as a political step, an early, a well-prepared meeting with the new Secretary General of the Soviet Union, Mr. Chernenko."

The Chancellor has also called in the past for efforts to revive the negotiations with Moscow on both strategic and medium-range nuclear missile reductions. Today, however, an Administration official said, the Chancellor did not urge any initiatives by the United States to get the Soviet Union to return to the negotiating table in Geneva.

The negotiations broke off, with no date set for their resumption, after the deployment of the first of the new United States medium-range missiles in Europe in December.

According to the Administration official, Mr. Kohl also brought up a recent public statement by former Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger calling for a major restructuring of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, leading eventually to a reduced number of United States troops in Europe.

U.S. Troop Assurances

The Administration official said Mr. Kohl was assured by "a number of senior officials, including the President, that there are no plans to reduce" the level of American troops in West Germany from the current 200,000.

In other matters, Mr. Kohl again urged Mr. Reagan today to do something to lower the high United States interest rates. European economists regard the high American interest rates as a factor in keeping the value of the dollar artificially high compared with European currencies.

After his meeting at the White House, Mr. Kohl met with the leaders of several Jewish organizations to discuss the debate in West Germany over selling weapons to Saudi Arabia. The Jewish groups have joined Israel in protesting such sales.

The Jewish spokesmen reported that Mr. Kohl promised them West Germany would not sell any offensive weapons to Saudi Arabia, and that its commitment to the survival and security of Israel remained strong.

Edgar F. Bronfman, president of the World Jewish Congress, said Mr. Kohl promised there would be no sale of Leopard 2 tanks to Saudi Arabia because this was an offensive weapon, but that he would not rule out other weapons.

"As far as sales of armaments to Saudi Arabia, he's not going to change his mind," Mr. Bronfman said. "On the other side, he made a very warm and passionate commitment to Israel's existence and its security."

The Administration official said Mr. Kohl supported the Administration's approach in preparing new proposals for the reduction of conventional forces in Europe with the Soviet Union, as

well as a new proposal to ban the production of chemical weapons.

At a separate briefing, a senior German official said Mr. Kohl did not think a meeting between Mr. Chernenko and Mr. Reagan needed to be preceded by a

resumption of talks between Moscow and Washington on nuclear weapons.

He said Mr. Kohl expressed the view that a possible breakthrough in discussions on chemical weapons might provide the basis for a summit meeting.

Draw Energy From t

open cycle development because of the many similarities between the two concepts.

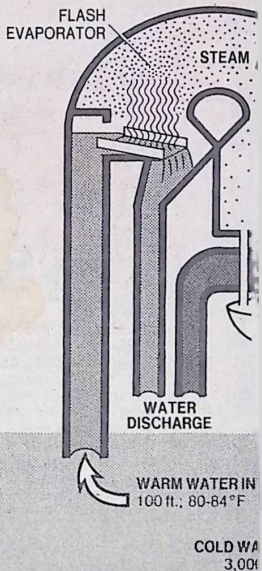
But a technical obstacle confronts open-cycle converters: Air is released from the sea water when it boils, raising the atmospheric pressure in the vacuum chamber and stopping the boiling. The air must be constantly pumped out, possibly at the cost of a "parasitic" power loss that would make the efficiency unattractive. The goal is to get the air out of the system with only a 10 percent power drain, Dr. Shelpuk said.

To help minimize such parasitic losses, Dr. Siegel said, Create Research and Development of New Hampshire has been asked to create a computer model to calculate everything from power lost in running the converter to a cost analysis for each potential design and site.

It will take about a year to complete the project, he said. If the results are favorable, much uncertainty will be removed from the open cycle concept and the possibility of, for example, football field-sized generator platforms floating offshore will become one step nearer reality.

According to papers presented at Oceans '83, an international conference held in San Francisco last year by the Marine Technology Society and the Institute of Electrical and Electronics Engineers, at least 11 ocean thermal projects are also under way in France, India, Japan, the Netherlands and Sweden. However, only three of the projects are open-cycle. Two of Japan's five closed-cycle plants are operating. The Netherlands and Sweden each have one open-cycle facility planned for operation in the Caribbean, in Curaçao and Jamaica, respectively.

Thermal Genera



Warm sea water from the surface of the ocean is drawn in when introduced into the generator's heat exchanger. The steam passes through a turbine and is then condensed by cold sea water.

The E

Printe

...way a story plots where barley, buckwheat and potatoes grow. The mix of trees has changed from subtropical to temperate-zone hardwoods, then to conifers; soon, only scrub will be visible.

But wherever you are in this country, there are fewer trees than before. A thorough study of Nepal's forests is now in the works. The last good forest survey, completed in the 1960's, indicated a forest area of 15.8 million acres, but United Nations estimates made in the late 1970's showed a decline to 10.6 million acres. This frightening pace of loss, however, included the wholesale, and unrepeatable, clearance of the country's southern plains, which have been colonized over the last quarter century. The estimated decline of hill forest over the same 15-year period was from 11.4 million acres to 9.6 million acres, a lower, if still worrisome, rate.

Landslides and Floods

By the mid-1970's, deforestation in the hills, caused mainly by the spread of farming but accentuated by the collection of firewood and leaves for fodder, began causing real alarm among the country's economic planners. Villagers from remote valleys reported more deadly landslides and flash floods. And families in some regions had to devote ever-longer hours to the collection of firewood and fodder. Less fodder for livestock meant less dung for fertilizing fields and thus lower crop yields. In the capital city of Katmandu, where most people still cook with wood, firewood prices soared faster than oil prices.

The trek now yields stunning views of the high peaks, each one—Manaslu, Gangapurna, Annapurna II—a source of mountain climbing legend. I find myself unable to adjust to the scale. The summits look close, a day-trip away, yet they are more than twice my elevation, surmountable only by world-class expeditions. The evening in Chame, elevation 8,900 feet, helps me regain perspective. Twilight is turning to darkness in the village. To the east, Manaslu, towering 17,000 feet above, is shining brilliantly, still in broad daylight.

In Pisang, after six days of hiking, I have my first serious bout with wood-smoke. Here in the Marsyangdi valley's barren northern stretch, villages resemble Indian pueblos from the American Southwest, one home's roof the next one's yard. Instead of television antennas, the settlement bristles with poles sporting Buddhist prayer flags, which send mantras heavenward with each flap in the breeze. The region, home of the Tibetan-like Manang culture, was forbidden to foreigners until the late 1970's, and traveler's lodges are not as numerous or comfortable as along more established trekking routes.

By 6 P.M. it is freezing and dark;

ERIK ECKHOLM is a New York-based writer and author of *Down to Earth: Environment and Human Needs*.

...and the nearby hot springs allow a much needed bath. This is the deepest gorge on earth. On each side, only 22 miles apart, are the peaks Dhaulagiri and Annapurna—each some 23,000 feet higher than we are.

That night I am pleasantly surprised to find the lodge lit with, and partly cooking with, biogas (methane produced from dung in anaerobic tanks). Since this particular valley has been blitzed with American aid projects, including experiments with alternative energy devices, I assume I am getting some personal benefits from my tax dollars. I turn out to be dead wrong. An anthropologist later filled me in. Tatapani, flooded with tourists but short of wood, had been buying firewood from a nearby village. But the governing council of the other village, fearing permanent depletion of their only fuel source, recently banned the export of wood from their lands. Energy diplomacy on a village scale. Lodge owners in Tatapani quickly installed biogas plants.

Forest of Disfigured Trees

To head for Pokhara, our end point, we must leave the river and cross more high hills. We enter the heaviest forest I have yet seen, a mix of oak and rhododendron trees. Many, though, are grossly disfigured, stripped for fodder and fuel.

An influential 1982 paper by John Wyatt-Smith, a British forester, showed that "forest land is an integral part of the farming system, just as much as arable land and livestock." The need for trees to provide fuel, fodder and timber, and to protect steep slopes, has long been known. What scientists now appreciate more fully is how vital that fodder is to maintaining food output in Nepal's hills. Since grazing lands and crop residues cannot meet the full requirement, forest leaves must provide supplementary livestock feed. Fodder is so crucial because dung from buffaloes, cows and goats, composted along with leaves and crop residues, provides the soil nutrients essential for sustaining food production. Except in the few accessible areas, replacing compost with commercial fertilizers is not economical. Cows are sacred here for good reason, then, if only they can be fed well—one of the most time-consuming chores of village life. "Families are as much slaves to their buffaloes as their buffaloes are slaves to them," Tenpa says.

Recent surveys indicate that women spend far more time searching for fodder than for fuel wood. In the district he studied, near where I am walking, Mr. Wyatt-Smith found that "the area of forest land required to sustain the fodder needs of the farming system is about three to five times greater than that required to provide fuel and timber needs." According to Brian Carson, a Canadian soil scientist who is mapping Nepal's soils, the most striking trend

Four hours up the trail, yaks and blue sheep visible in the distance, we see where Manang's fuel is coming from. The remaining scrub juniper is being burned over, then cut; even the roots are yanked out. The desertion is advancing each year, and the rising number of trekkers like myself is adding to the pressure. Something will have to give.

At this altitude you become aware of every breath and every step; the slightest upgrade registers in your muscles and mind. But with no snow to slow us, we make it to Thorung La without great difficulty. The view from the pass is not spectacular, the wind is freezing, and we do not linger.

We must make the 5,000-foot descent to Muktinath, a pilgrimage site, before sundown. My opinion as to which is harder, walking uphill or downhill, quickly reverses. That night I suffer "trekker's knee."

The next night, in Jomosom, we are



Erik Eckholm

Girl carrying firewood in hills.

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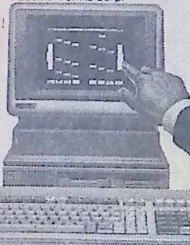
HP 150 at a Glance.

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Permanent Memory: (ROM) 160K bytes

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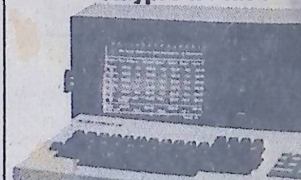
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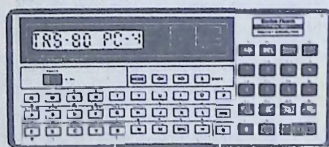
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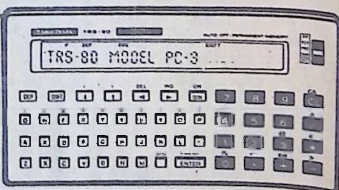
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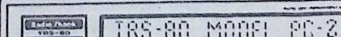
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ROBERT L. BERNSTEIN
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD AND PRESIDENT

December 27, 1983

Mr. Norman Mailer
142 Columbia Heights
Brooklyn, New York 11201

Dear Norman:

Raisa Orlova is Lev Kopelev's wife. You should speak to them on the phone and, in my judgement, stop and see them in Germany before going to the Soviet Union.

Their address and phone number are:

Neuenhofer Allee #43
5000 Koln 41
(Lindenthal, West Germany)

011-49-221-430-1224

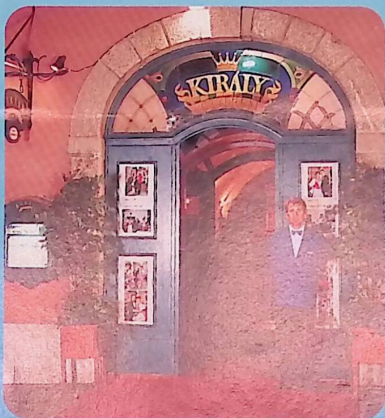
If you wish me to set it up, I will be glad to do it.

A very happy New Year!

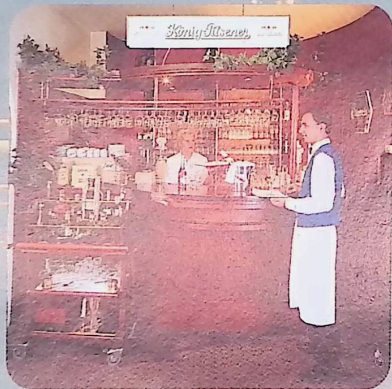
Best,

RLB/mf

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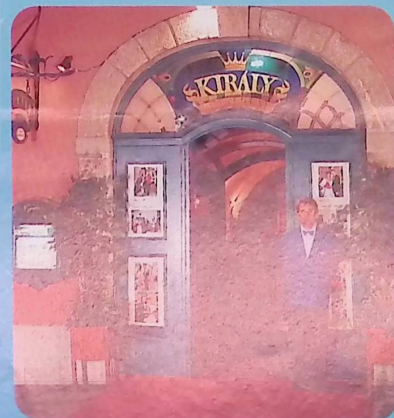
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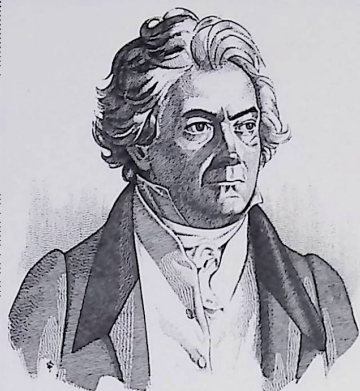


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Ludwig van Beethoven

Im Sommer 1817 wohnte Ludwig van Beethoven in diesem Haus am Pfarrplatz. In Heiligenstadt gab es damals ein Heilbad, das Beethoven in der Hoffnung aufsuchte, dort Linderung seines sich stets verschlechternden Ohrenleidens zu finden. Während eines früheren Aufenthalts in Heiligenstadt schuf Beethoven die „Pastorale“ (6. Symphonie), schrieb sein erschütterndes Bekenntnis – das Heiligenstädter Testament – und arbeitete während der Zeit seines Aufenthaltes in diesem Haus an seinem größten Werk, der 9. Symphonie.

Ludwig van Beethoven lived in this house on Pfarrplatz in the summer of 1817. At that time there was a spa in Heiligenstadt, which Beethoven visited, hoping to find relief from his constantly worsening deafness. During an earlier stay in Heiligenstadt, Beethoven composed his 6th Symphony (Pastoral), and while staying in this house, he worked on his greatest opus – the 9th Symphony (Choral).

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It wie die Geschichte Wiens ist auch die ihres Weines. Es ist bekannt, daß schon vor Kaiser Probus, der im 3. Jahrhundert den Anbau von Reben in den römischen Provinzen förderte, hier in Wien Wein gedieh. Seit dieser Zeit wird hier Wein getrunken. Leicht, frisch und süffig rinnt der Tropfen durch die Kehle und macht beschwingt und frohlich.

Eine Attraktion besonderer Art ist das romantische alte Haus der Familie Mayer, in dem 1817 Ludwig van Beethoven wohnte und das seither völlig unverändert geblieben ist. Die Außenfassade ziert eine Statue des heiligen Florians, eine schöne Holzschnitzarbeit aus der Zeit um 1820. Der heilige Florian soll das schöne alte Haus vor Feuer bewahren.

Die Familie Mayer ist seit 1683 in Grinzing und Heiligenstadt ansäßig. Der ausgeschenkte Wein stammt ausschließlich aus familieneigenen und selbstbewirtschafteten Weingärten und ist von erlesener Qualität.

Auf ca. 30 ha der besten Rieden in Grinzing – Nußberg und Alsegg werden im Eigenbau die Sorten Grüner Veltliner, Rheinriesling, Traminer, Weißer und Blauer Burgunder gezogen. Beste Pflege und sorgfältigste Abfüllung garantieren Qualität und Haltbarkeit. Es wird davon ungefähr die Hälfte beim Heurigen ausgeschenkt, der Rest wird in Flaschen verkauft. Die Weine sind ebenso im bekannten Restaurant „Vienna 79“ in New York, in den Geschäften des Mitsukoshi-Konzerns in Japan und auch auf den Weinkarten vieler renommierter Restaurants und Hotels zu finden.

In früheren Zeiten ging der Salamutschmann von einem Heurigen zum anderen und verkaufte aus einem Korb Salami und Käse. Ein reichhaltiges kaltes Buffet mit den erlesensten Kostlichkeiten wird ergänzt mit dem Angebot von warmen Schweinebraten, würzigen Surbraten, gegrillten Stelzen und Hühnern, warmen Schinken und hausgemachten Blut- und Bratwürsten. Hervorragende Käsesorten, selbstgemachte Streichkäse, pikante Salate, Gurkerln, Zwieberln und Paprika lassen so ein Heurigenessen zu einem echten Genuß werden und geben die richtige „Unterlage“ für ein oder mehrere Gläser des leichten, süffigen und fruchtigen Weines. Die gemütliche und stimmungsvolle Atmosphäre in dem alten Hof, im schattigen Garten oder in den gemütlichen Räumen und Stüberln wird von einer original Wiener Schrammelmusik ergänzt.

Im alten Preßhaus steht eine, aus einem Stück Eichenholz gehauene und heute noch funktionsfähige Weinpresse aus dem Jahre 1617. Die Räume und Stüberln können natürlich auch für geschlossene Gesellschaften reserviert werden.

As old as the history of Vienna itself is the history of its wine. In the Third Century A.D., the Roman Emperor Probus promoted grape growing in the Roman provinces, and here in Vienna the grapes thrived. Ever since then wine has been drunk here. Light, fresh and tasty the "noble nectar" trickles down the throat and makes one merry and gay.

A special attraction is the romantic old house of the Mayer family, which is completely unchanged since Ludwig van Beethoven lived there in 1817. The facade is graced by a statue of St. Florian, a beautiful wood carving done around 1820, and is there to protect this lovely old house against fire.

The Mayer family has lived in Grinzing and Heiligenstadt since 1683. All the wine they serve originates completely from their family-owned and self managed vineyards, and is of select quality.

On about eighty acres of the best soil in the area, we cultivate grapes of the Grüner Veltliner, Rheinriesling, Traminer and white and red Pinot varieties. The greatest care and most careful bottling guarantee high quality and durability. About half of the vintage is served at "Heurigen", the rest is sold in bottles. The wines from Mayer am Pfarrplatz are just as well known in the famous restaurant "Vienna 79" in New York, as in the shops of the Mitsukoshi Group in Japan, and can be found on the wine lists of many first class hotels and restaurants.

In days gone by, the "Salamutschl" man (a sausage vendor) went from one "Heurigen" to another selling sausage and cheese from a basket. Today, an abundantly filled cold buffet of selected delicacies, is complemented by an offer of warm roasts, grilled chicken, boiled ham and homemade sausages. Excellent cheeses, delicious salads, and so on, makes a "Heurigen" meat to a real delight, and serves as a good "foundation" for one or more glasses of the light, tasty and fruity wine. The gay and inviting atmosphere is the old courtyard, the shady garden, and in its many cosy rooms, one of which has an old wine press, made in 1617 from a single beam of oak and usable even today, is complemented by an original "Viennese Schrammelmusik" trio.

The rooms can also be reserved for private gatherings.



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"JESUS, MARY, I love you,
save priest's souls, save souls,
with the great plea to repeat this
ACT OF LOVE a thousand times
with every heart beat
and with every breath."

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Begin and end the day with this ACT OF LOVE:

"JESUS, MARY, I love you,
save priest's souls, save souls,
with the great plea to repeat this
ACT OF LOVE a thousand times
with every heart beat
and with every breath."

Let it be renewed at intervals in the same way as you look at the watch not to miss out any commitment...

Even if a soul would pray the ACT OF LOVE just once in the morning and at the end of the day, the Thousand would be fully accepted like a drop of rain

which falls into the ocean and cannot be retrieved again thus do I come nearer with my loving mercy...

The word "Thousand" is my gift to you... The victory of my mother. -

Believe every word, this ACT OF LOVE encompasses the whole of my love.

Offer me the heart beat of every other heart, I did understand your love which reaches to the ends of the earth.

Whoever loves, saves,
whoever saves, loves!

The ACT OF LOVE is the sure way of renewal!

LOVE FOR LOVE!



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See, it's ~~up~~ ^{up} there @

breakin' me murder —
screed! —
I Don't Care!

He breaks murder

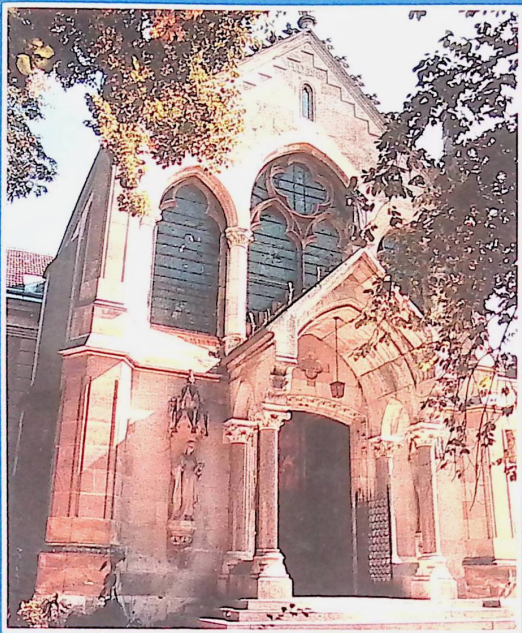
or per

we are not so afraid
factors — you are like me.

We are truly creative.

I, too, do not wish to

Say as loud as that
my soul is dead.



MAYERLING

MAYERLING

HISTORY AND ART

Im Selbstverlag des Karmels St. Joseph, Mayerling

is still extant within the convent walls. In 1880/81, abbot Henry Grünbeck had the church thoroughly restored.

A few years later, in 1886, crown-prince Rudolf, heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary, acquired the whole place and, being very fond of hunting, made the manor-house near the church his hunting-seat. The mansion at the time consisted of the present ground-floor and of part of the first floor (i. e. the first four windows on the main front and all the windows on the smaller front), but then continuing right through the present church. On January 30, 1889 the "tragedy of Mayerling" took place. The crown-prince, being at variance with his father's, the Emperor Franz Joseph, policy (especially as regards Hungary, where Rudolf had spent part of his youth), had for some time made up his mind to seek a voluntary death, killing himself, as it is proved by his last will and other facts. Being married unhappily with archduchess Stefany, he for some time had entertained relations with baroness Mary Vetsera who was by far his junior. Long before they joined in death, Mary Vetsera had agreed (as is proved by evidences) to the crown-prince's plan and had made up her mind to throw in her lot with his. From all the historical evidences it is certain that the death-plan of the crown-prince had matured out of political reasons and that his love affair was — contrary to widespread rumours — hardly of any importance in this point. (In this and many other respects.

Altes Jagdschloss

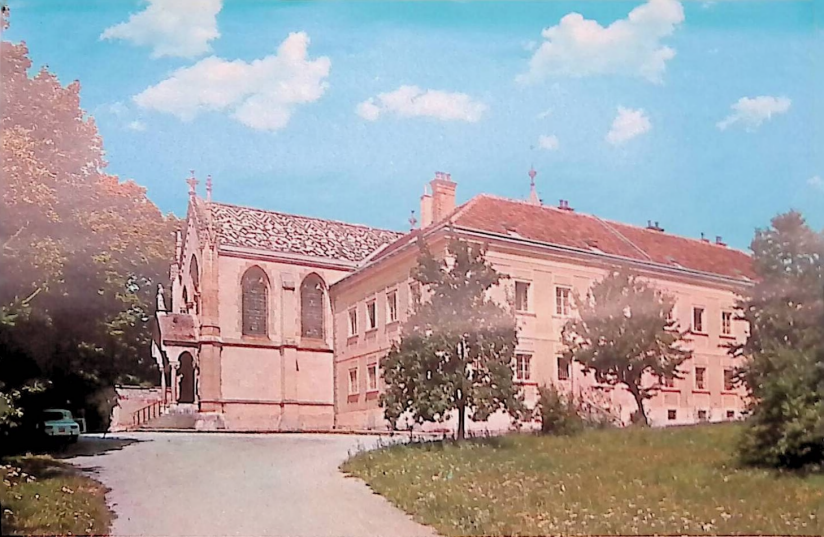




Kronprinz Rudolf



Innenansicht der Kirche St. Josef



Karmelitinnenkloster Mayerling heute

most reports, old and new ones, on the "tragedy of Mayerling" are utterly devoid of any historical foundation.) In the morning on January 30, 1889 the crown-prince, who had arrived at Mayerling the day before (secretly accompanied by Mary Vetsera) and who had arranged a chase in the forests for the same day, went up to tell his lackey that he wanted to be wakened again an hour later. By that time, however, the crown-prince (having locked his bedroom from inside) had shot to death Mary Vetsera and himself, leaving a note in his own handwriting not to send for a doctor but a priest who would pray for him at his death-bed. A commission appointed by the Emperor Franz Joseph drew up the minutes of the tragedy. The not quite felicitous decision not to publish the details of the tragedy gave rise to innumerable combinations and rumours up to the present day, although the whole matter has sufficiently been clarified since by the historians. — The crown-prince has been buried in the Imperial Tomb (Kaisergruft) below the Capuchin church, Vienna. Baroness Mary Vetsera has been buried in the cemetery of Heiligenkreuz.

2. The Church

As an act of atonement for what had happened at the place, the Emperor had a new church and a convent for Carmelite nuns built. (The ancient church has been

pulled down.) The present church has been built by architect H. Schemfil and master-builder J. Schmalzhöfer in the neo-gothic style. The church doors of oak, with the carved figures of the 12 apostles, and all the wainscot in the church were done by Olbrich, Baden. That part of the former manor-house, where in the first floor had been the bedroom of the crown-prince, was pulled down and the high-altar erected instead. The painting in fresco above the high-altar is by Joseph Kastner, Vienna. The saints represented are to be seen in adoration of the Holy Trinity: In the centre St. Joseph, patron of the Emperor and of the church, takes the place of the Emperor himself; an angel on the left holds the coat of arms of Austria, an angel on the right the coat of arms of Hungary; further to the left St. Stephan, the first Christian king of Hungary; on his right side the martyr-boy St. Rudolf, patron of crown-prince Rudolf and of Rudolf of Habsburg (founder of the Habsburg dynasty); on the extreme left St. Francis of Assisi, the other patron of the Emperor Franz Joseph; in the background St. Elisabeth with roses in her cloak, patron of Empress Elisabeth, wife of Emperor Franz Joseph; behind her St. Sophia, patron of the crown-prince's grandmother; nearer to the centre St. John of the Cross, father of the reformed Carmelite order (16th century); on the right side (right of the centre) St. Gisela (kneeling), patron of arch-duchess Gisela (sister of crown-prince Rudolf); on her left St. Leopold (with a miniature-church in his arm),

margrave of Austria and founder of Heiligenkreuz abbey; behind him St. Valeria (holding a sword), patron of archduchess Valery (sister of crown-prince Rudolf); on the extreme right St. Severin, bishop and apostle of Noricum (the Roman name of the Roman province of Austria); in the background, between St. Leopold and St. Severin, Charlemagne, founder of the Ostmark (Austria), 791; near to the centre St. Theresa of Avila, reformer and mother of the Carmelites; behind her St. Euphrasia, a Carmelite nun of the early centuries; right and left of the stone cross on the top of the altar angels pointing to the cross, the symbol of atonement and expiation for all sins. The goldcoated doors of the tabernacle show on one side the bird phoenix, on the other side a pelican, both symbols of the Holy Eucharist. The black windows of the presbytery connect the church with the nun's oratory. The two windows in the height (on the right side) permitted the Emperor to attend mass from his two oratories. The columns of the church are of Greek marble. The wood-carved stations of the cross (a gift by Prince Philipp Arenberg) are by architect Müller, Munich. The stain-glass windows of the church (a gift of friends of the crown-prince) are by Rudolf Geyling Ltd., Innsbruck. Besides representations of saints they show the coats of arms of the crown-provinces of Austria. Back of the choir, the left window (badly damaged) shows St. Hubert, patron of hunters; the little boy on the right window (also badly damaged) shows again

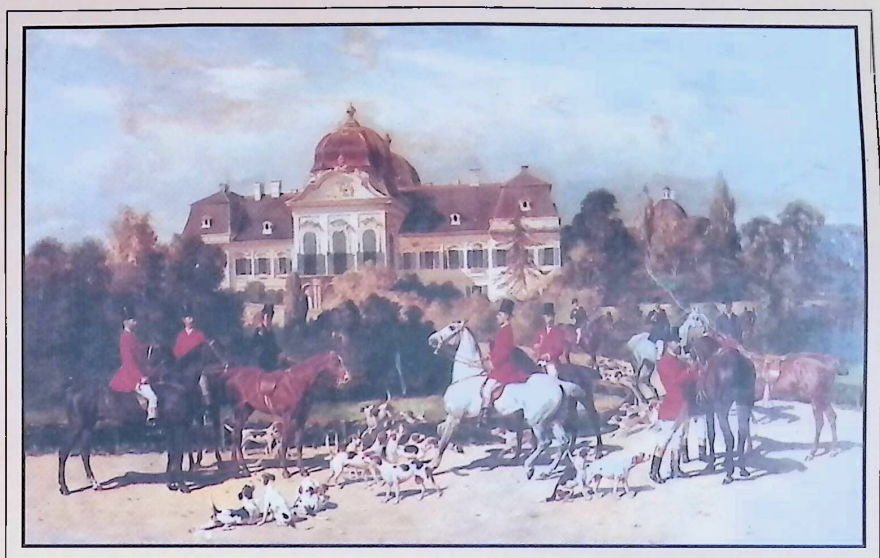
the martyr-boy St. Rudolf. The figures on the other windows are easily to be identified by their names given: The prophet Elias, on the opposite St. Euphrasia; St. Joachim, father of Our Lady, and St. Anne, mother of Our Lady; St. Joseph and St. John of Nepomuc. — On the left side of the church is a small chapel with church furniture in baroque style, a present of an Hungarian artist Járog to the Emperor, who later on gave it to his daughter archduchess Valery. She then gave it to the church. The little columns of the altar are of precious alabaster.

According to the Emperor's wish, the former hunting-seat was enlarged and turned into a Carmelite convent and he so gave the place a new destination of prayer and atonement — for all mankind.

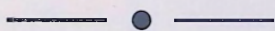


MAYERLING
im Wienerwald





Gödöllői Királyi Kastély



The Royal Palace of Gödöllő

KÖNIGLICHES SCHLOß GÖDÖLLÖ PRESSEINFORMATIONEN

Sissi's Lieblingsschloß, das Königliche Schloß Gödöllő ist nicht nur Ungarns größtes Barockschloß, sondern ist mit seinen 17.000 m² eingebauten Grundfläche eins der größten auf der Welt. Graf Antal Grassalkovich der I. ließ es in den 40er Jahren des 18. Jahrhunderts von dem bekannten ungarischen Barockbaumeister Andras Mayerhoffer errichten.

Die Kaiserin Maria Theresia besuchte im August 1751 Gödöllő und verbrachte 3 unvergeßliche Tage bei dem Grafen Grassalkovich. Es wurde aufgezeichnet, daß neben den vom Grafen organisierten einmaligen Veranstaltungen und Vergnügungen auch für die Kaiserin eine Pferdeschlittensfahrt vorbereitet wurde, wo sie von Gödöllő nach Máriabesnyő (bedeutendster Wallfahrtsort in Mitteleuropa zur damaligen Zeit) geführt wurde. Für dieses Unternehmen war es notwendig die gesamte Jahresproduktion der ungarischen Salzbergwerke als geeigneten Straßenbelag zu verwenden.

Der Gebäudekomplex wurde bereits im Laufe des 18. Jahrhunderts mehrmals erweitert und umgebaut. In dem einstöckigen, doppelt U-förmig gestalteten Baudenkmal, das einen noblen Ehrenhof einrahmt, sind Apartments, für das Schloßleben wichtige Nebenräume, ein Barockbad (eine absolute Rarität dieses Zeitalters), das erste aus Stein gebaute Theater Ungarns, eine wunderschöne Römisch Katholische Kirche, eine Orangerie und eine bedeckte 1300 m² Reitschule zu finden. Viele Gastronomische Attraktionen, sowie mit Wandfresken bemalte Bierkeller vervollständigten das Angebot des Schloßlebens. Das Schloß lag inmitten eines 1 Milliarde m² großen Parks mit mehreren Seen, umringt von reichen Jagdgebieten und entsprach damit allen Erwartungen der Prunkliebenden, adeligen Barocklebensweise, später der königlichen Hofhaltung.

Nach dem Tod von Herzog Antal von Grassalkovich den III., der der letzte männliche Nachfahre der Familie war, hatte das Schloß mehrere Besitzer. Eine bedeutende Rolle spielte das Schloß auch während der ungarischen Revolution im Jahre 1848/1849. Am April 1849 hatte noch Herzog Windischgrätz seine Residenz im Schloß, am Abend aber zog Lajos Kossuth mit seinen Honveden nach dem Sieg in Isaszeg in das Gebäude ein und entschloß im Prunksaal mit seinen Generälen das Haus Habsburg vom ungarischen Thron zu stürzen. Kriegsglück änderte sich, der Standort Schloß Gödöllö nicht: Herzog Paskiewicz machte Gödöllö zu seinem Domizil als er mit seinem Heer die Revolte der Ungarn niederschlagen hatte.

Die zweite Glanzperiode des Schloßes fiel auf die königlichen Jahre 1867 bis 1918. Sissi ritt einmal von Buda nach Gödöllö Umgebung und verliebte sich in diese Gegend. So kam es dazu, daß im Jahre 1867 anläßlich der Ausgleichsfeierlichkeiten zwischen Österreich und Ungarn die Staatskasse das Schloß und Gut von dem damaligen Besitzer kaufte, um es dann als Erholungsschloß der Kaiserlich-Königlichen Familie zur Verfügung zu stellen.

Von da an begann ein reges Hofleben: außer den Familienfesten wurden hier großzügige Veranstaltungen, Jagden, Wettbewerbe organisiert. In diesen Jahrzehnten kamen die bedeutendsten ungarischen und europäischen Aristokraten nach Gödöllö zu Besuch. Besonders die Königin Elisabeth, die oft wochenlang, manchmal auch monatenlang hier verweilte. Es wurde aufgezeichnet, daß sie insgesamt mehr als 2000 Nächte, beinahe 6 Jahre in Gödöllö verbrachte. Es ist auch ihrem bezaubernden Wesen zu verdanken, daß es zwischen dem Kaiserhaus und der ungarischen Aristokratie nach dem Ausgleich immer weniger Spannungen gab und ausgründessen Ungarn auf den Weg der wirtschaftlichen und zivilen Entwicklung treten konnte.

Nach ihrem Tode (1898) ließ das bunte Hofleben nach, der alte Franz Joseph kam immer seltener ins Schloß. Der im Jahre 1916 gekrönte Karl der IV. war gerade in Gödöllö zu Besuch als Ende Oktober 1918 die Monarchie zusammenbrach. Er versuchte noch mehrfach in die Säle des Königlichen Schloßes in Gödöllö Verhandlungen mit verschiedensten ungarischen Politikern zu führen (z.B. mit Mihály Károlyi) um die Monarchie zu retten.

Zwischen 1920 und 1944 erlebte das Schloß seine dritte bedeutende Epoche als Residenz des Gouverneurs Miklós Horthy. Wie in den königlichen Jahren wurden auch zu dieser Zeit in Gödöllö große Jagden, Reitveranstaltungen und Feierlichkeiten anderer Art

veranstaltet. In diesen Jahren wurde das Schloß nicht umgebaut, nur der im südlichen Vorgarten gebaute Bunker von Horthy erinnert an die Gouverneurszeiten.

Der Gebäudekomplex erlitt keine Bombenanschläge, aber alle seine bewegbaren Werte wurden von den zurückziehenden Deutschen Truppen, sowie ihren verbündeten Pfeilkreuzlern mitgenommen. Was eventuell übrig blieb, fiel Freibeutern zum Opfer.

Sowjetische Militärtruppen zogen ab 1945 ein und verwendeten das Schloß als eins Ihrer wichtigsten Stützpunkte insbesondere für Lagerung von Brennstoffen. Auch ungarische Militärtruppen waren eine Zeittang innerhalb der alten Mauern stationiert.

Der allgemeine Verfall des Gebäudes beschleunigte sich ab 1950 als zusätzlich zu den sowjetischen Militärtruppen ein Alters- und Sozialheim eingerichtet wurde. Wenig später wurden viele Gebäudeteile als Zentrale des Zivilschutzes in dieser Gegend genutzt - und was noch übrig blieb diente für Wohnungen von Privatpersonen, Werkstätten und Lager.

Diese Umstände haben wesentlich dazubeigetragen, daß das Schloß in einem kläglichen Zustand geraten ist. Ab 1985 erarbeitete man zum ersten Mal Pläne für die Rekonstruktion dieses nationalen Bauwerkes und es wurden ab diesem Zeitpunkt Überlegungen angestellt welche Nutzungsmöglichkeiten in Betracht gezogen werden könnten.

Um eine fachgerechte Rekonstruktion durchführen zu können, bräuchte man einen einzigen Hausherrn der gesamten Liegenschaft (17.000 m2 eingebaute Fläche in einem 298.000 m2 Urpark). Es war also sehr wichtig alle nicht in diesen Rahmen passenden Funktionen auszusiedeln. Im Jahr 1990 verabschiedete Gödöllö den letzten sowjetischen Soldaten, ein Jahr später gelang es einen neuen Standort für das Alters - und Sozialheim zu finden und Weihnachten 1994 war es soweit, daß die letzte Mietwohnung im Schloß geräumt wurde.

Im Juli 1994 wurde die „Gemeinnützige Gesellschaft des Königlichen Schloß Gödöllö“ mit einem Stammkapital von Forint 1.2 Mrd. gegründet mit der Zielsetzung für die nächsten 99 Jahre Nützer und Hausherr der Liegenschaft zu sein; für eine komplette Wiederherstellung der historischen Teile zu sorgen und solche Investitionen zu verwirklichen, die eine wirtschaftliche Führung der Liegenschaft ermöglicht.

Die Mitgesellschafter sind wie folgt:

- Ministerium für Umweltschutz und Regionalentwicklung (44.33 %)
- Stadt Gödöllő (28.68%)
- Schloß Grassalkovich Gemeinstiftung (26.98%)
- Ingenieurbüro Ma Hill (0.01%)

1993/94 befaßten sich mehrere Regierungsdekrete mit dem Revitalisierungsprogramm des Königlichen Schloßes.

Es wurde unter anderem deklariert, daß eine staatliche Unterstützung vom Budget in der Höhe von Ft 1 Milliarde für das Projekt gewährleistet werden sollte. Mit Regierungsgarantie kann die Gesellschaft weiters 1 Milliarde Ft Kredit aufnehmen. Ein Nutzungsplan wurde von der Gesellschaft erarbeitet, wonach in den historischen Teilen des Schlosses ein Schloßmuseum (Prunksaal, Kaiser Franz Joseph und Elisabeth Interieur Ausstellungen, Sissi-Salons, Barockbad, Barocktheater und weitere historische Ausstellungen) eingerichtet wird und weitere touristische Attraktionen (25 prunkvolle Suiten im Schloß selbst, Hotel mit 140 Doppelzimmer als Neuinvestition im Park, Konferenz - und Weiterbildungszentrum für max. 600 Personen, laufende Kulturprogramme im Barocktheater, im angeschlossenen ehemaligen Hofreitsaal und Freilichtvorführungen im Ehrenhof, Aktivierung der Reitschule und viele weitere stilgerechte Freizeitbeschäftigungen im Park).

Diese Mauern, die von 1749 bis 1944 praktisch beinahe alle bekannte Persönlichkeit des Landes und viele vom Ausland gesehen haben, wo sogar viele Wenden der ungarischen Geschichte stattgefunden haben, werden einerseits als Gedenkstätte für die Nation dienen, andererseits werden all die kulturellen Funktionen einen Wesentlichen Beitrag an Ungarns Kulturleben leisten. Vervollständigt werden sollte all das mit den touristischen Dienstleistungen, die mit Sicherheit das Produkt „Gödöllő“ weltweit als interessanteste touristische Neuleistung des Landes für die nächste Zeit hervorhebt. Gödöllő liegt übrigens 12 Minuten mit dem Auto auf der M3 Autobahn vom Budapester Heldenplatz entfernt, also ideal für Halbtags - oder Tagesausflüge.

Nach den Kostenkalkulationen müßte für die Wiederherstellung der historischen Teile, sowie kulturelle Funktionen Ft 4 Milliarden aufgebracht werden. Davon hat die Gesellschaft mit dem von der Regierung garantiertem Kredit, sowie wie mobilisierbare Eigenmittel Ft 2.5 Milliarden in Besitz. Es fehlen also Ft 1.5 Milliarden, obwohl der

Staat etwa 50% seines Denkmalschutzbudgets für das Projekt Gödöllő bereitgestellt hat.

Die Fremdenverkehrsinvestitionen werden in den Kostenanalysen mit Ft 2 Milliarden eingeschätzt, sollten aber durch ausländische Investoren und Kapital realisiert werden.

Bis zur Jahrtausendwende sollten alle Bauarbeiten beendet werden (das Schloß feiert im Jahre 1999 sein 250. Geburtstag).

Die Gesellschaft sucht also:

- Für die Wiederherstellung der historischen Teile (inkl. Sissi Gedenkplatz) Sponsoren und Unterstützer, die eine wirklich würdige Angelegenheit betreuen möchten.

- Für die Errichtung der Dienstleistungsobjekte Investoren und Kapitalbeteiligungsgesellschaften.

Unsere Gesellschaft hat aber auch vor unter diesen Mauern in den nächsten 99 Jahren die Geschichte und Geschehnisse zwischen Österreich und Ungarn nicht nur zeigen zu wollen, sondern auch weiter zu entwickeln. Wir haben die Möglichkeit etwa 1000 m² im historischen Teil des Schlosses für solche gemeinsame Institutionen bereit zu halten, die vielleicht erst entstehen sollen, um aus der Geschichte für unsere gemeinsame Zukunft Pläne zu schmieden und an der Realisierung zu arbeiten.

Unsere Gesellschaft hofft, daß die Wiederherstellung und Aktivleben des Königlichen Schlosses in Gödöllő, das sicherlich auch bedeutend in der österreichischen Geschichte mitgewirkt hat, nicht nur die Vision Weniger bleibt, sondern ein Vorbild für die Zusammenarbeit und gemeinsames Denken Vieler sein könnte, wo auch die Staatsgrenzen kein Hindernis darstellen.

Dr. János Erdei

Generaldirektor

Königliches Schloß Gödöllő Gemeinnützige Gesellschaft

H-2100 Gödöllő, Königliches Schloß

Tel.: (06-28) 330 864

Tel./Fax: (06-28) 320 331

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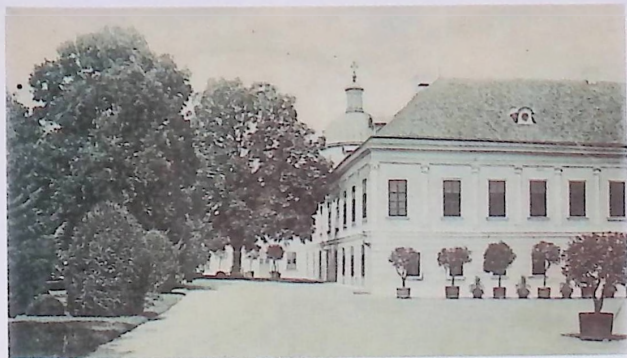




Gödöllő

Királyi kastély





Gödöllő.

A kastély balszárnya - L'aile gauche du château.

Műintex. Pich Tuzsár. Rész IX.

N

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ews letter



Hungary, 2100 Gödöllő, Royal Palace Tel.: (36) 06/28 330 864 ; (36) 06/28 310 045 Tel., Fax: (36) 06/28 320 331

Sie alle waren Gast und bewohnten das Schloß in Gödöllő...

Im XVIII. Jahrhundert:

Andreas, Mayerhoffer - salzburger Architekt (1690-1771), Baumeister des Schlosses
... er hat in Gödöllő zwischen 1741 und 1760 gearbeitet

Johann Georg Dorfmeister - österreichischer Bildhauer (1736-1786), Schöpfer des Grabmals von Antal
Grassalkovich der I.
... er hat gegen 1771 in Gödöllő gearbeitet

Maria Theresien - österreichische Kaiserin (1717-1780) und ihr Mann Franz von Lotharingen
Besuch: 10-12. Aug. 1751

György Druschelzky - Komponist österreichischer Abstammung (1745-1819), Hofkomponist von Antal
Grassalkovich der II.
Besuch: um Jahre 1780 mehrmals

Maria Christina - Erzherzogin, Tochter von Maria Theresien und ihr Mann, Erzherzog Albert
Besuch: 6-9. Sept. 1765

Khevenhüller-Metsch, Josef - Herzog, kaiserlicher Oberhofmeister (1706-1776)
Besuch: 10-12. Aug. 1751 und 1-2. Sept. 1764

Garamphi, Joseph - Graf, Nunzius in Wien
Besuch: 19. Aug. 1776

Migazzi Antal Kristóf - Graf, Erzbischof in Wien, Bischof in Vác
Besuch: um 1760 mehrmals, er besaß ein eigenes Appartement im Schloß

In der ersten Hälfte des XIX. Jahrhunderts:

J. Habsburg Ferdinand - österreichischer Erzherzog, später der Kaiser (1793-1875)
Besuch: 30-31. Okt. 1805

Maria Beatrix - österreichische Erzherzogin und ihr Mann, Erzherzog *Miksa*
Besuch: 20. Mai-17. Juni 1809

Széchenyi István - Graf, "Der Größte Ungar" (1791-1860)
Besuch: 11. Sept. 1840

Petőfi Sándor - Dichter (1823-1849)
Besuch: 29. Aug. 1843

Alfred Windischgrätz - österreichischer Herzog (1787-1862), Heerführer
Besuch: Dezember 1848

Kossuth Lajos - ungarischer Politiker (1802-1894), Schlüsselperson der ungarischen Freiheitskämpfe in den Jahren 1848-49
Besuch: 6-7. Apr. 1849

Zwischen 1867 und 1918:

Franz Joseph I. - österreichischer Kaiser und ungarischer König (1830-1916) und seine Familie:
Königin *Elisabeth Wittelsbach* (1837-1898)
Erzherzog *Rudolph*, Thronfolger (1858-1889)
Erzherzogin *Gisella* (1856-1932)
Erzherzogin *Maria Valeria* (1868-1924)

Erzherzog *Franz Ferdinand*, Thronfolger (1864-1914)
Erzherzog *Franz Salvator* (1866-1939)
Erzherzog *Ludwig Viktor* (1842-1919)

Karl Franz Joseph I. - österreichischer Kaiser und ungarischer König (1887-1922) und seine Familie:
Königin *Zita Maria Adalgunda* (1892-1989)
Erzherzog *Otto* (1912-)
Herzog *Sixtus Bourbon* (1886-1934), Bruder von *Zita*

Lipót Miksa - bayerischer Herzog (1846-1930), Schwiegersohn von *Franz Joseph*

Ludwig Wittelsbach III. - bayerischer Prinzregent (1845-1921)

Lichtenstein Rudolph - Herzog (1838-1908), kaiserlicher Oberhofmeister

Hohenlohe Konrad - Herzog (1863-1918), österreichischer Ministerpräsident, Oberhofmeister

Paar Ede - österreichischer Graf (1837-1919), Flügeladjutant von *Franz Joseph*

Koerber Ernst - österreichischer Ministerpräsident (1850-1919)

Burian Stefan - österreichischer Außenminister (1851-1922)

Andrássy Gyula, der Vater - Graf (1823-1890), ungarischer Ministerpräsident, Außenminister

Andrássy Gyula, der Sohn - Graf (1860-1929), österreichisch-ungarischer Außenminister

Wenckheim Béla - Baron (1811-1879), ungarischer Ministerpräsident

Apponyi Albert - Graf (1846-1933), ungarischer Politiker

Lónyai Menyhért - Graf (1822-1884), ungarischer Ministerpräsident, Finanzminister

Tisza Kálmán - ungarischer Ministerpräsident (1830-1902)

Tisza István - Graf (1861-1918), ungarischer Ministerpräsident

Károlyi Mihály - Graf (1875-1955), ungarischer Staatspräsident

Fejérváry Géza - Baron (1833-1914), Flügeladjutant von Franz Joseph, später ung. Ministerpräsident

Bethlen András - Graf (1847-1898), ungarischer Minister

Szögyén-Marich László - Graf (1842-1916), Staatsminister

Bethlen István - Graf (1874-1946?), ungarischer Ministerpräsident

Alexander Karagyorgyevics - serbischer König (1889-1903)

Zwischen 1920 und 1944:

Horthy Miklós - Gouverneur von Ungarn; benützte das Schloß als Residenz

*Viktor Emmanuel - italienischer König
Besuch: 1936*

*Miklas - Staatschef von Österreich
Besuch: 1934*

*Pacelli - Kardinal
Besuch: 1937*

*Ciano - italienischer Außenminister
Besuch: 1937*

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Dr. János Erdei
General Manager

Königliches Schloß Gödöllő Gemeinnützige Gesellschaft

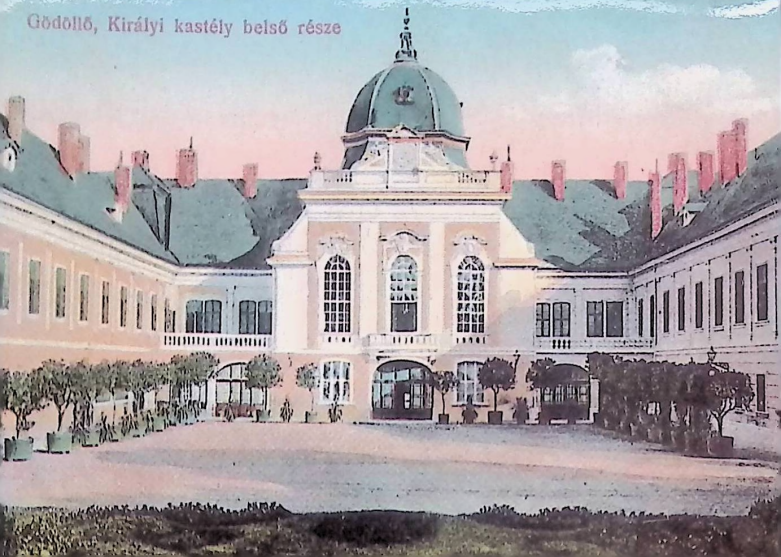
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Gödöllő, Királyi kastély belső része



Gödöllő

Mária Valéria Jóhercegnő
lakosztolya





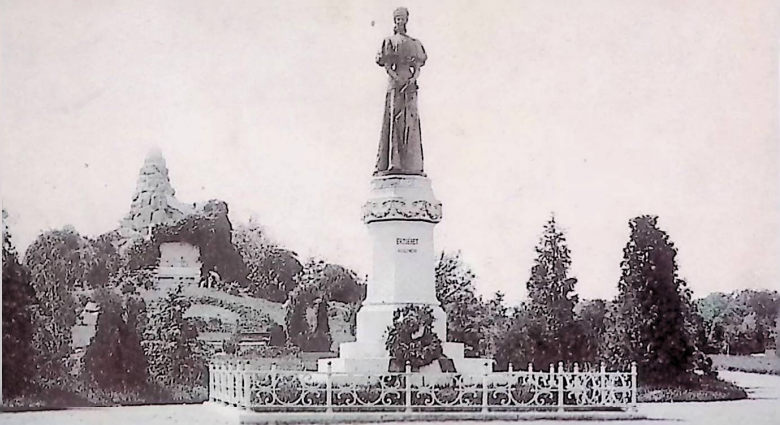
Gödöllő kir. kastély szoborészlet



Салонный зал в Казанском дворце

Gödöllő

Erzsébet szobor







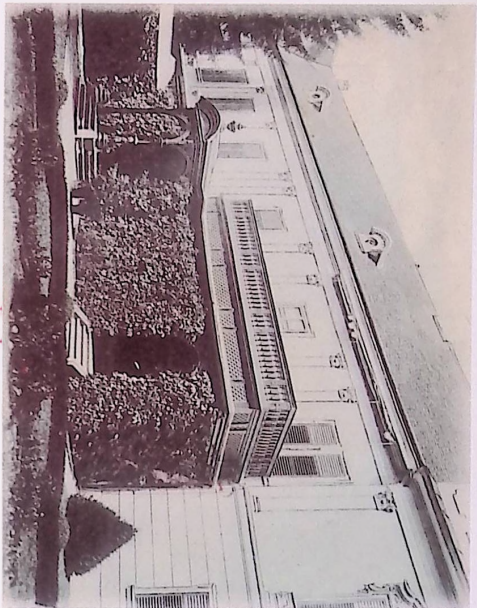
Gödöllő.

Pavillon a felsőparkban.



Pick Teste: Bees IX. Utdnada tilos.

Göddle.



A királyne lugasa.



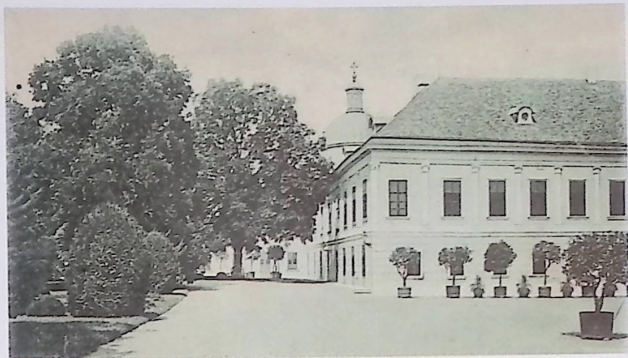
Gödöllő

A királyi kastély narancsháza





Gödöllő.



A kastély balszárnya - L'aile gauche du château.

GÖDÖLLŐ

Pályaudvar



Gödöllő

Királyi kastély



STADTMUSEUM, GÖDÖLLŐ

(Szabadság platz 5.)

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(1901-1920)

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(Bei Voranmeldungen kann es immer
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Schloß-Vormundschaft telefon:
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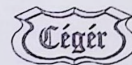
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KÖNIGLICHES SCHLOSS

GÖDÖLLŐ



Gödöllő, Königliches Schloss

Das Gödöllőer königliche Schloß ist das größte im Barockstil gebaute Schloß in Ungarn. Antal Graf von Grassalkovich (1694-1771) ließ es bauen, mit den Bauarbeiten wurde in den 40er Jahren des 18. Jahrhunderts Andras Mayerhoffer (1690-1771), der bekannte Meister der ungarischen Barockbaukunst, beauftragt.

Der Gebäudekomplex wurde schon im Laufe des 18. Jahrhunderts mehrmals erweitert und umgebaut. Seine gegenwärtige Form und das Innere hat es seit dem Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts. In dem einstöckigen, doppelt U-förmig gestalteten Baudenkmal, das einen großen Garten einrahmt, sind Apartments, für das Schloßleben wichtige Nebenzimmer, ein Bad, eine Orangerie, ein Theater und eine Reitschule zu finden. Das Schloß, das sich in der Mitte eines großen Parks bzw. Jagdgebietes befindet, entsprach allen Erwartungen der prachtliebenden, adeligen Barocklebensweise, später der königlichen Hofhaltung.

Antal Graf von Grassalkovich war treuer Anhänger von Maria Theresia (1740-1780), die ihn im Jahre 1751 mit einem persönlichen Besuch im Schloß auszeichnete. (Daran erinnert uns das prachtvolle sg. Maria-Theresia-Zimmer.)

Nach dem Tode von Antal III. Herzog von Grassalkovich (1771-1841), der der letzte Mann der Familie war, hatte das Schloß mehrere Besitzer, und damit begann der Verfall des Gebäudekomplexes. Die zweite Glanzperiode des Schloss-



es fällt auf die königlichen Jahre 1867-1918. Im Jahre 1867, anlässlich der Ausgleichsfeierlichkeiten kaufte die Staatskasse das Schloß und das Gut von dem damaligen Besitzer, um es dann als Erholungsschloß der königlichen Familie zur Verfügung zu stellen. Von da an begann ein reges Hofleben: außer den Familienfesten wurden hier großzügige Veranstaltungen, Jagden Wettbewerbe organisiert. In diesen Jahrzehnten kamen die bedeutendsten ungarischen und europäischen Aristokraten nach Gödöllő zu Besuch. Besonders die Königin Elisabeth war es, die oft wochenlang, manchmal auch monatenlang hier verweilte.

Nach ihrem Tode (1898) ließ das bunte Hofleben nach, der alte Franz Joseph kam immer seltener ins Schloß. Der im Jahre 1916 gekrönte

Károly IV. und seine Familie besuchten Gödöllő nur ein einziges Mal: sie hielten sich an den unglücklichen Tagen am Ende October 1918, zur Zeit des Zusammenbruches der Monarchie, im Schloß auf.

1920-1944 diente das Schloß als Residenz des Reichsverwesers, und wie in den königlichen Jahren wurden auch jetzt große Jagden und Feiern veranstaltet. In diesen Jahren wurde das Schloß nicht umgebaut, nur der im südlichen Vorgarten gebaute Bunker erinnert uns an die Reichsverweserzeiten.

Der Gebäudekomplex erlitt keine Kriegsschäden, aber ab 1945 waren jahrzehntelang sowjetische und ungarische Militärtruppen innerhalb der alten Mauern stationiert. Da begann der allgemeine Verfall des Gebäudes, die Zerstreuung der Einrichtung. Ab 1950 wurde hier ein Altersheim eingerichtet, und die übrigen Räume des Schlosses, die früher schönere Tage gesehen hatten, dienten als Wohnungen, Werkstätten und Lager. Dies hat wesentlich dazu beigetragen, daß das Schloß in einen kläglichen Zustand geriet.

Im Jahre 1985 begann die Rekonstruktion dieses nationalen Bauwerkes, und dabei werden auch die zukünftigen Nutzungsmöglichkeiten in Betracht gezogen. Die Ergebnisse der Arbeiten sind teilweise schon zu sehen. Sowohl die Stadt Gödöllő als auch alle Mitbürger, denen das Schloß sehr am Herzen liegt, hoffen darauf, daß das Schloß 1995-96 in seinem alten Glanz wiederentstanden sein wird.