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NATIONAL SECURITY AGENCY
CENTRAL SECURITY SERVICE
FORT GEORGE G. MEADE, MARYLAND 20755-6000

FOIA Case: 58251C
4 March 2010

Mr. John R. Greenewald, Jr.
[REDACTED]

Dear Mr. Greenewald:

This responds to your Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request of 27 February 2009 for "all releasable portions of the VOX Topic Article, Volume 32, Fall 1989." Your request was further clarified on 16 May 2009 as "the entire Volume 32." A copy of your request and clarification are enclosed. Your request has been processed under the FOIA and the document you requested is enclosed. Certain information, however, has been deleted from the enclosure.

Some of the information deleted from the document was found to be currently and properly classified in accordance with Executive Order 12958, as amended. This information meets the criteria for classification as set forth in Subparagraph (c) of Section 1.4 and remains classified TOP SECRET as provided in Section 1.2 of the Executive Order. The information is classified because its disclosure could reasonably be expected to cause exceptionally grave damage to the national security. Because the information is currently and properly classified, it is exempt from disclosure pursuant to the first exemption of the FOIA (5 U.S.C. Section 552(b)(1)).

In addition, this Agency is authorized by various statutes to protect certain information concerning its activities. We have determined that such information exists in this document. Accordingly, those portions are exempt from disclosure pursuant to the third exemption of the FOIA which provides for the withholding of information specifically protected from disclosure by statute. The specific statutes applicable in this case are Title 18 U.S. Code 798; Title 50 U.S. Code 403-1(i); and Section 6, Public Law 86-36 (50 U.S. Code 402 note).

The Initial Denial Authority for NSA information is the Deputy Associate Director for Policy and Records, Diane M. Janosek. Since these deletions may be construed as a partial denial of your request, you are hereby advised of this Agency's appeal procedures. Any person denied access to information may file

an appeal to the NSA/CSS Freedom of Information Act Appeal Authority. The appeal must be postmarked no later than 60 calendar days from the date of the initial denial letter. The appeal shall be in writing addressed to the NSA/CSS FOIA Appeal Authority (DJP4), National Security Agency, 9800 Savage Road STE 6248, Fort George G. Meade, MD 20755-6248. The appeal shall reference the initial denial of access and shall contain, in sufficient detail and particularity, the grounds upon which the requester believes release of the information is required. The NSA/CSS Appeal Authority will endeavor to respond to the appeal within 20 working days after receipt, absent any unusual circumstances.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Pamela N. Phillips".

PAMELA N. PHILLIPS
Chief
FOIA/PA Office

Encls:
a/s

Preece, Larry R.

From: john@greenewald.com [john@greenewald.com] **Sent:** Fri 2/27/2009 5:10 PM
To: FOIANET
Cc: john@greenewald.com
Subject: Greenewald, John - Greenewald, John - Greenewald, John - FOIA Request (Web form submission)
Attachments:

Name: John R Greenewald

Email: john@greenewald.com

Postal Address: 8512 Newcastle Ave.

Postal City: Northridge

Postal State-prov: Ca

Zip Code: 91325

Country: United States of America

Home Phone: 818-585-5218

Records Requested:
Dear Sir,

This is a non-commercial request made under the provisions of the Freedom of Information Act 5 U.S.C. S 552. Pursuant to the U. S. OPEN Records Act of 2007, my FOIA requester status as a "representative of the news media" -- a status entitling me to full waiver of your agency's records-processing fees incident to your fulfilling this request. For examples of my various publication credits in this regard, I refer you to my radio network, and my own personal radio show (syndicated on FM and AM stations) at <http://www.blackvaultradio.com>. My internet website <http://www.theblackvault.com> which holds a vast government document database, along with many freelance articles that I have written, which have also been published in magazines and websites, including OpEdNews.com, UFO Magazine, FATE Magazine, and others.

Additionally, I agree to pay fees up to twenty five dollars.

I respectfully request a copy of all releasable portions of the VOX Topic Article, Volume 32, Fall 1989.

Thank you so much for your time, and I am very much looking forward to your response. Please know that electronic delivery of the requested material or correspondence related to this case is preferred and accepted in lieu of paper copies via snail mail.

Sincerely,

John Greenewald, Jr.
8512 Newcastle Ave.
Northridge, Ca. 91325

foiarsc, foiarsc

Rec'd 15 Jun 09

From: John Greenewald, Jr. [john@greenewald.com]
Sent: Saturday, May 16, 2009 7:37 PM
To: foialo, foialo
Cc: foiarsc, foiarsc
Subject: FOIA REQUEST 58251A

Dear Ms. Phillips,

This is in response to your letter dated 1 April 2009. In it, you request further clarification to the request.

Firstly, I do trust that my previous email letter will be received, and my requests will be processed as a representative of the news media. I can supply signed and letterheaded documents from the FAA & Army acknowledging my "representative of the news media" fee category, and hope the NSA will process in the same way. If you require copies of the letters, please let me know.

In regards to the request, my FOIA is for the entire Volume 32 to be reviewed and released.

I hope this further clarifies the request.

On a different note, I do apologize to you and your staff with being a bit unreachable. I have been traveling extensively throughout the country with my job (currently as a producer with The History Channel) and have been in a lot of areas with no reception. I appreciate your patience and understanding. Email is usually the best way to reach me.

Sincerely,

John Greenewald, Jr.

6/15/2009

TOP SECRET

VOXTOPICS

Vol. 32

FALL 1989

In This Issue:

Interview With
Bob [REDACTED]

A Look Back
In Time

PLUS - The Final
Chapter In Our
Perestroika Series



The Art of Ivan Bilibin

THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS
CODEWORD MATERIAL

Classified by NSA/CSSM 123-2
Declassify On: Originating Agency's Determination Required

Approved for Release by NSA on
03-03-2010, FOIA Case # 58251

TOP SECRET

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(b) (3)-P.L. 86-36

VOX TOPICS, a publication of [] is a combination technical manual and language working aid for Russian linguists, designed to provide continuous, personalized technical information []

[] With VOX TOPICS we hope to provide a forum for the exchange of questions, ideas and information pertaining to the general field of []
[]

Our aim is to tailor the content of the publication to the needs of its recipients. To do so we will rely heavily on feedback. We wish to encourage submission of comments, suggestions and articles pertinent to some facet of [] as well as to the Russian language itself. Contributions will be acknowledged whenever possible.

(b) (1)
(b) (3) 50 USC 403
(b) (3) 18 USC 798
(b) (3) P.L. 86-36

~~HANDLE VIA COMINT CHANNELS ONLY~~

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~~SECRET SPOKE~~

(b) (3)-P.L. 86-36

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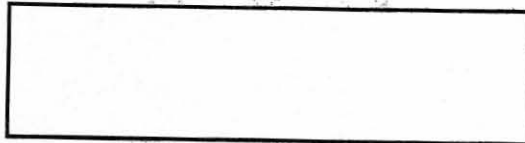
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Судьба женщин, не ушедший
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Искусство в этом номере Иваном Билибиним (1876-1942), выдающимся русским художником, мастером книжной графики и театрально-декорационного искусства.

★

VOXTOPICS

VOLUME 32

EDITORIAL STAFF

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Press

Perestroika By The Light of Ogonek

Part Three

•by

Parts One and Two of this article were carried in Volumes 29 and 30 of VOX topics.

Even at the height of the "period of stagnation," readers' letters to the editor were accorded a good deal of attention by Soviet newspapers and journals. Every Soviet periodical employs a staff whose full-time efforts are devoted to reading, sorting, and responding to the queries, demands, and complaints from readers. In a country where there existed virtually no forum for expressing the views of groups or individuals, readers' letters served a dual purpose: they provided the one officially sanctioned outlet for Soviet citizens to express their needs, wants, and dissatisfactions, while simultaneously giving the authorities an important "finger on the pulse" of the people.

Since Gorbachev's accession to power, the ways in which Soviet citizens can express themselves have steadily increased in number. Citizens can form of join any one of the tens of thousands of "неформальные объединения" - informal associations or groups independent of the party or any administrative body, which bring people together to share ideas, views, and interests. Soviet people can (and with increasing frequency, especially in the republics, do) take to the streets to demonstrate for or

against something. Ordinary citizens are no longer so circumspect about sharing their opinions with strangers, and with foreigners in particular. Public opinion polling is flourishing as sociology has been accorded a new-found legitimacy in Soviet thinking. Most important of all, perhaps, Soviet citizens have been given a (limited) franchise to vote for peoples' deputies who will represent their views in Moscow. Nevertheless, the importance of readers' letters to periodicals has not diminished from all of this "competition." If anything, readers' letters have probably gained in impact as many of the former taboos surrounding Soviet life have been broken. The number of issues which letter writers feel free to address has grown dramatically.

Of almost equal significance is the willingness or readiness of newspaper and journal editors to take the responsibility for publishing those letters and, in many cases, instigating investigations of the problems described by readers, seeking justice for the wronged, restitution for the illegally dispossessed, and bringing corrupt officials before the public eye.

Ogonek, which was described by an American jour-

alist who covered the Moscow beat during the height of the Brezhnev era as the "most imaginative and probing weekly news magazine in the Soviet Union¹," leads the way with regard to readers' letters. Indeed, *Ogonek* editor V. Korotich underscored the critical role played by readers' letters in shaping the journalistic "mission" of his magazine. Noting that during February 1988 *Ogonek* had received more letters than during any other month in its history, Korotich assured his readers,

"Нет ничего важнее, чем знать, что мы нужны вам, нет ничего ответственнее, чем быть на уровне вашей высказательной заинтересованности. Именно по вашим письмам мы планируем номера, именно с учётом ваших запросов строим всю свою деятельность.²"

Korotich called on his readership to enter into the great debates concerning the Soviet Union's future: "Давайте разговаривать в открытую, и прежде всего между собой, на страницах журнала. Мы готовы к этому; судя по большинству ваших писем, вы - тоже."

Ogonek readers have not ignored the call to contribute to the debate and there are statistics to prove this.

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Press

Whereas the magazine received 15,372 letters from readers in 1986 and 49,618 in 1987, in 1988 a record 112,842 letters came in.³ During Korotich's tenure as editor, the magazine has published readers' opinions on topics not previously open to public commentary: the use of the death penalty; military discipline (the "Дедовщина" which makes sheer hell of Soviet conscripts' lives); Stalin and the revelation of his crimes; the filling in of blank spots ("белые пятна") in Soviet history. *Ogonek's* pages have been filled with readers' calls for the reform of the legal system, for the lifting of restrictions governing life in border areas and regulating contact with foreigners, and choking off the flow of information. Other readers have demanded an end to the privileges enjoyed by the elite, the cessation of discrimination against non-party members, and the toppling of corrupt bureaucrats.

The USSR's embattled environment was another center of readers' concern. Letters detailed the transgressions of various factories and other polluters, and offered suggestions on how the damage could be undone.

Victims or family members of victims of Stalinist tyranny wrote in to give their stories, or to respond to one of *Ogonek's* many "rehabilitation or repudiation" stories (see VOX Topics, Winter 1989). Long-simmering grievances were voiced at last, not necessarily in order to obtain any sort of compensation or redress, but merely for the sake of at last being able to speak (or write) freely.

The campaign to elect representatives to the Congress of Peoples' Deputies in early 1989 brought a huge volume of mail to the offices of *Ogonek*, as did the results of that campaign. Readers wrote to espouse various political causes, to support various candidates, or to praise or condemn matters of procedure. Similarly, a succession of proposals for new laws or for revisions of existing statutes have drawn a great deal of readership response, as have proposals for changes in the USSR Constitution.



In short, *Ogonek's* letters pages offer Soviet readers a truly nationwide forum for the exchange of views and opinions. While there certainly exist topics too sensitive for even *Ogonek* to publish (I have yet to see letters advocating, for example, independence for the Baltic republics, or excoriating Raisa Gorbacheva's "extravagance"), many previously forbidden subjects can now be discussed freely. Given *Ogonek's* vast number of readers the magazine's influence is very great indeed.⁴ Anyone interested in following the fortunes of Mikhail Gorbachev's "perestroika" is well advised to read *Ogonek*, one of the primary vehicles and reflections of "glasnost."

If Gorbachev is destined to succeed in his efforts to reform and restructure the Soviet Union, it will in no small part be due to the efforts of Vitalij Korotich and *Ogonek*. Should Gorbachev eventually fail and should "perestroika" and "glasnost" be shown to have been (as many skeptics and Gorbachev critics still maintain) nothing but part of an "очередная кампания" then *Ogonek* will certainly be among the first periodicals to be muzzled, suppressed, or even silenced altogether.

1 Jerrold L. Schecter, *Back in the USSR: An American Family Returns to Moscow* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1988), p. 104.

2 Vitalij Korotich, "По Правду Демократии." *Ogonek*, No. 11 (12-19 March 1988), p. 6.

3 *Ogonek*, No. 1, (31 December 1988-7 January 1989), p. 2.

4 *Ogonek*, No. 1, (1989): The following statistics on reader subscriptions are provided:

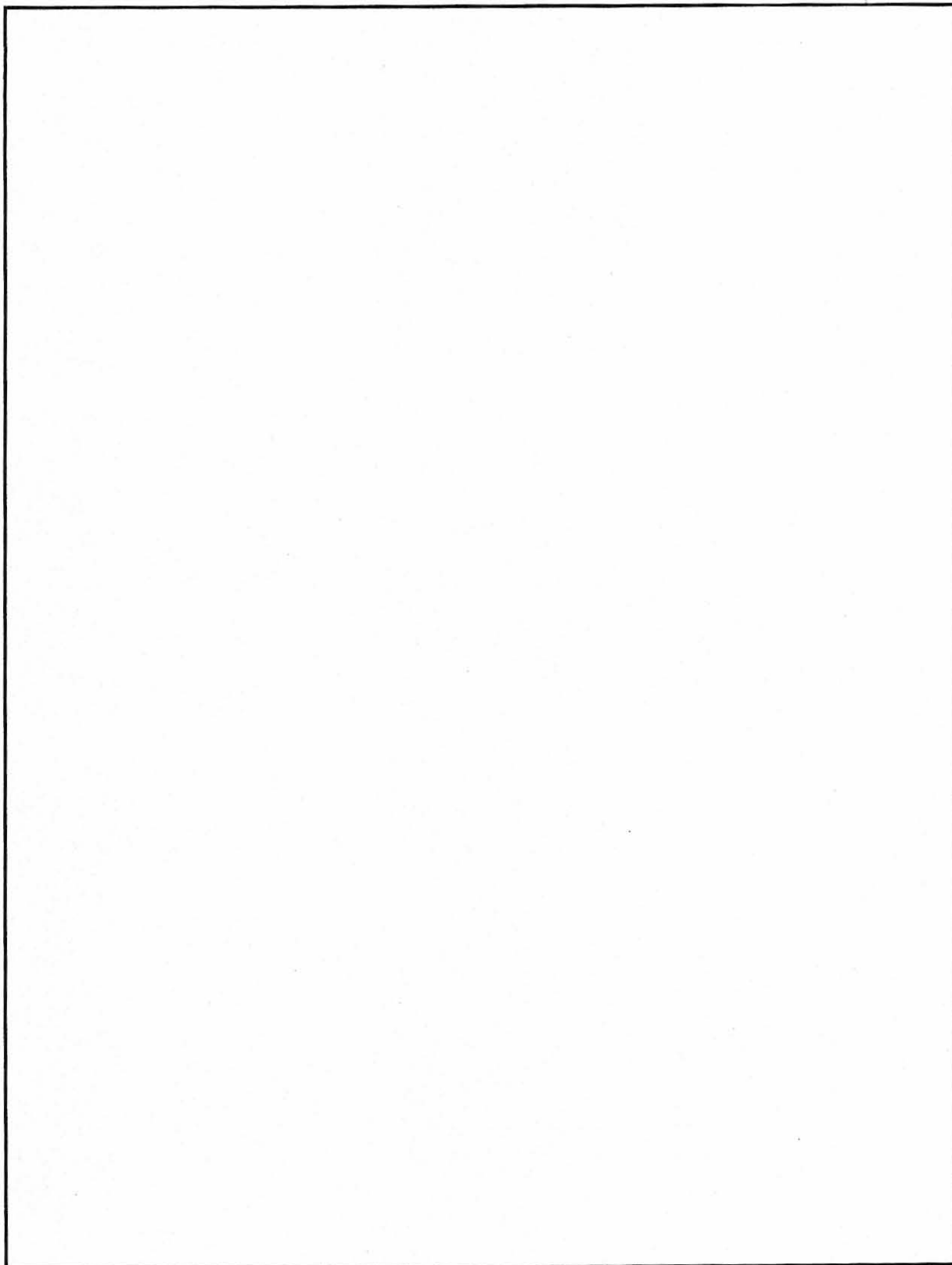
1987 - 561,415
1988 - 1,313,349
1989 - 3,082,811

No figures were given for the number of copies sold at news kiosks or for the average number of readers per copy, but the potential readership for each issue must easily exceed 10 million.

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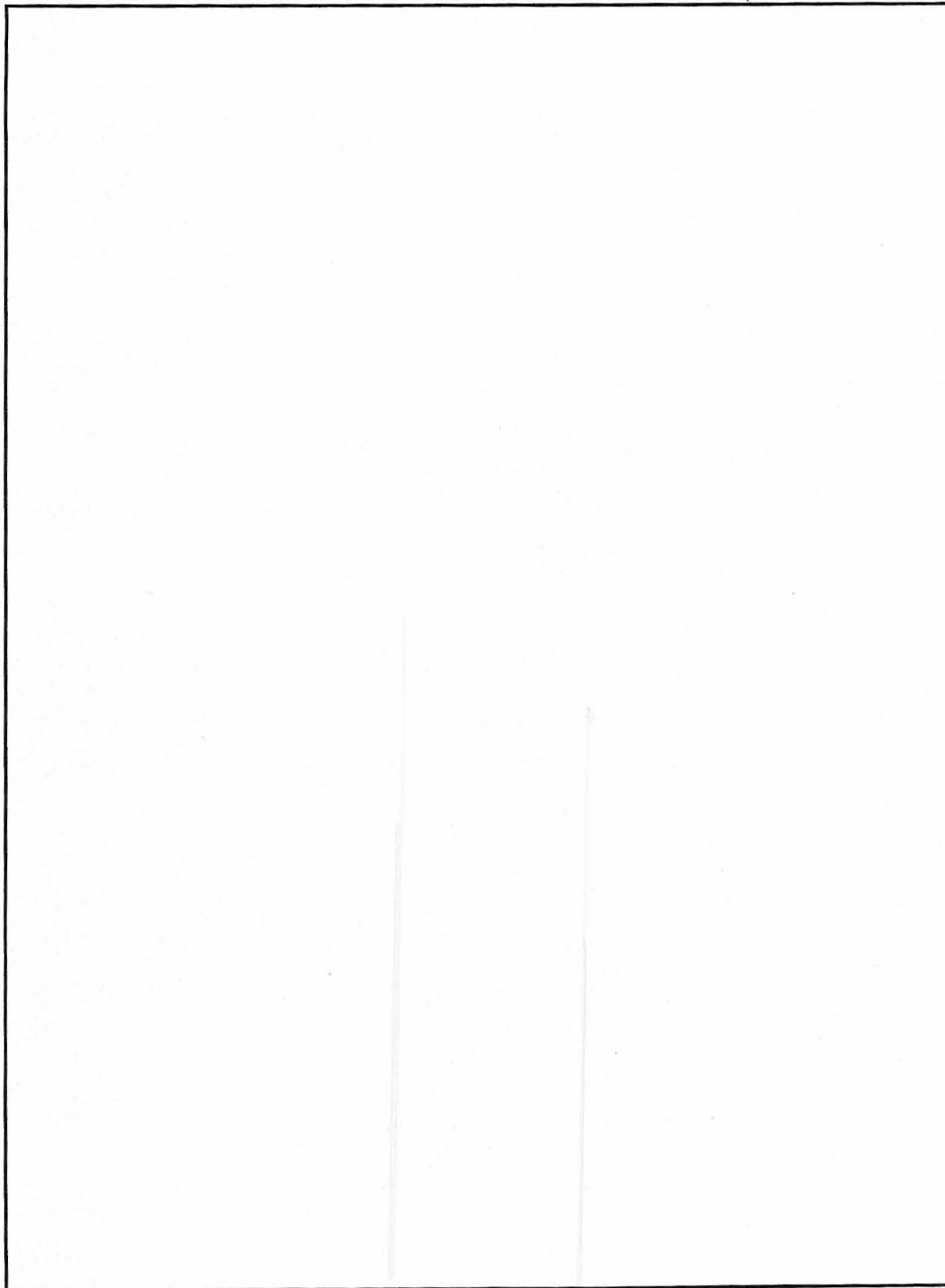
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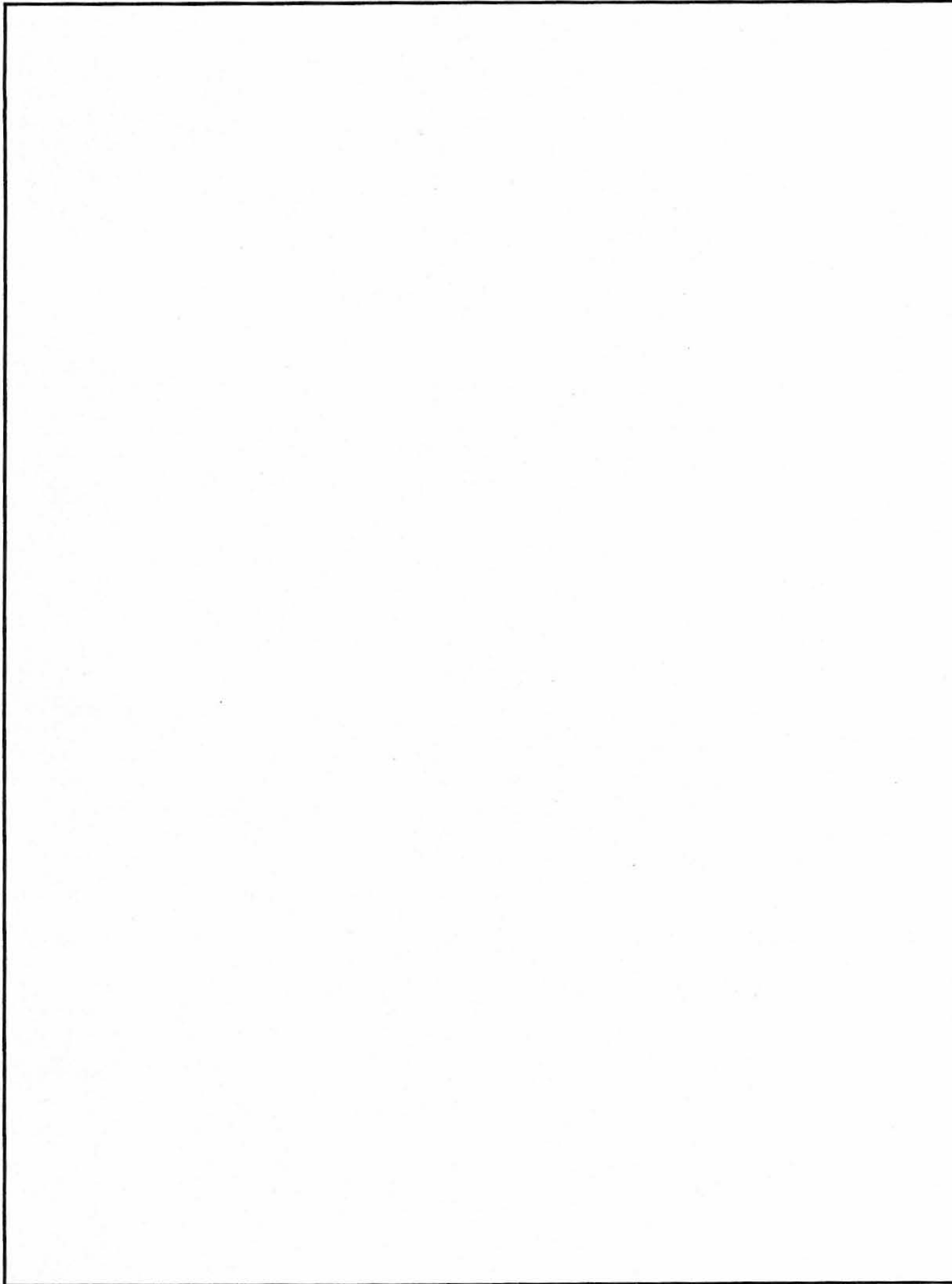
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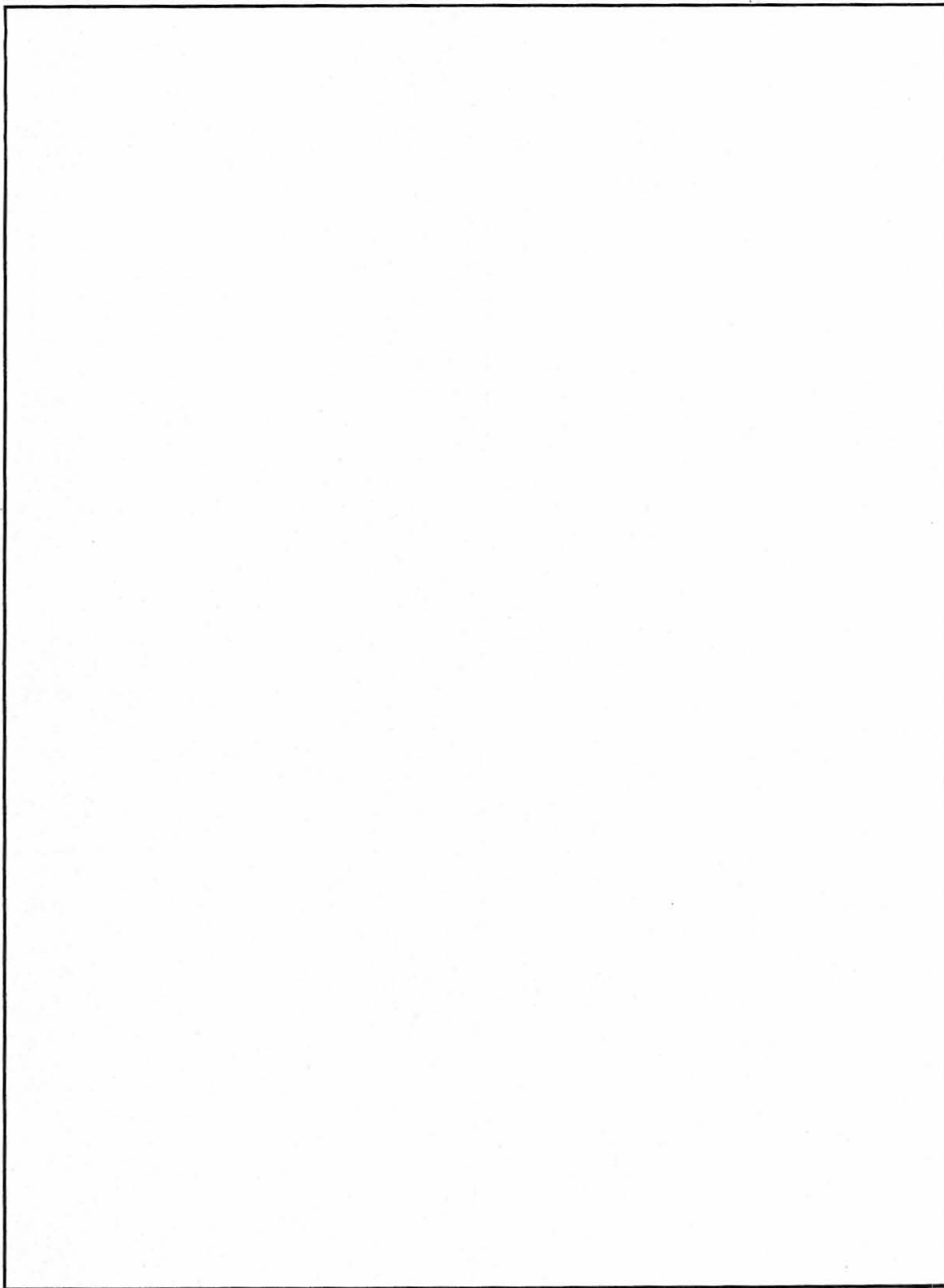
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Разное

Miscellany

Mariupol' 18 November 1910

Dear Katya and Izrael,

I'm letting you know that I and Liza and our children are, thank God, healthy, and that we wish the same to all of you.

The second thing that I can write to you about is that last week our brother Gershka got remarried in the village of Shcheglovoj which is 5 versts from Beloj Stanitsa and 20 versts from Slavyanoserbsk. My wife and I were at the ceremony. She (the bride) is a divorced woman who lived with her husband for 10 years; he was from the Veniaminov (family) in Lugansk, and was an inveterate cardplayer and drunk and wasted all their money. Then her parents insisted that they split up, and it's been six years since the divorce. She is 35 years old, and doesn't have any children, and couldn't have children. She is from a renowned and good family. They have their own mines. Their name is Zalevskaya, and are wealthy people. Her character, it's apparent, is quiet and kind because that is the nature of the family. God grant them happiness and health and long life. He was presented with many (prospective brides) from Mariupol and

Lugansk, but he liked her. Zalevskij from the 11th regiment is her uncle. In a word, we like them all very much and they like us. We had a quite good time together and drank to your health, and to everyone. Shojkhed Boruch, formerly "na popasnoj", came to the ceremony with his clan. He asked about you and passed along his regards. He lives now in Shcheglovoj. Maikin, who lives in Baltimore is also a Mikhitin. I can't write anything especially good about how things are going for myself. Business this year hasn't been enviable and is worse than last year's. In addition, when I was at Gershka's wedding, my good old horse up and died; it cost 85 rubles to buy another, but I'm already used to such things. There's nothing else now to write about. Write to us of any good news you have and how things are going. If Khenka visits you, pass along (our) regards; Gershka recieved her letter and thanks her for her invitation to come to America. Stay healthy everyone. Your brother and sister Z. and L. Yudilevich.

Kisses to all your children.



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Перевод

Translation

Вашингтон и вашингтонцы

Washington and Washingtonians

• by Leonid Koryabin, *Izvestiya* correspondent in the U.S.

• from Sputnik, August 1988

• translated by [redacted]

Архитекторы планировали американскую столицу как единый город в чисто европейском стиле. Но время и американский размах внесли свои коррективы. «Большой Вашингтон» сегодня – это и собственно столица (в географическом понятии США «федеральный округ Колумбия»), это и небольшие города-спутники, примыкающие к Вашингтону, но входящие в административные пределы штатов Мэриленд и Вирджиния.

Днем центр города, Даун-таун, сплошь состоящий из учреждений, банков и гостиниц, заполняет пестрая толпа чиновников. В полночь здесь пусто и не вполне безопасно. В пригородах спокойнее, но и там с наступлением сумерек становится безлюдно: американец привык рано ложиться спать. К 10-11 часам почти все окна уже темны.

Просыпаются с рассветом, чаще всего в 6, а то и в 5 утра. Зарядка, завтрак. Первый, как правило, минимальный: чашка кофе, сок, кукурузные хлопья с молоком, или тарелка овсянки, или просто бутерброд.

Вообще питается американец как бы «по восходящей». Второй завтрак, или ланч, в 12 часов. Он более основателен, но не перенасыщен. Порция пиццы, салат. Или салат с гамбургером – круглой булкой с куском мяса внутри. Популярен нарезанный дольками и прожаренный в растительном масле картофель, уложенный в пакетики разных размеров. Большой ассортимент молочных продуктов и – обязательно напитки типа кока-колы.

У высших, да и у так называемых «средней руки» вашингтонских чиновников, много деловых ланчей или обедов – с лоббистами, представителями прессы, нужными людьми. Оплачиваются они фирмами или правительственными учреждениями. Сейчас вводятся ограничения – расход на персону во время делового ланча не должен превышать 35 долларов.

The architects planned the American capital as a unified city in a purely European style. But time and the American propensity for growth changed all that. "Greater Washington" today includes both the capital city proper (in geographic terms it's the "Federal District of Columbia") and the small satellite communities which are affiliated with Washington, but which fall within the administrative jurisdictions of the states of Maryland and Virginia.

The center of the city, Downtown, which consists of government offices, banks and hotels, is filled by day with a mixed crowd of civil servants. After midnight it's deserted and not entirely safe. In the suburbs it's quieter, but even there, as night falls, it becomes uninhabited: an American is used to going to bed early. By 10-11 p.m. almost all the windows are already dark.

They wake up at dawn, most often at 6, or even at 5 a.m. There are exercises and breakfast. The first meal, as a rule, is minimal: a cup of coffee, juice, corn flakes with milk or a bowl of oatmeal, or simply a slice of buttered toast.

In general an American eats as if "on an ever-increasing scale." The second meal, or lunch, is at 12 noon. It is more bulky but not too heavy: a slice of pizza and a salad. Or a salad and a hamburger – a round bun with a patty of meat inside. Sliced potato segments cooked in vegetable oil, which are sold in various sized packages, are popular. There is a large assortment of dairy products and the obligatory coca-cola type drinks.

The top levels, and even the so-called "mid-level" Washington bureaucrats have many business lunches or suppers with lobbyists, representatives of the press, and other necessary people. These meals are paid for by the firms or by government establishments. Spending limits are now being introduced: the per person cost of a business lunch may not exceed \$35.

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Перевод

Основное для большинства американцев в питании – это ужин (по-американски, обед), как правило, дома, в кругу семьи. Здесь уже и чашка супа, и домашний бифштекс, и другие «солидные» блюда. Принимает пищу американец строго регламентированно по времени и по объему. Во всяком случае, самоцели гурмана у него нет. Торговля спешит делать свой бизнес на этом обычае: полки магазинов неизменно пестрят этикетками «диетическое», «малокалорийное», «бессолевое». Есть и «соль с малым содержанием соли», и «некалорийный бекон».

Одежда не самоцель для американца. Он не будет подчеркивать, что одет «на 300 или 500 долларов». Конечно же, он обрадуется комплименту, что выглядит «на тысячу», но здесь уже подразумевается спортивная выправка, опрятная голова, простота и вкус в одежде. Есть, конечно, «нувориши», которые предпочитают ходить в 500-долларовых костюмах, подчеркивая, что они от «Кристиана Диора» или «Братьев Брукс», но большинство устраивает средний костюм в 150–200 долларов, к тому же купленный в момент «сейлов» – распродаж, которые обычно устраиваются в преддверии праздников – Рождества, Дня Колумба, Дня благодарения и других.

Любимый принцип вашингтонца – «мне так удобно». Довольно эгоистично. Например, припаркует у тротуара автомашину так, что лишит возможности поставить рядом две другие. Но не все плохо в этом принципе. Небольшой штрих: днем чиновники в строгих костюмах, в галстуках; но вот закончен рабочий день, и клерк по пути домой начинает «разоблачаться». Сняты пиджак и галстук, засучены рукава рубашки. А гуляет вечером перед сном он непременно в шортах, майке и в мягкой спортивной обуви. Так действительно удобно.

Когда едешь по Мэриленду на автомашине, неизменно видишь вдоль дороги бегущих трусцой мужчин и женщин. «Джоггинг» в США стал повальным увлечением. Бегают днем, бегают вечером, фосфоресцируя в темноте специальными повязками – чтобы видели водители несущегося рядом транспорта.

Спорту американец придает особое значение. Это не только обязательная зарядка

Translation

The main meal for the majority of Americans is supper (in American English, dinner), and as a rule, is eaten at home with the family. Here there's a cup of soup, a steak, and other "solid" dishes. Time and volume strictly regulate how an American consumes food. In any event, the gourmet is not an end in itself. Commerce hastens to do business on this principle: store shelves invariably abound with "dietetic," "low-calorie," and "unsalted" labels. There is also "salt with low salt content" and "no-calorie bacon."

Clothes are not an end in themselves for an American. He will not stress the fact that the clothes cost "\$300 or \$500." Of course, he'll be happy to hear that he "looks like a million," but what is meant here is a sporting look, a clean-cut appearance, and a simplicity and taste in clothing. There are, of course, the "nouveau riche," who prefer to walk around in \$500 suits, stressing that they come from "Christian Dior" or "Brooks Brothers." But the majority will settle for an average suit of \$150-200, besides those bought "on sale." Sales are usually held just before holidays: Christmas, Columbus Day, Thanksgiving, and others.

The favorite principle of a Washingtonian is "I'm comfortable." It's rather egotistical. For example, parking a car at the curb in such a way that it prevents parking a car on either side of it. But not everything about this principle is bad. Here's a scene: by day bureaucrats are in suits and ties; but when the workday has ended and clerks are on their way home, they begin to "unwind." Coats and ties are taken off and shirt sleeves are rolled up. But if he takes a walk in the evening before going to sleep, he invariably wears shorts, a t-shirt, and gym shoes. That's really comfortable.

When driving in Maryland, you will invariably see men and women running along the side of the road. "Jogging" has become a mass craze in the United States. They run in the daytime, they run at night, glowing in the dark via special strips so that drivers can see them as they rush alongside traffic.

Americans attach a special significance to sports. This is not only for obligatory exercises

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и бег трусцой, но и специальные спортивные кабинеты, где можно заниматься на различных спортивных снарядах – тренировать мускулы, имитировать работу веслом, вращать велосипедные педали. Такие кабинеты довольно дорогое увлечение, но на них не скупятся. Спорт – это здоровье, а здоровье – основа делового благополучия.

Что, скажем, происходит, когда американский клерк заболел? Он сам или его близкие звонят на работу (секретарю, а то и самому боссу) и предупреждают, что, скажем, мистер Смит сегодня не выйдет по болезни. В правительственных учреждениях чиновник после трех дней отсутствия должен представить сертификат от врача, в частных фирмах и конторах оправдательного документа не требуется.

Итак, звонит американец раз, другой, третий... Время идет. На его рабочем столе скапливаются несделанные дела. Подменить заболевшего здесь не принято. В конце концов нефункционирующее звено начинает мешать нормальной работе всей цепи учреждения. Тогда босс вынужден расстаться с мистером Смитом. Схема несколько упрощенная, но суть ее именно такова.

О том, с какой четкостью работают американцы, говорит такая, казалось бы, незначительная, но очень важная деталь. Ни одна секретарша, которых, кстати, в Вашингтоне многочисленная армия, не покинет своего рабочего места, не посадив на несколько минут замену: непрерывные телефонные звонки, регистрация их, ответы, ведение досье, вызовы к боссу, стенографирование... Я ни разу за несколько лет не сталкивался с тем, чтобы при звонке в какое-либо учреждение, газету, компанию телефон не отвечал. В крайнем случае сработает автомат, который предложит записать ваш телефон и имя для последующего контакта.

Работа для американца – это главное. Как правило, молодые люди в США вступают в брак только после того, как «становятся на ноги», обретают постоянную занятость, а вместе с тем накапливают определенные средства.

Семья освящена у американцев особым культом. Обычно в состоятельных семьях

Translation

and running, but also for special sports complexes, where one can work out on different types of athletic equipment, such as body building, rowing machines, and stationary bicycles. Such complexes are a rather expensive diversion, but they don't skimp on them. Sports means health, and health is the success of business.

What, let's say, happens when an American clerk has gotten sick? He himself or his relatives call work (a secretary or even the boss himself), and give notice that Mr. Smith, we'll say, won't be coming to work today due to illness. After an absence of three days, a bureaucrat in a government establishment is supposed to present a certificate from a doctor but in private firms and offices, no supporting document is demanded.

Thus, an American calls once, a second time, a third time... Time goes on. Meanwhile, on his desk, the undone work accumulates. Replacing the sick person is not acceptable. In the end, this nonfunctioning link screws up the whole chain of work in the office and the boss is then forced to part with Mr. Smith. This scenario is somewhat simplified, but such is the essence of the matter.

That Americans work with some precision, so the saying goes, would seem insignificant, but it is a very important component. Not a single secretary, of which, by the way, there is a large army in Washington, will leave her desk unless she can get someone to cover for her for a couple of minutes: there are continuous phone calls to be noted and answered, files to manage, summons from the boss, stenography... Not once in several years did I encounter a situation where the phone at any establishment, newspaper, or company went unanswered. As a last resort, the answering machine, which asks you to leave your telephone number and name for later contact, will be activated.

Work, for an American, is the main thing. As a rule, young people in the United States get married only after they "get on their feet," find permanent work, and at the same time save a certain amount of money.

The American family is worshipped as a kind of cult. Usually in the well-to-do families the

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взрослые дети – после того как женятся или выходят замуж – сразу покидают отчий кров, но связи с родителями не прекращают. Даже для жителей разных городов семейные встречи не так уж редки. Они даже обязательны в День Матери или в День Отца, на Рождество и в другие праздники.

В воспитании ребенка неременным считается приучение к труду с раннего возраста. В Чеве-Чейз, где живут состоятельные люди, можно видеть, как их дети расчищают газоны у дома, подметают улицу, помогают родителям укладывать мусор в пластиковые мешки, которые утром подберет специальная машина. Немало подростков из обеспеченных семей охотно идут на почасовую работу, особенно во время каникул. Свои деньги – это и престижно, и удобно.

С раннего возраста ребятишек начинают закалывать. Абсолютно не принято кутать их в теплые одежды. Даже в осенние прохладные дни они бегают в кедах на босу ногу и без головного убора. Американцы придерживаются мнения: болезнь – не от ветра и свежего воздуха, а от отсутствия их.

Я не видел в США ни одного кабинета сенатора или страхового агента, репортера или врача, где бы на самом видном месте не стояла фотография домашних хозяина кабинета. Семья – в центре, рядом – университетские дипломы в рамках. Любая беседа в таком кабинете обязательно закончится обращением к фотографии: «Мой старший. Моя младшая.»

Часто на фотографии у ног хозяина – полноправный четвероногий член семьи. Любовь к животным, а заодно и ответственность за них прививается ребенку с малых лет: он не отпустит собаку с поводка на улице, дисциплинированно отстоит с ней у светофора, уберет за ней с помощью совка и пластикового пакета, если конфуз случится в неположенном месте.

Несмотря на широкий поток кинофильмов и телесюжетов о вольных нравах и «свободной любви», супружеская верность возведена здесь в особый догмат. Этого требует церковь, традиции, положение в обществе. Полити-

Translation

grown children, after they've gotten married, will immediately leave the parental home, but ties with their parents aren't severed. Even if they live in different cities, family gatherings aren't so few and far between. They are even obligatory on Mother's Day or Father's Day, Christmas, and other holidays.

Instilling work habits at a young age is considered indispensable in the raising of children. In Chevy Chase, where the well-to-do people live, one can see their children taking care of the lawns at home, sweeping the street, and helping their parents put trash in plastic bags, which a garbage truck picks up in the morning. Few teenagers of well-to-do families are willing to work for an hourly wage, especially during vacations. To earn their money must be both prestigious and comfortable.

The children begin to be toughened at a young age. It is absolutely unacceptable to wrap them up in warm clothing. Even in the cool days of autumn they run around with their bare feet in sneakers and nothing on their heads. Americans hold to the opinion that sickness is not caused by wind and fresh air, but by the lack of them.

In the United States, I did not see a single senator's, insurance agent's, reporter's, or physician's office where there wasn't a photograph of the man's wife in the most obvious place. The family picture, in the center, is next to framed university diplomas. Any meeting in such an office is bound to end with attention being turned to a photograph: "My oldest. My youngest..."

Often in the photograph there appears at the husband's feet a four-legged, full-fledged member of the family. A love for animals and, at the same time, a responsibility for them is instilled in a child at a young age: he will not release a dog from its leash when out for a walk, obediently stops with it at the street light, and if an embarrassing situation occurs in the wrong place, he cleans it up with a scoop and plastic bag.

Despite a steady stream of films and television plots about loose morals and "free love," marital faithfulness has been elevated here to a special dogma. The church, tradition, and one's position in society demand it. A

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ческий деятель сразу же становится политическим трупом в глазах избирателей, если он уличен в супружеской неверности. Из-за этого может пошатнуться и репутация бизнесмена, судьи, полицейского чина.

Кинотеатры в Вашингтоне, как и в других городах Америки, в будни обычно пустуют. Люди предпочитают смотреть видео-кассеты дома. Но однажды мне довелось видеть длинные очереди у билетных касс: на экраны вышел фильм «Фатальное влечение». Сюжет несложный: мимолетное влечение супруга, в результате которого он попадает в цепкие руки посторонней женщины. Над семьей нависла угроза распада... В зале – слезы, крики, свист. В реакции публики много сентиментальности, даже наивности. Но в ней и реальный, трезвый взгляд на жизнь, на судьбу семьи, которая очень много значит для человека. И за это бережное отношение к семье, за трудолюбие, как и за многие другие притягательные черты характера, американцев можно только уважать.

Translation

political figure immediately becomes a political corpse in the eyes of the voters if he is caught in marital infidelity. It can also harm the reputation of a businessman, judge, or police official.

Movie theaters in Washington, as well as in other American cities, are usually empty on weekdays. People prefer to watch videocassettes at home. But one time I happened to see long lines at the box offices: the film "Fatal Attraction" was playing. The plot is simple: a husband's fleeting attraction results in his falling into the tenacious arms of another woman. The threat of a breakup hangs over the family... In the theater there were tears, shouts, and whistles. In the public's reaction there was much sentimentality, even naivete. But in its reaction there was also a real and sober view of life and the fate of the family, which means a great deal to a person. And for this solicitous attitude toward the family, for their industriousness, as well as for many other attractive character traits, one can only respect the Americans.

Осень

Деревья поют ночи;
Золотые листья изменялись в серебряные.
Гуси летят к югу
Через бледную луну;
Они зовут и зовут деревья,
Но корни сильно укрепились в земле -
Деревья стоят и только могут смотреть на гусей
И тихо поют темной ночи -
И я как деревья, как деревья...

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Journey Into The Soviet Union

Interview with Bob [REDACTED]

by [REDACTED]

On 3 June of this year, an exploding gas pipeline near Ufa in the USSR caused a railway disaster of tragic proportions. Close to 400 passengers died. Many more suffered severe burns and injuries. The Soviet government accepted President Bush's offer of American medical assistance and that is where the incredible journey of Bob [REDACTED] into the Soviet Union began.

The Journey Begins

It was midnight on 9 June when the phone call came, a surprising request to serve as an interpreter for the American medical team from the Brooke Army Medical Center in San Antonio, Texas, which was tasked with offering medical assistance to the burn victims in Ufa. With no other details to go on, Bob and his wife [REDACTED] decided that night that he should take this unique linguistic opportunity. The following day, Bob grabbed some medical dictionaries from the [REDACTED] Publications Team and boarded a C-141 at Andrews Air Force Base. Unable to sleep on the plane because of the noise, Bob studied the medical terminology he would need for this mission. During a brief stopover in Moscow he picked up some Russian newspapers to acquaint himself with news of the accident, and then it was on to Ufa in the Bashkir ASSR.

Arriving in Ufa on 11 June, Bob set to work right away, helping to unload and deliver the 7 1/2 tons of medical supplies to Hospital 21, where the team would be living and working for the next 12 days. The team consisted of 3 Russian interpreters (Bob and 2 men from DIA), a medical staff of 17, a medical operations officer, and a public affairs officer. Later in the week an anesthesiologist, physical therapist, and operating room technician arrived, bringing with them five more tons of equipment and supplies. The group itself split up upon arrival in Ufa, Bob and his team of six working on the surgical and proctology floors of Hospital 21, the others working on different floors. Bob was the

only linguist on his team, which meant that he would have many extra duties during his stay at the Ufa hospital.

After setting up the storeroom, Bob was called upon to get some sustenance for his team members. The only liquid refreshment to be found at the hospital was mineral water of dubious origin, but obviously high in sodium content. Food was a major problem during the stay, but the team was there to do a job and they would be returning home to their favorite meals soon. Bob pointed out that the Soviets rolled out the red carpet for the team, providing the best that they could and trying to get whatever the Americans requested. Pepsi was delivered upon Bob's request, although there was never quite enough to go around. The food supply situation is a well-known problem in certain areas, and although Ufa is a large town, Bob noted that there were complaints among the hospital staff about their everyday standard of living.

The next day, the actual business of making patient rounds began. This was Bob's first hospital experience. He recounts how during the first removal of a patient's bandages he quickly left the room, only to be followed by the other interpreters; eventually the whole team was out in the hall making sure he was alright. The graphic nature of the burn victims' wounds and the surgical procedures that accompanied treatment of them were not at all easy to get used to. But the American team helped 70-80 people, and Bob was not only present in the operating room every day, but also made the daily rounds with the physicians.

It didn't take long for the Soviets to pick up on the "See one, Do one, Teach one" training technique

The Soviet doctors that worked with the burn victims were proctologists and general surgeons, and the American doctors were impressed with how quickly the Soviets took to the new burn-treatment procedures. When they

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arrived, the Americans were surprised to see many patients with their wounds already dressed and the Soviet doctors waiting to see if surgery was the best option to follow. Bob's team leader, Doctor Waymack, explained the Americans' more "tactical" or "aggressive" surgical approach to the Soviet doctors. This involved immediate surgery to remove the dead tissue and grafting healthy skin on the wounds. The Soviets were quick to pick up on and follow Dr. Waymack's instructions, and they adopted his surgical training practice of "see one, do one, teach one." The American doctor or nurse would show a procedure to his/her counterpart, followed by another operation in which the American would supervise while the Soviet doctor and nurse did the operation, and then the Soviets would be considered ready to teach the procedure to other personnel. Many of the other burn-treatment techniques used in the United States have now been adopted at the Ufa hospital, and presumably will spread throughout the Soviet Union.

The Soviets' hesitancy changed after several successes in the operating room...

There was one particular case that demonstrated the acceptance of the American techniques, despite initial hesitation by the Soviet doctors. They were reluctant at first to try the drastic "aggressive" surgery that Dr. Waymack prescribed, and put off his attempts to treat a pregnant woman who was suffering from extreme burns. This attitude changed after several successes in the operating room, and the Soviet physicians soon said it was time to treat the pregnant woman.

From his discussion with the American doctors, Bob learned that this hospital was using mid-60's technology and equipment, as were most hospitals in the Soviet Union. Understandably the Soviets are sensitive to this fact, as was evident in Bob's initial dealings with the head Soviet nurse. She felt the Americans were there to make fun of "her" hospital; Bob assured her that this was not the case and affirmed in fact that the American surgeons felt the Soviets had done remarkably well under the circumstances. The Soviets, especially the nurses whose job it is to sterilize instruments, seemed most impressed with the disposable

sterile items brought by the Americans. Also, the American dermatomes, handheld devices for cutting away dead skin, were preferred over the Soviet models.

During his week and a half stay at Hospital 21, Bob attended over 30 operations, which were by far the most difficult part of his mission. He had never been in an operating room before and was now required to watch grim and distressing procedures, to pay close attention, and to translate precisely. The procedure itself consisted of cutting away the dead tissue with the dermatomes, which meant cutting until reaching healthy skin which bled when cut. Skin was then harvested from another area of the body for grafting, usually from the front of the thighs. This skin was stretched with a mesher so that it could cover a larger area, then stapled to the burn site.

The payoff for these efforts was a 95-100 percent success rate in the grafting of the healthy skin tissue. There was some trouble in getting the Soviets to care for the donor sites properly. The Americans explained the need to keep the skin dry and exposed to air in order to heal, but because of a lack of heat in the wards, many patients suffered from the cold and nurses gave in and covered them at night.

The team often worked 12-hour days, but Bob's day stretched on much longer with duties ranging from placing calls to the States and arranging transportation for the doctors to other area hospitals, to interpreting during press conferences and interviews with the doctors. There were also sessions where Bob had to interpret for American and Soviet specialists after hours. During outings in Ufa, such as a boat trip to which the Soviets treated them, Bob had to switch to social interpreting for the group.

...Especially in the Operating Room, it was crucial to have the doctors understand one another.

Bob considers this trip to be one of his greatest linguistic challenges for several reasons. The conditions under which he was interpreting for the doctors were as difficult as the new terminology that he had to master. It was completely on-the-job training, both for himself and his Soviet counterparts. The work

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itself was draining and demanding. The patients posed a particular problem, as they were in pain and often not able to articulate well. Here, the Soviet interpreters helped tremendously. The interpreters all cooperated and helped each other, especially in the operating room, where it was crucial to have the doctors understand one another. Bob admits to being almost fanatical about this, feeling extreme pressure to have the clearest understanding on all sides during the operations. They worked with dictionaries propped up outside the windows of the operating room, and Bob occasionally had to correct the Soviet translation which neglected a negative ("Don't do that," rather than "Do that"). He was pleased to be told his accent was so good and was even asked by one Soviet if he was "one of ours, or one of theirs?"

It is important that linguists be able to speak as well as listen

Bob had never done this type of interpreting before, having been a transcriber and manager in [] since 1976. His Russian training was in the Air Force at Monterey, California, and the University of Maryland, where he earned his degree. Bob served 8 years as an Air Force linguist. He is currently assigned to [] as a [] after several years as a branch chief. Speaking on his career here, Bob feels he's in just the right place, and besides occasional TDYs such as this one, he has no desire to leave the Agency. Bob also believes that it is important that agency linguists be able to speak as well as listen and that post-professional language development is always important.

The goodbyes came on 22 June, at a small ceremony in the Hospital 21 auditorium. The nurses who had become close friends cried and exchanged addresses and gifts. About a dozen members of the Soviet staff showed up at the airport the next morning with more flowers and embraces, and then the team was off to Moscow for one day of sightseeing before leaving for home. They spent the day at the Zagorsk Monastery and that night there were receptions at the U.S. Embassy and the RSFSR Ministry of Health. The next day, the 24th, the team was shown around the Оруженная Палата, an

incredible armory and museum, Red Square and the Kremlin. That night they were treated to a Paul Simon concert at ЦПКиО имени Горького (Gorky Park) with backstage passes to see Paul Simon after the show. On 25 June, Bob and the team boarded a Pan Am flight at Moscow Airport and were on their way home.

Talking with Bob, or listening to one of the lectures he has given about his trip, there can be no doubt that he found all the rigors of the work worthwhile and fascinating, both as a linguistic experience and as a personal chance to help his fellow human beings during a crisis. So few of us have a chance to play a part in such an undertaking, combining our skills with our desire to learn and to help others.

Bob feels proud to have been part of this historical mission - the first military group ever to visit the Soviet Union in this capacity - and you can hear in his words a special pride in the members of his team. In just 2 short weeks the Soviets and Americans became parts of a whole, and performed admirably in that role. During the reception at the embassy in Moscow there was talk of creating more joint medical exchanges and not just waiting for similar catastrophes to occur. This is a measure of the success of the team's efforts, success in saving lives, and in a visible improvement in understanding and cooperation between the Soviets and Americans. Attitudes on both sides changed as a result of the one-on-one exchanges, proving that feelings of gratitude and friendship are not so difficult to cultivate anywhere in the world.

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Translation

The Situation Dictates The Plan

•from Красная Звезда, 21 Sept. 1988

•translated by [redacted]

[The following excerpt was taken from an article which was written by Красная Звезда special correspondents Colonel V. Bogdanovskij, Colonel A. Polyakov and Lieutenant Colonel I. Esyutin, and was part of a series of articles covering a multi-force exercise conducted in the Ukrainian and Moldavian SSRs called "Autumn-88"]

В наступлении. Над полигоном легкая утренняя дымка. С командного пункта командира дивизии видно, как справа и слева в предбоевых порядках идут в бой мотострелковые и танковые подразделения. Уже несколько минут «работает» артиллерия, обеспечивая выдвижение войск.

Танковому батальону под командованием капитана А. Проклова, как и его соседям-мотострелкам, возглавляемым гвардии майором В. Лапиным, поставлена задача атакой с ходу прорвать оборону противника. Ночью танкисты и мотострелки скрытно провели перегруппировку сил, вывели свои машины на выгодный в тактическом отношении рубеж. Первоначально намечалось что они нанесут внезапный удар по передовой позиции обороняющихся, овладеют ею и создадут условия для ввода в бой главных сил. Но в полночь стало известно: противник отвел свои передовые подразделения в глубину, оставив на прежних местах лишь незначительные силы. Надо было действовать в соответствии с новыми данными. К утру там, где раньше были опорные пункты противника находились уже свои подразделения из состава войск непосредственного соприкосновения.

Мало оставалось времени на организацию манёвра. Это и заботило комбатов. Проклов подключил к этой работе опытных офицеров - капитанов Г. Василенко и А. Терентьева. Подобным образом действовал и гвардии майор Лапин. Все ли успели сделать?

В Обороне. По данным разведки, командиру гвардейского мотострелкового полка стало известно, что «противник» подтянул резервы, произвёл перегруппировку и теперь почти вдвое превосходит в силах. Возросла активность его подразделений. Было ясно: идёт подготовка к наступлению.

The Aggressors. A light, morning haze hangs over the training area. From the division commander's command post, one can see motorized rifle and tank units from the right and from the left, in approach march formation, going into battle. By now the artillery has been operating for several minutes to support the forward movement of troops.

A tank battalion, commanded by Captain A. Proklov, as well as its adjacent unit of motorized riflemen, led by Guards Major V. Lapin, was assigned the mission of mounting a quick attack to breach the "enemy's" defense. During the night, the tank crewmen and motorized riflemen secretly regrouped forces and moved their vehicles out to a tactically advantageous position. Originally, their plan was to conduct a surprise attack on the defender's forward position, seize it, and set up conditions for committing the main forces to action. At midnight however, they found out that the "enemy" had pulled its forward units back further, leaving only negligible forces in the previously held positions. The aggressors had to operate according to this new information. By morning, their first frontal combat units were already located where the "enemy's" bases had previously been situated.

Little time remained to organize maneuvers, and this is what worried the battalion commanders. Proklov assigned experienced officers Captains G. Vasilenko and A. Terent'ev to this task. Guards Major Lapin took similar action. Did they have time to do everything?

The Defenders. The commander of the guards motorized rifle regiment found out through intelligence information that the "enemy" had drawn up its reserves, regrouped, and now outnumbered their forces by almost two to one. The activity level of the "enemy's" units had increased and it was obvious that they were preparing to attack.

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Перевод

Translation

Участок обороны полка представлял собой сложную, продуманно организованную систему основных и ложных опорных пунктов, подготовленных рубежей, разветвленную сеть минно-взрывных заграждений. На танкоопасном направлении находилась рота, которой командует гвардии старший лейтенант А. Шандер.

Заместитель командира батальона по политчасти гвардии капитан С. Комиссаров был там, где труднее. Видел его командир и в живой беседе с людьми о поездке Генерального секретаря ЦК КПСС М. С. Горбачева в Красноярский край. И во время отрывки траншей с лопатой в руках рядом с солдатами. И не было в этом ничего показного, неестественного - вот так же, вместе с подчиненными политработник ходил на боевые задания в горы Афганистана. Был ранен, награжден орденами Красной Звезды и «За службу Родине в Вооруженных Силах СССР III степени».

Трудно было теперь командиры полка согласиться с мыслью о том, чтобы оставить подготовленный с таким трудом батальонный район обороны и занять новый. Но зрел замысел хитростью превзойти противника - вынудить его нанести удар, что называется, по пустому месту, дать возможность втянуться в огневой «мешок» и нанести ему огневое поражение с флангов.

В Наступлении. Применяясь к местности, по ложбинкам, маскируясь кустарниками, батальоны в предбоевых порядках приблизились к переднему краю. Но дружной, стремительной атаки не получилось. А могло быть и хуже. Мотострелки оказались на рубеже перехода в атаку... раньше установленного срока. Передний край обороны ещё обрабатывался огнём артиллерии. Остановились. А тут открыли стрельбу по подошедшим машинам противотанковые средства «противника». Их могли бы уничтожить вертолёты огневой поддержки, действующие в интересах наступающих. Но огонь вертолётчиков оказался неэффективным. До них, как выяснилось, не доведены были сведения об изменившейся обстановке.

A portion of the regiment's defense sector consisted of a complex, well-thought-out, organized system of primary and dummy bases, prepared positions, and a branching network of mixed mine fields. A company, commanded by Guards Senior Lieutenant A. Shander, was situated along the enemy tanks' line of approach.

The battalion commander's deputy for political affairs, Guards Captain S. Komissarov, had been in rougher situations. He was observed by his commander in an animated discussion concerning a trip to the Krasnoyarsk Krai by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, M.S. Gorbachev. When the soldiers were digging trenches, Komissarov was right next to them with a shovel in his hands. None of this was for show or pretense, just as the political worker went along with his subordinates to serve on combat duty in the mountains of Afghanistan. He was wounded and awarded medals of the "Red Star" and "For Service to the Country in the Armed Forces of the USSR III Class."

It was now hard for the regiment commander to agree to abandon the battalion defense zone, which had been so difficult to prepare, and occupy a new one. A scheme was developed, however, to outwit the "enemy" through deception. The plan was to force the "enemy" to attack along unoccupied areas, making it possible to draw him into a "pocket" of fire and to defeat him from the flanks.

The Aggressors. Blending in with the terrain by moving along shallow gulleys and camouflaging themselves with shrubbery, the battalions moved closer to the forward edge of the battle area (FEBA) in approach march formation, but did not succeed in carrying out a rapid, coordinated attack. Things might have been even worse, however. The motorized riflemen showed up at the commence attack line before the designated time. The FEBA was still being bombarded by artillery fire. The motorized riflemen stopped, but just then enemy antitank weapons opened fire on the vehicles which had pulled up. Fire support helicopters, acting on behalf of the aggressors, could have destroyed the vehicles, but the helicopter crewmen's fire turned out to be ineffective. They had not been informed of changes in the situation.

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Перевод

Translation

Лучше обстояло дело на правом фланге, где наступали танкисты. Они четко развернулись в боевую линию, преодолели по проходам минные поля и стремительно атаковали. Непросто, конечно, складывался бой и у них. Вклинившись в оборону, они были встречены сильным огнём с фланга. Продвижение замедлилось. Танкистам пришлось всё время быть настороже, маневрировать.

Многие воины действуют на поле боя в основном самостоятельно, инициативно. Но велика роль командира и здесь. Его компетентность, умение мыслить творчески, влиять на ход боя, владеть обстановкой становится решающим фактором достижения успеха. Как раз этих-то качеств подчас и не доставало отдельным командирам.

Вот застыли в глубине обороны машины роты, обязанности командира которой исполняет гвардии старший лейтенант Д. Руденченко. Добрая половина из приданный ему танков не дошла до назначенного рубежа. А те, что остались, скучены, и экипажи в неведении, что им делать дальше. А обстановка усложнилась. Саперы «противника» подорвали перед вклинившимися танкистами заранее подготовленные заряды. Образовался противотанковый ров...

В Обороне. Хитрость хитростью, но катиск наступавших был всё-таки неудержим. Командир полка ставит задачу на отход отдельными подразделениями. В то время, пока две роты батальона огнем с места ведут противоборство с наседающими танками и бронетранспортерами, третья - отходит в глубину на заранее подготовленные позиции. Так, перекатами, батальон занимает новый район обороны.

Things were going better on the right flank, where the tank crews had attacked. They had efficiently deployed to the front line, negotiated mine fields by crossing through gaps, and swiftly attacked. Their battle encounters, of course, weren't simple. After driving a wedge into the "enemy's" defense, the tank crews encountered heavy fire from the flank. Their advance was slowed down and the tank crew members had to be alert and constantly maneuvering at all times.

Many soldiers essentially operate independently on the battlefield and act on their own initiative, but the commander's role is also important. His competence, his ability to think creatively, to influence the course of battle, and to have control over a situation, all determine whether success is achieved. Sometimes it is these very qualities that individual commanders lack.

The company vehicles were being densely concentrated into the far reaches of the defense, a commander's duty, which Guards Senior Lieutenant D. Rudenchenko was carrying out. More than half of the tanks placed under his command had not reached the designated line, while the remainder were clustered together, their crews not knowing what they should do next. The situation became complicated. "Enemy" sapper units exploded charges, which had been prepared beforehand, in front of the tank crews who had driven a wedge into the "enemy's defense". Thus, an antitank ditch was created.

The Defenders. Deception was countered with deception, but still the onslaught of the attackers was not suppressed. The regimental commander gave the order for a withdrawal by individual units. While two companies of a battalion were firing from place at tanks and armored personnel carriers which were pressing in hard on them, a third battalion was withdrawing deeper, to positions prepared in advance. Thus, by leap-frogging, a battalion would occupy a new zone of defense.



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Судьба женщин, не ушедших в космос

•by Nikolaj Kuzmichev and Valentina Nesterova

•from Спутник, December 1988

Две девушки в оранжевых скафандрах стояли перед космическим кораблем. Потом одна из них, Валентина Терешкова, шагнула вперед, и лифт вознес ее к макушке серебристой сигары. А вторая вернулась в автобус, следовавший на смотровую площадку космодрома.

Она видела, как распустился железный цветок стартового комплекса, как из самой его сердцевины ударил сноп огня и «ВОСТОК-6» поплыл в глубокое небо. Без нее... И вот уже сквозь гром двигателя и скрип радиопомех над Землей понеслись торжествующие слова: «Я – Чайка! Я – Чайка! Полет проходит отлично!»

Четыре подруги прильнули к стереотрубам на Байконуре. Им было радостно и немного грустно. Ракета уносила ввысь не только первую в мире женщину-космонавта, она уносила их собственную мечту, их несостоящуюся славу. Уже потом, через годы и годы, они поняли и приняли сердцем трезвую мысль: вполне можно и не быть Первой. Не страшно. Главное – не утратить ощущения полета. Всегда тянуться к своей звезде.

«ВОСТОК-6» стартовал 16 июня 1963 года. Четверть века спустя мы беседуем с четырьмя коллегами Валентины Терешковой по первому советскому отряду космонавтов. Четыре подруги – это Ирина СОЛОВЬЕВА, Валентина ПОНОМАРЕВА, Татьяна ПИЦХЕЛАУРИ, (в девичестве Кузнецова) и Жанна СЕРГЕЙЧИК (до замужества Еркина). Вот что они рассказывают:

Ирина Соловьева: Отбор девушек – кандидатов в космонавты – шел в основном по аэроклубам центральной зоны: Москва, Рязань, Горький, Ярославль... Сама я, правда, из Свердловска, окончила Уральский политехнический институт. Но к тому времени была уже членом сборной страны по парашютному спорту и, как Таня, имела на своем счету мировые рекорды.

Татьяна Пицхелаури: Помню, летом 1961 года на воздушном параде в Тушине среди парашютисток прошел слух, что будут приглашать женщин в отряд космонавтов. Толком никто ничего не знал. Через несколько месяцев начальник аэроклуба предупредил в конфиденциальной беседе: строгая тайна! Мы даже с Ириной не могли быть откровенны,

пока не встретились в госпитале на обследовании.

Валентина Пономарева: Я окончила Московский авиационный институт. Работала в Отделении прикладной математики Академии наук, растила сынишку, занималась самолетным спортом. Когда один из сотрудников Отделения спросил: «Хочешь полететь в космос?» – Я решила, что это шутка. Ответила на задумывавшуюся: «Конечно, хочу!» Но коллега, как выяснилось, не шутил. 12 апреля 1962 года, в первую годовщину полета Гагарина, я приехала в Центр подготовки космонавтов.

Сотни девушек подали заявления с просьбой принять их в отряд космонавтов. Зачислены были только пять. Среди них – Валентина Терешкова, рабочая девчонка из старинного текстильного городка, первая космическая чайка. О ее судьбе читающая публика знает многое, о судьбе ее подруг по отряду – долго не знала ничего.

Сегодня мы попробуем частично заполнить этот пробел.

Татьяна Пихцелаури: С Сергеем Павловичем Королевым, Главным конструктором, мы встретились впервые во время его предполетной беседы с космонавтами Николаевым и Поповичем. Сергей Павлович сказал тогда, что нам, девушкам, предстоит сложная, напряженная, но очень интересная работа. «Только давайте, – сказал он, – сразу решать: или будем замуж выходить, детей заводить, или готовиться к полетам.» Ну замуж-то ты, правда, все равно повыходишь. Но относительно детей... восемь лет не нарушили заповедь Королева. Ждали исполнения более возвышенной мечты.

Жанна Сергейчик: Одна я нарушила уговор: мой первый ребенок родился еще в 1964 году...Сейчас этот сын окончил летное училище, я уже бабушка. И у Вали Пономаревой внук растет.

Ирина Соловьева: Первую женскую группу космонавтов расформировали только в 1969 году. До этого мы все время активно занимались, тренировались, готовились к старту. Была даже составлена специальная программа: повторить в женском варианте полет Беляева и Леонова – с выходом в открытый космос... В Военно-воздушной академии имени Жуковского сформировали

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отдельную группу, куда вошли Валентина Терешкова, Татьяна и Жанна. Я уже имела инженерное образование и потому сразу подключилась к ребятам из первого отряда космонавтов. Они были на втором курсе. С ними я и окончила академию. У всех нас в дипломах написано: «Летчик-инженер-космонавт». Как у Гагарина.

Татьяна Пицхелаури: Изучали навигацию, геофизику, конструкции космического корабля. Тренировались на невесомость, в барокамере, на центрифуге. Прыгали с парашютом в скафандрах – на сушу, на море.

Ирина Соловьева: Боялись только на чем-нибудь споткнуться. Например, на вестибулярных испытаниях. Если один раз почувствуешь себя неприятно, то в следующий раз уже заостряешь на этом внимание и трудно от этого уйти. А нужно наоборот: отстраниться, абстрагироваться.

Жанна Сергейчик: Все было непросто. Но мы же были молоды. И очень увлечены. Порой даже мужчины из отряда космонавтов удивлялись: как это мы, девчонки, можем переносить такие нагрузки.

Первые полтора года они практически никуда не выезжали из центра подготовки. Расписание было жестким. С девяти утра до семнадцати – занятия теорией. Остальное время до отхода ко сну – физическая подготовка. Воскресенье теоретически считалось выходным днем. Но любые отлучки – только по специальному разрешению наставника, Григория Герасимовича Масленникова...

До сих пор в их памяти живет благодарное воспоминание: как накануне нового, 1963 года к ним в общежитие пришел Юрий Гагарин. «Девчонки! – сказал он. – Вам же в магазин некогда поехать. Давайте-ка я вас отвезу». Усадил всех в микроавтобус и повез прямо к директору ГУМа, на Красную площадь. Говорят, это была незабываемая картина: по верхнему этажу универмага очень быстрым шагом идет Гагарин в сопровождении стайки девушек, а за ним вслед несется огромная толпа покупателей и продавцов. Первого космонавта Земли везде и сразу узнавали...

Татьяна Пицхелаури: Пока мы готовились к полетам, время летело совершенно незаметно. В работе и в радости. Каждая надеялась, что именно ей повезет. Только незадолго до старта определились лидер: Валентина Терешкова. Дублер – Ирина Соловьева. Это ведь именно она стояла второй на стартовой площадке 16 июня.

Intermediate Reading

Ирина Соловьева: Что я чувствовала, когда осталась на Земле? Одиночество и грусть. Евгений Анатольевич Карпов, начальник Центра подготовки космонавтов, говорил



со мной перед отъездом на Байконур. Объяснял, почему не я полечу первой. Надо отдать ему должное: нашел время поговорить, чтобы не было обиды... Кстати, если говорить точно, то дублерами Терешковой Государственная комиссия назначала двоих: меня и Валентину Пономарову.

Валентина Пономарева: Хорошо помню, как Терешкова пролетала над нами – такой яркой звездочкой. Мы точно знали, когда она будет проходить над местом старта, и выходили смотреть... Это сейчас, если поднимаешь ночью глаза вверх и посмотришь минут десять, обязательно найдешь движущуюся светлую точку. А в те времена это было еще редкостью.

Они не ушли к звездам, но звезды определили их судьбу.

Специальность кандидата технических наук Валентины Пономаревой – механика космического полета, стабилизация объектов при проведении операций сближения. Ирина Соловьева увлеклась методами психологической подготовки космонавтов к работе в экстремальных условиях. Она тоже защитила диссертацию. Татьяна Пицхелаури руководит одной из лабораторий Центра подготовки, обучает экипажи проведению геофизических экспериментов на орбите. Жанна Сергейчик занимается с космонавтами на тренажерах.

Собравшись все вместе, четыре давние подруги не говорят о работе. Они нам рассказывают друг про друга. Естественно, все самое лучшее.

Про то, например, как у Вали Пономаревой незаурядные научные способности сочетаются с необыкновенной усидчивостью. Она и тогда, в 62-м году, была

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такая же... И какой выдержанный, коммуникабельный человек Ирина Соловьева – идеальный член экипажа! И какой мягкий, милосердный характер у Жанны Сергейчик. Такая ласковая маленькая мама, все люди к ней очень привязываются. И семья для Жанны – самое главное. «Для нас тоже,» – замечает при этом коммуникабельная Ирина Соловьева.

Татьяна Пицхелаури: Ну, не знаю, может быть, у нас это не так ясно выражено. Тебе вот, Ирина, если разрешат сейчас прыгать с парашютом – ты же сразу все бросишь и побежишь.

Intermediate Reading

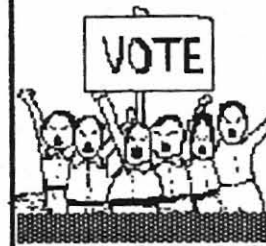
Ирина Соловьева: Нет, сначала накормлю домашних... Девочки! Я вот иногда думаю: почему тогда именно нас выбрали в отряд? Потому что мы такие, какие есть, или стали такими, потому что нас выбрали?

Валентина Пономарева: Мы сами выбрали для себя такую жизнь. Не вполне женскую, что ли... А понимающие люди сразу это разглядели и потому выбрали нас.

Office Staff Practices, 1852

1. Godliness, Cleanliness and Punctuality are necessities of a good business.
 2. This firm has reduced the hours of work, and the Clerical Staff will now only have to be present between the hours of 7 a.m. and 6 p.m. on weekdays.
 3. Daily prayers will be held each morning in the Main Office. The Clerical Staff will be present.
 4. Clothing must be of a sober nature. The Clerical Staff will not disport themselves in raiment of bright colors, nor will they wear hose unless in good repair.
 5. Overshoes and top-coats may not be worn in the office, but neck scarves and headwear may be worn in inclement weather.
 6. A stove is provided for the benefit of the Clerical Staff. Coal and wood must be kept in the locker. It is recommended that each memebre of the Clerical Staff bring 4 pounds of coal each day, during cold weather.
 7. No member of the Clerical Staff may leave the room without permission from Mr. Rogers. The calls of nature are permitted, and Clerical Staff may use the garden below the second gate. This area must be kept in good order.
 8. No talking is allowed during business hours.
 9. The craving of tobacco, wines and spirits is a human weakness and, as such, is forbidden to all members of the Clerical Staff.
 10. Now that the hours of business have been drastically reduced the partaking of food is allowed between 11:30 a.m. and noon, but work will not, on any account, cease.
 11. Members of the Clerical Staff will provide their own pens. A new sharpener is available, on application, to Mr. Rogers.
 12. Mr. Rogers will nominate a senior Clerk to be responsible for the cleanliness of the Main Office and the Private Office, and all Boys and Juniors will report to him 40 minutes before Prayers and will remain after closing hours for similar work. Brushes, Brooms, Scrubbers and Soap are provided by the owners.
- The owners recognize the generosity of the new Labour Laws but expect a great rise in output of work to compensate for these near Utopian conditions.

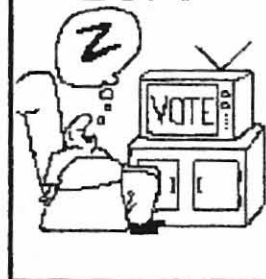
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"Catching Up to America"

•by Ogonek reviewer D. Biryukov

•translated by [redacted]

The following translation is from an article appearing in the Soviet publication OGONEK number 23, June 1989. The article is an interview with Aleksandr Mikhailovich Alekseev, who describes himself as one of those who worked out the theory of "Catching up to and overtaking America," by OGONEK reviewer Dmitrij Biryukov.

Alekseev's introductory statement: "I took part in developing the theory of 'Catching up to and overtaking America.' Now those who know about it call from time to time to ask: When are you going to answer to the public? ...I am 78 years old. We don't have much time left. Later, no one will be able to find out. I think it is time to relate how things were."

Alekseev: I feel that I and my generation carry the historical responsibility for the fate of our country. We were not spectators, but active participants in all that took place. It is another matter that not all of our efforts achieved our aims. But believe me, we were faithful and noted with pain how promising beginnings of things necessary to the country ended in nothing.

Take the case of "Catch up to and overtake America" alone. I, for example, do not regret taking part in its development. Had it not been for the theory, we would not have in our country the powerful science of international economic relations. We would know less of capitalism, its fundamental characteristics and development tendencies. And the problem was correctly stated.

Biryukov: That is all so. But I remember when joining

the party in 1984, I got the Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union decided at the XXII Party Congress from the library. I sat down and read: "In the next decade (1961-1970) the Soviet Union, forming the material-technical basis of communism, will surpass the production of consumer goods of the mightiest and richest capitalist country, the United States: the material well-being and cultural-technical level of workers will rise significantly; all workers will be assured material sufficiency; all collective and state farms will be turned into highly productive and highly profitable enterprises; the demands of the Soviet people for well-built housing will basically be met; heavy physical labor will disappear; the USSR will become the country with the shortest working day," and I was unable to restrain a smile. Why was it necessary to make such ill-considered promises?

Alekseev: It was necessary to buck up the people, to prepare them for labor on an unprecedented scale. But I can tell you with certainty that there were few in 1980 who doubted the reality of building the basis for communism. And for that there were the most serious bases. First, we had statistical data, seemingly completely irrefutable, that

eloquently stated that with our tempo of growth we would, in the shortest time, catch up to the U.S.A. in the production of consumer goods and create the solid material base of communism. Second, the idea of competing with the developed capitalist countries, and victory in that competition, belongs to Lenin. True, it is necessary here to make clear that Stalin first formed that concept precisely. Before the war he wrote that the fundamental economic problem of the U.S.S.R. was to catch up to and overtake the leading countries in the production of consumer goods for every resident of the country. Stalin even named the goods in which it was necessary to catch up to and overtake.

The history of development of the concept that finally went into the Party Program began in 1959. At that time, I was a member of the Collegium of the State scientific-economic soviet of the USSR, and I was given the problem of collecting all available data on that question and analyzing it.

Biryukov: And who was it who personally appointed you to work out the concept?

Alekseev: The chairman of the State scientific-economic soviet of the USSR, Zasyadko. In the State scientific-economic soviet we had only a

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few people with degrees, and we printed articles on questions of economic ties of the Soviet Union with foreign countries. Zasyadko read my articles. He was also informed of my contacts with powerful people in this world.

Biryukov: How?

Alekseev: From time to time he would ask, do I know this one or that. And I knew many personally, since I reworked and wrote reports for many of the higher-ups who presented them to the GKO (State Committee for Defense). I remember that the chairman of the SNK (Council of People's Commissars) of the U.S.S.R., Kosygin, made a 10-page report into two. He took out everything superfluous. The first point was his story of how badly the front was supplied during the First World War. By the way, his precise, concrete presentation made a very good impression.

Biryukov: Let's get back to the theory itself.

Alekseev: My assistants and I prepared an eighteen-page outline "The Pace and Perspectives of Economic Competition between the USSR and USA" and showed it to Zasyadko. He was delighted. He immediately went by helicopter to meet with Khrushchev, leaving us in his office to drink coffee and await his return. He returned in about two hours and proudly related that Khrushchev had read it all, made only one short remark and said: "Continue to work with the whole Gosplan, include the Academy of Science, all the Ministries, and in general, anyone suitable. The machine revved up to full speed. Soon we prepared a report taking into account all

propositions. It was studied in the Gosplan collegium and forwarded to the Central Committee. Then for 3 months I went, just as to work, to the Central Committee, and wrote the section "Economic Competition of Two Systems and Establishment of Communism in our Country," which finally was included in the Program of the KPSS. The concept of our outline originated comparatively simply. At that moment 'futurology,' whose adherents attempted not only to describe the future, but also to describe it in concrete numbers, began to develop.

Biryukov: Did everyone really believe in futurology?

Alekseev: Well, of course there were skeptics. One American scientist said that people plan the future, but it makes fools of them. We only understood the truth of his words a significant amount of time later. At that time, having on hand statistical data and knowing the fundamental growth tendencies of the USSR and the USA, we extrapolated it, that is, we turned the past into the future and defined the perspective for 5 - 15 years. Figures showed that our standard of living amounted to about 50 - 60 percent of America's. And, since our statistics showed that we were developing several times faster, then the conclusion was foreordained: the differences would diminish with every year. That really happened. By natural indicators, we caught up with America and left her far behind - in the production of steel, gas, cement, and other materials. Then I had another idea, isn't it possible to define the future

from the other side? Figure out what standard of living we would want to have 20 years from now, and then find out what needed to be done with the economy. We asked the scientists. We found out what the maximum living area should be for city and village residents, and what kind of sustenance. I remember very well how the director of the Institute of Nutrition, Corresponding Member of the Academy of Medical Sciences, Molchanov, with his knowledge of the matter explained to us what scientific and non-scientific nutrition are. Other questions were considered; in particular, does the Soviet man need an automobile. After consideration, we came to the conclusion that it was not necessary, because for most of the time it sits in one place and rusts. We decided that under communism people would travel by bus. I personally did not agree with that point. I am a dedicated fisherman, and I simply can't do without a car. But in principle that was such a minor thing against the background of grandiose developments that I didn't pay any special attention to it. The only thing that really bothered me was the standard of living of our leaders. Already in 1960 it exceeded by far the standard of living of future residents of the communist society. I asked Zasyadko about that. He answered with certainty that according to Khrushchev's opinion, there would be leading (specially privileged) workers. That disturbed me. I knew how Stalin lived and what his immediate surroundings were, but at that time we used the excuse that that's how it should be.

Biryukov: And you really did know?

Alekseev: Yes, I worked in the Kremlin and was an assistant to the Director of the Secretariat of the Soviet of Peoples Commissars of the U.S.S.R. By the way, Stalin knew me personally since I prepared documents that he signed. After the War I wrote a book, "Military Finance of Capitalist Countries." One morning I opened the newspaper and found that I had become a Laureate of the Stalin Prize. The Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, P. N. Pospelov told me that Stalin personally entered my name in the list. That was in 1951. Stalin remembered me one other time. Before publication of his last book "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR," he decided to have a discussion. This undertaking was led by Malenkov and Suslov, then Stalin recommended me to be chairman of the commission to develop the resolution. Excuse me, I got sidetracked again. We believed in the advantages of our social system. In the statistics that reflected those advantages, much seemed to us to be within our power. And the people also believed. I personally gave hundreds of lectures to party activists in Moscow, Kiev, Leningrad, Novosibirsk and set off, as a rule, furious applause.

Biryukov: And you didn't get even one tricky question?

Alekseev: Of course I did. Incidentally, many questions were raised about the standard of living of our leaders. But I had a method worked out. If the note was within limits of the possible, I gave a precise

answer. If it was of a sharp nature and put me in a difficult position, I put it in my left pocket and at the end of the presentation would say: "There are several notes, but they are of a personal nature. I ask the authors to step forward." As a rule, no one stepped up.

Biryukov: They were probably afraid.

Alekseev: Of course. From today's conditions it is difficult to evaluate what was happening then. Sometimes it was frightening to ask a question, or even to express a doubt aloud. We led a very difficult life. I grew up and began work during the 'cult' period. Many of my friends perished or were arrested. As I understand now, for nothing. While I was still studying in Leningrad one of my acquaintances took a slingshot away from a child and came into the dormitory where two photographs were hanging - one of Bukharin behind glass and a 10-kopeck paper one of Stalin. My acquaintance, Sergej Bryzgalov sat on a bed and began to shoot peas at them while calling Bukharin thick-headed and Stalin wishy-washy. One of the students told on him and he was arrested. We could never find him after that. A stupendous inequality of offense and punishment. Once, in Beria's office, which had general supervision of the heating-energy industry at the time, I saw a map of (prison) camps. I almost went out of my mind. Vorkuta, Noril'sk, Kamchatka, Kazakhstan, Podmoskov'e.

Biryukov: Beria showed them to you?

Alekseev: No, he stepped out of the office and I, out of simple curiosity, moved the

cover off the map. And you know, what frightened me was not that we had so many camps, but that I had accidentally found out about it. I can still see that map before my eyes. Several years later Merkulov ordered me to write a biography of Beria for the Great Soviet Encyclopedia. They gave me four sheets which contained only fundamental data - (where and when) he was born, (where and when) he studied - and asked me to breathe life into it and make it into 24 pages. There wasn't even the possibility of refusing. The hint was given me that Beria himself had offered me as a candidate. Evidently he had remembered me. In short, I got to work on it. I studied the biographies of the great - La Salle, Hegel, Feuerbach. And, strikingly enough, as a result of the many rewrites of all the editors, the best qualities of all these people turned out to be qualities of Beria himself. If that had not happened, the consequences for me and the other encyclopedists would have been most dire. That was later confirmed. We now know what happened to the authors of the many works that came from the pens of Stalin and Beria - not many lived to our time. Fear forged literally everything: conduct, thought, work. It was part of the atmosphere and, it seemed, hung in the air. Vladimir-ovskij, the former chief of the investigative directorate for especially important matters, sometimes invited me to soccer games after he became chief of the personnel directorate of GUSIMZ. At that time I was the chief of the currency-financial directorate in that ministry; such invitations elicited no surprise. We were

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sitting one time in the 'Dynamo' stadium. The soccer game was going on below us, when Vladimirovskij suddenly said, "Aleksandr Mikhailovich, look up a little." I looked around and saw a young man of about 35. The guy was grey, unremarkable, but sitting next to him was a girl of about 18 who was unimaginably beautiful. She had everything. One could fall in love with her at a glance. I said to Vladimirovskij, "That's a girl to my taste." He said, "Look at the guy. He is the executioner. He carries out the death sentences of the Military Collegium." A chill ran up my spine. I asked, "Does the girl know that?" "No, only three know of that. He, I, and now you," and he looked at me cunningly. If all of the balls in the world had gone into one goal, I would not have noticed it at that moment.

There was a special kind of fear for us co-workers in the apparatus. We were afraid of becoming victims of some kind of misunderstanding. That could sometimes cost one's life. I remember once when Stalin sent out some decision documents on financing the armed forces of the USSR, which were to begin military operations against Japan in August. Stalin had written on a note, "I think it is necessary to act as we did with Germany." Can you imagine, that document disappeared from my desk. I am sure that the Japanese would have paid a billion dollars for that piece of paper, because this activity took place a month before declaration of war with Japan. I made known the disappearance without moving from my desk. A commission was formed of Kabulov, the

deputy of the People's Committee for State Security, the Commandant of the Kremlin, Spiridonov, and the Director of Affairs of the Soviet People's Committee, Chadaev. The document was top secret, and I was threatened with the firing squad. Everyone was puzzled. I had not left the office, which was confirmed by the major who guarded my door. There was only one possibility - theoretically - that I had eaten it. The document was not found until 2 weeks later. While sending materials for archiving, the chief of the secret section of the State Defense Committee shone a light on them from a special apparatus which showed that two papers had stuck together. That was a classic example of static electricity - one document stuck to another. I did not sleep for 2 weeks. I said goodbye to life everyday. That atmosphere aggravated relations among workers in the apparatus. To report on one another was considered only ordinary. Fiscal responsibility was on the same level as devotion and even patriotism. Things became very close. We practically stopped talking, showing emotion. Of course, that left its mark. Once there was no need to be social, it wasn't necessary to read, or to learn something new. Gradually, people became encased in impenetrable armor. One such person worked with us, whom we named "golden butt." He arrived about 9:00 and sat at his desk. He got up at break time. He ate lunch and sat again until 6:00. That was the specified work style for the basic mass of office workers of the authoritarian period. I knew one general who never went calling and never invited anyone in. He considered that

among guests there would certainly be one telltale, and for one anecdote all might suffer.

Here's what happened to me one time. A check for \$2 million dollars needed to be signed to pay the British for deliveries during the war years. I could sign checks for up to \$200,000 myself, more than that by Mikoyan as the People's Commissar for Trade. I got to his office, but he was talking to the director of the Astrakhan Fisheries Combine. I stood and waited. Suddenly the director stepped out smiling broadly. "Just think what a memory Anastas Ivanovich has. He received me before the war. I asked then to have my daughter admitted to the institute. So he asked me about my daughter after all of these years. Such a war passed, and he remembered." "Why are you so happy? The secret of his memory is in these safes. Before receiving you he pulled the file and looked up what you had talked about then." Someone reported me. A day later I dropped in on Mikoyan and said hello. Instead of an answer he said, "What's this, Aleksandr Mikhailovich, you said something witty about my memory?" I understood - he would never forgive that. I went to my office in a disgusting humor, and the secretary said, "Comrade Merkulov of the People's Commission for State Security has been waiting for you." I lost it completely. I glanced over. Merkulov was sitting next to my desk. "I came with a request. Stalin took me off my job. One of our cipher clerks in a foreign embassy defected. Well, we will find him, but now Comrade Stalin

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has named me Chief of the Chief Directorate of Soviet Foreign Property. I invite you as a member of the collegium to be chief of the Currency and Finance Directorate." I accepted without even thinking it over.

Biryukov: But certainly after the XX Party Congress the 'thaw' set in and one could breathe easier.

Alekseev: Yes the social atmosphere changed. But not for workers in the apparatus. It was we who knew that Khrushchev, having broken up the personality cult, was one of those who built it up. He was a member of the Politburo, the secretary of the Capital Party Organization. I already knew then who signed orders for arrest. Dekanozov and Vladimirskij told me that the orders were signed by the procuror, the chief of the NKVD. And every order was approved by the secretary of the City Committee of the Party, that is, Khrushchev. More than a few well-known people were arrested in Moscow with the approval of Khrushchev. I am telling you all of this first of all, so that you understand that our offenses and actions can not be judged apart from those times.

Biryukov: Do you mean to say that even if you had had serious doubts about the reality of the Party Program, that you would not have decided to talk about that openly?

Alekseev: At first we firmly believed in its reality. The figures were checked more than once and were subjected to painstaking analysis. I only became enlightened 3 years after the XXII Congress. I understood that the statis-tical

data which we were using had nothing at all in common with the way things really were. The real horror is that preparing documents, we didn't subject them (the data) to doubt. It couldn't have even entered our heads under those conditions of secrecy to crosscheck the data. The only thing that I suggested at the beginning was to send specialists to the U.S.A., to look at everything there, to talk to scientists and farmers. We judged them from second and third-hand sources; newspapers, intelligence reports, from embassy workers' conversations. Three years after the Congress I arrived at the firm conclusion that the Party Program would not be realized. This was already not just a doubt. By that time I had collected a mass of material supporting the truth of my words. I had before me material from the United economic commission of the US Congress, and a book by the American economist Warren Hatter, chairman of the Economic Association. The situation in the country had changed also. The widely touted Meat and Milk Program had fallen apart. The press simply stopped mentioning it, and everyone acted as if nothing had happened. I then decided to write that the problem of 'catching up to and surpassing America' would be solved only after the end of this century, that the pace of industrial development of the USSR had slowed, while the pace of the USA on the contrary, had increased. I can tell you literally how that sounded: "Such a reduction in the tempo of growth of commercial production in countries that are members of the Council for Mutual

Economic Aid and some increase in the tempo of growth in the capitalist countries means that fulfillment of the responsibilities taken by the socialist countries in their economic competition with capitalism will be somewhat delayed." The article was published in the magazine 'International Life' in 1965.

Biryukov: Aleksandr Mikhajlovich, you are a careful man with great experience working in the apparatus. How did you decide to publish such an article?

Alekseev: I considered that I had the right to present such material. In the first place, by that time I had some authority in scientific circles. I was a member of the editorial collegia of several magazines, such as 'Economic Questions' and 'World Economics and International Relations.' I am personally acquainted with many leaders of our country and had their trust. The episode with the article turned out to be a learning experience for me. I again became aware that everything would be much more complicated. My article was approved by the editorial collegium of 'International Life.' It was supported by chief editor Sanakoev and the editor in chief, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Gromyko. The article got a positive reception from a good 10 academicians - specialists in economics. It was passed by the Propaganda Section of the Central Party. After publication we got more than 500 responses, all with almost the same content, "Economists can finally be found in the Soviet Union who declare that Khrushchev is an economic ignoramus and the problem of 'Catch up to and

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Surpass America' was unrealistic." I didn't have time to feel myself a hero because I was called, together with the leadership of "International Life" to appear at the Secretariat of the Central Committee for judgement. At the best I was threatened with expulsion from the Party for revision of the general Party line. In the days before the appearance I received calls from authors of the positive comments on my article begging me not to mention their names. The only support I received was from the reading public. Educators wrote and phoned. They gratefully thanked me for making their lives easier, making it possible to explain to students how the problem of 'catching up and surpassing' could actually be solved. True, I was not about to bury myself ahead of time. Before the appearance I called Ustinov and told him of my troubles. "Well so what, I also know that we are not going to catch up to America," said Dmitriy Fedorovich and promised to call Podgornyj, who led the Secretariat. They came to an agreement, and there was practically no judgment of the article. The article was considered to be correct. That decision was supported by Kosygin, whom I already had telephoned. The Secretariat, in truth, obliged all newspapers and magazines to get prior concurrence from the Central Committee of the Communist Party before publishing material concerning the Party line.

Biryukov: To tell the truth, I never really understood why they called you before the Secretariat of the Central Committee. You could

have been punished at the Propaganda Department level.

Alekseev: At that time they had removed the chief of one of the Central Committee departments, Miroshnichenko. He, wanting to save himself and to prove that he was more royal than the King, wrote to the Politburo stating that the article in "International Life" contradicted the Party line. That's how that question came up. However, Miroshnichenko didn't save himself. He was soon sent to Canada as Ambassador. Don't think that I'm a braggart, but I knew that substantive changes needed to be made 50 years ago. I was conscious then that Stalin was building a non-socialist society. I read everything that was written by Marx, Engels, and Plekhanov, the leaders of the Second International. I had an excellent graduate course teacher, Academic Trachtenberg. He made me learn *Das Kapital* by heart. Therefore, I knew then already that we were building not socialism, but a society of (empty) words. Now, having received a huge amount of additional information not available before, I am trying to answer three questions. How did we arrive at such a life? Who is guilty? What to do? The life of my generation was subjugated in significant measure by the personality cult, stagnation, and the uncertain development of the life process of the whole country. When I went to work in the Kremlin in 1932, I revered our leaders. Meeting them face to face I realized with horror that we were led by a bunch of illiterates, with only 3 or 4 years' education. None of them was even capable of methodical analysis. They

worked with what (education) they had. That is, they worked with forms. It was no accident that that word was very much in vogue in the Kremlin. Do you know what a form was for Molotov? People's Commissar so-and-so presented a draft proposal. The draft was sent for review by another People's Commissar. Knowing the review process, there are two possibilities: to agree with the draft proposal or not. The draft proposal is signed off. The draft is placed on Molotov's desk, and he simply writes, "I agree," and the proposal is considered accepted. And even we who are concerned with developing important proposals had strictly limited information, some of which was just bits and pieces. We were poorly informed on life tendencies in our society and the world as a whole. It is not surprising that we missed seeing the scientific-technical revolution, changes in technology, in the organization of production, the appearance of revolutionary new materials. In service relationships the apparatus was degraded from year to year. The situation also affected the selection of personnel, which within the limits of a one-party authoritarian system led to the fact that a general incompetence was felt everywhere, and individual (incompetence) was not noticed. Sometimes it even got ridiculous. In the first postwar years, when our foreign exchange balance with Finland began to go against us, there was a large conference with participation by representatives of various bodies (of government). The main question was how to settle it. You will never guess what was suggested by the deputy finance minister, Dobrovolski

- settle with Finland as if it were lend-lease! There was general laughter and confusion. How many people like that I have seen in different positions. The most interesting thing was that those were the rules of the system. Any person for any job. The apparatus would write speeches, articles, or proposals for him. Once I asked the minister of Foreign Trade, Patolichev, how long it took him to learn the terminology of foreign trade. He answered, "Two years." Why is it necessary to appoint such a minister when in the ministry itself and its branches there are more than 50,000 people working who not only know the subject, but speak foreign languages as well - a not unimportant factor in trade. Just before the XXI Congress, the chairman of the State Plan, Kuzmin, called me in and asked me to write him a good speech. The Congress wouldn't be simple, they would be firming up a seven-year plan for development of the national economy. They gave me a month's leave to do it. The day before I was supposed to deliver it, a friend dropped by with a quote for me, "The old bourgeois world prided itself on the fact that it had reached the height of civilization, that it had learned to weigh stars. The Russian proletariat began by weighing bread in microscopic portions, and will be the first to reach the stars," written in December 1917 by the Danish writer Martin Andersen Nexse. I was dumbstruck. We had just launched the first sputnik. The quote was a winner, no doubt about that, but there was no time to redo the speech. I told Kuzmin about that the next day. He

told me I could throw out anything else but that quote would have to stay, the Congress would applaud. And he turned out to be right - it got a standing ovation. Later on Kuzmin got into a mess over cows in Switzerland. He was the ambassador there. Once he and his wife went to the Luzanne region for a rest. Mountains, nature, beauty... There was only one thing wrong - every morning the cows with their little bells were driven to pasture. Whether he decided to do it himself, or if it was his wife's idea, he put on his suit coat and went to the burgermeister (mayor) with the request that the bells be taken off the cows, they wouldn't let him sleep. The burgermeister was surprised, of course, and the next morning Kuzmin woke up famous. Every newspaper in Switzerland carried a caricature of him. He was, of course, recalled. That's the way it was. And to think, he was an assistant to Khrushchev in two Oblast' Committees, he commanded the State Plan. It is frightening to think that incompetence rises to the top anew.

You know one of the distinguishing features of any authoritarian system. That is when the solution to the most mundane problem is made at the very highest level. For example, Stalin once signed an order committing the Chief of the Rear (Services) of the Soviet Army to dispatch two Willys (jeeps) from his reserves to the Central Committee of the Komsomol. That sort of small thing. And there were many of them. When we were victorious at Stalingrad and the frontal attack on the Donbass began, the fighting

ability of some military units began to drop due to the appearance of VD. The Germans and Italians blessed our girls with that disease, and the girls shared it with the victors. Even one division commander came down with it. A State Defense Committee commission was formed and a decision made to aid the production of condoms to supply the operational armies. At one session of the commission, chaired by Bulganin, a very pretty woman who dazzled everyone was telling about the production of condoms. The woman reported that they had produced artificial latex so tough that it could withstand a pressure of 4 kilograms per square centimeter. Bulganin roused himself and asked, "Is that a lot or a little?" The woman proudly said, "Comrades, according to proven data, no man in the world can produce such a pressure."

It is both amusing and saddening now to remember that story. Sad, because even today sometimes you read an account in the newspapers of a meeting of our highest organizations and are astonished. What kinds of questions are addressed - the delivery of shoes, consumer items. I agree that today that is the problem of problems. But not to be left to the Politburo to discuss. For that there are ministries, organizations. It is apparent that the special psychology of subordination, created by the authoritarian system has even come down to our times. It is bad that we don't take notice of it. In the Kremlin I somehow figured that the dictatorship of the proletariat maintains itself by just a few verbs. "To oblige"

- was the main one. If the subject concerned principle, then the verb was - "to establish"...establish for now, and in the future. If it concerned a collective farm, then it was - "to recommend." "To delegate" - was another. With religion it was more complicated. At that time there was a Soviet dealing with the Russian Orthodox Church. In that case they wrote - "oblige" the Chairman of the Soviet for Dealing with the Russian Orthodox Church to enter into talks with the Metropolitan and do such-and-so. It seemed to me then that that was simply ludicrous. Today I see that the theory of verbs still works. Why? Because it is as possible to hide from responsibility behind it as behind a stone wall. And responsibility today is our main problem. For everyone. But first of all for the Party.

The Party is simply obliged to account to the people for its changes. How many decisions were made? About meat? About milk? Communism promised in the Eighties. There has still been no accounting. And nothing so undermines belief in the Party as silence.

Biryukov: Aleksandr Mikhajlovich, what do you think, to what extent can loss from the program to catch up to and surpass (America) be calculated?

Alekseev: We could have reached good results if we had created an economic system in which every person was interested in his own work. But as it was, after the grandiose upsurge, a sobering process took place and people understood the whole illusion of the loudly proclaimed promises. That is where the

loss began. The lack of faith. The schism between propaganda and real life. And the change has not been paid back yet. Conversations take place. While historical obligations have not been carried out, losses can not be determined in financial terms, they are so huge. A whole generation of people has grown up who don't know history or literature. A lost generation.

Biryukov: And your generation?

Alekseev: In our case, it is that people of the past are not going to be able to make the change so simply. The traditional life of the party apparatus is a life according to rules, by fiat and directive, incapable of moving society forward. I would ask only one thing; that we not be made fools of. And that is why I met with you.

ОСЕННИЕ ПЕСНИ (отрывок)

В сезоне каждом прелесть есть
своя,
И украшенья осени моей
Январского не хуже хрустала,
Весенних украшенной не бедней.
До блеска вымыто стекло небес,
Прозрачны воды. Листья - как
парча.
Сладчайшей дыни тонкий аромат
Распространяет поутру байча.
Чуть всет поднявшись, с севера
на юг



В лазури приц несется караван,
Они пушок роняют золотой,
И он парит, лучами осиян.
На осень солнце смотрит
с высоты,
Сияет осень - в праздничном
она,
В оранжевом и красно-золотом,
О, этот бархат, эта желтизна!
Уйгун.
(перевод с узбекского)

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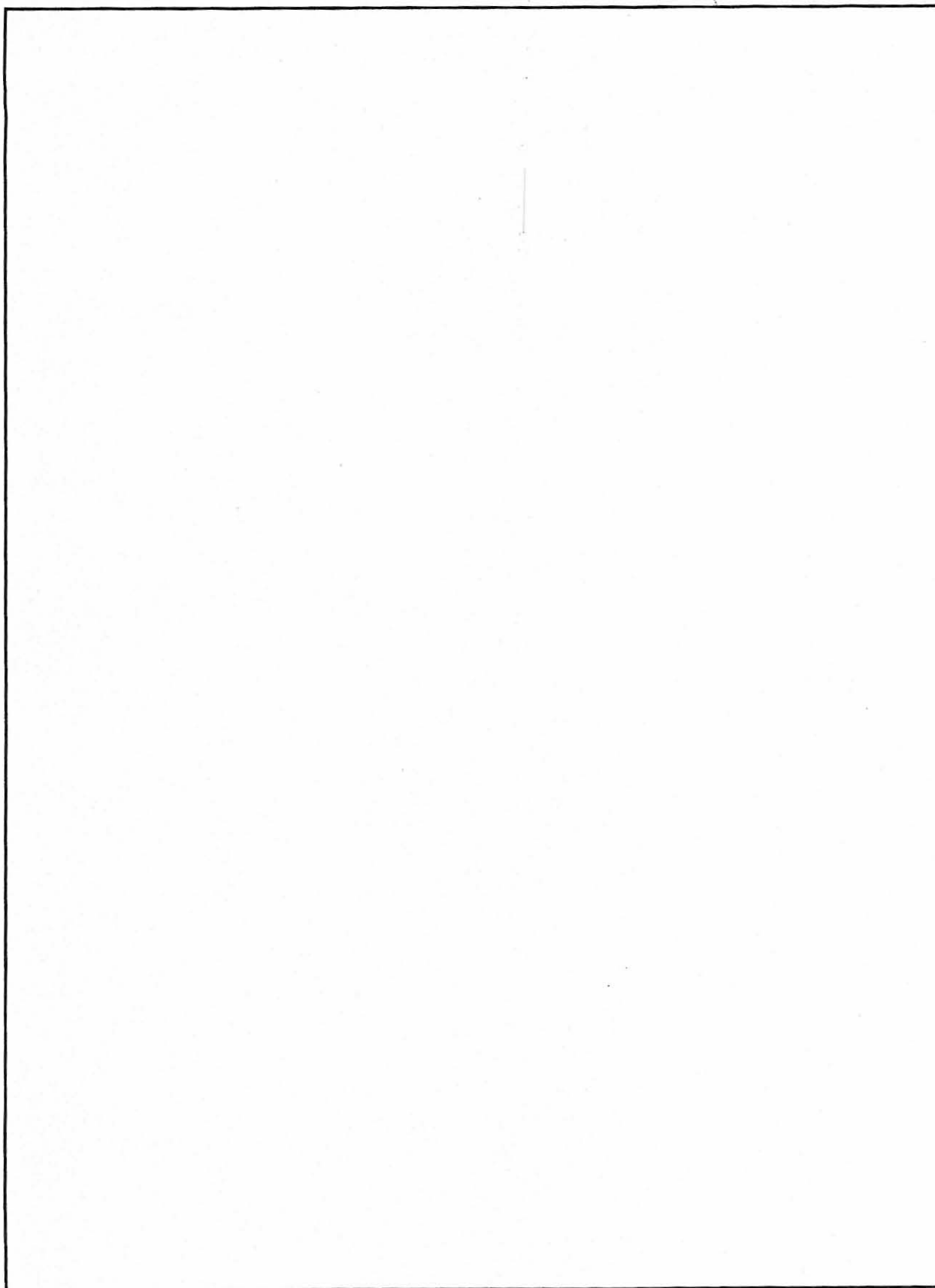
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