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million. This gives rise to the legal question: Does the USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry intend to compensate for the damage done to the traditional way of life of the Neryungi?

I would also like to ask this question of the Ministry of Metallurgy and "Soyuzalmazoloto," whose powerful subdivision "Yakutalmaz" is situated in the city of Mirny and of Udachny which forced the Evenkis of Syuldyyakar from their ancient places of habitation and doomed them to a life of wretched vegetation.

...We are on the threshold of a market. What will be the fate of the small nations of the North? Who will extend them a helping hand? One would like to believe that the Union ministries and departments that transformed the ancient habitation of these peoples into their own private domain and over a long period of time pumped out fabulous profits as a result of the exploitation of very rich natural resources would come to their senses and do what is necessary, nonetheless, to make compensation for the damage that was caused. Truth and justice demand this.

But I believe in the North and in its people who are ready to offer the hand of friendship to anyone, regardless of nationality and religion. Live on, my North!

Reasons for Ethnic German Emigration from USSR

91UN0377A IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Nov 90 p 3

[Article by S. Guk based on conversation with Academician Raushenbakh: "Emigration? Evacuation? Panic Flight? Academician B. Raushenbakh Reflects on the Reasons for the Mass Departure of Germans From the USSR"]

[Text] IZVESTIYA has already written about the mass "exodus" of the citizens of German nationality that has begun. In particular, IZVESTIYA published the data of the sociological research of the Munich Institute for the Study of Eastern Europe (No 225, 1989) on the reasons forcing Germans to leave their long-occupied places. The majority of those surveyed declared at that time that they are leaving the USSR for national, cultural, and religious reasons.

Today, according to press reports, there is still another reason: fear. Academician Boris Viktorovich Raushenbakh, the head of the organizational committee for carrying out the departure of the Soviet Germans, himself a German by nationality, believes that fear is not the chief reason which drives his fellow compatriots from the USSR.

"From the Central Asian republics, where they had pogroms, not only Germans, but also Russians are fleeing. This is not the main thing. At the basis of everything is the continuing discrimination against Germans, which began with their forced resettlement from the Volga Region during the years of the war. We know

what the GULAG is. But few know that the Germans, very likely, as a whole went through these camps. All the adult men were taken there by direct service, they took even women and adolescents. The Germans lost there more than half of those sent to the camps, I myself was in one of them, I know what this was like."

At that time the future academician was 27 years old. He sat behind barbed wire until the end of the war. Then they closed the camp and transferred all the prisoners to the status of exiles. (In the Soviet lexicon this was modestly called "special settlers", Raushenbakh adds). He was lucky: Already before the war he was connected with the defense industry and worked together with Korolev. Upon the petition of Academician Boris Viktorovich Keldysh, they kindly allowed him to work again for the good of the state. (In October of this year, he was awarded the title Hero of Socialist Labor). The overwhelming mass of Germans continued to remain in exile for a long time.

Right up to the present time, the authorities did not so much as dream about making amends for the injustice, until the expelled peoples themselves raised the question of returning to their historic homeland. True, in this chorus of protesting voices, the German language was not heard: The Germans did not organize demonstrations, they did not carry out the unauthorized seizure of land and did not commit other excesses. They quietly packed their suitcases and, having obtained visas, departed for Shermetevo Airport.

Only last year, the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted a decision on the restoration of German autonomy. But... "In it, it is true, it is not stated on what territory," says Raushenbakh. The USSR Council of Ministers was charged with the preparation of a proposal. The government commission was headed by the deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, V.K. Gusev. I also belong to this commission. Most natural would be the restoration of autonomy in the previous place, but the local authorities are resisting this."

He explains: In Saratov Oblast, where before the war there was an autonomous republic of the Volga Germans, the local party and Soviet authorities have set the Russian population against the return of the Germans. Even closed conferences were held: It is necessary, they said, to stir up the people, to go out into the streets and to protest. "I was in Saratov, I asked the opponents of autonomy what they were afraid of," B.V. Raushenbakh told me. Clearly no one could explain it. I asked: They will what, evict you from your apartment, take away your land, and drive you away from your jobs? No, people are simply scared, they themselves do not know what to fear. This is the first sign of the fact that nothing real stands behind their fears, that this a sentiment artificially created by interested people.

As has already been said, these interested people are made of an influential part of the leaders of the oblast and its rayons. They are afraid to lose their privileges,

their soft chairs. The fact that what has happened is not at all a reflection of the "voice of the people" is indicated by the situation in the neighboring—Ulyanov—Oblast. Here the oblast leadership is interested in the attraction of manpower, and the local population is receiving the arriving Germans cheerfully. In Saratov Oblast they do not permit them to occupy even empty villages. There are also quite outrageous cases: The Rovenskiy Rural Soviet of Krasnoarmeyskiy Rayon, for example, decided to evict all Germans from well-equipped apartments and resettle them in bad ones. Here are the results of the artificially stirred-up malevolence.

As happens frequently in life, what has happened also has a comical side to it. When you acquaint yourself with what is happening in Saratov Oblast, with the demonstrations and intrigues, you might think that some hundred thousand German legions are moving to the oblast. In actual fact, the majority of Germans by no means strive to come here. Let us turn to the statistics. In 1989 the number of Germans in Saratov Oblast increased by a total of 700 people. During the same period, 100,000 people left for Germany, and this year still more will leave. Life shows that, if a German family has begun to pack its suitcases, it is to go to Germany, and not to Saratov. Fewer than one percent are going to the Volga, and the hysteria raised there in connection with this looks ridiculous and comical.

Someone is prepared to say after those who depart: "Good riddance!" But let us leave emotions aside and turn to objective data. According to an estimate of the union Gosplan, the departure of 100,000 Soviet Germans turns into R4 billion in losses for the country. Thus, in 1989 we already lost R4 billion, and in the current year we are "drawing" another R5-6 billion in losses. Are we really such a rich country that we can throw away billions? In the FRG they have also made calculations, and it turned out that even after the deduction of expenses for the transport of the immigrants, the construction of housing for them, and various educational courses, the net income will be somewhat more than four billion marks for every 100,000 people coming to Germany. Here losses running into many billions, there income running into many billions. If this regarded as the goal of the state policy of our country, then, indeed, "good riddance!"

In order not to lose tens of billions of rubles, our country must somehow put a stop to this flow of people leaving. Today a successful situation has developed for this. The unification of Germany requires the investment of large funds, and its government is interested in some weakening of the rates of emigration. The only method which to some extent can stop the emigration from the USSR is the restoration of the German republic. The return of autonomy thus becomes not so much a task of the restoration of justice as a statewide problem of the conservation of funds and manpower resources (you know, it is excellent workers who are leaving, not drunks and loafers, the latter understand that there is

nothing for them to do "there"). With certain reservations it can be said that the restoration of the statehood of the Soviet Germans is not as necessary to the Germans as it is necessary to our country, including the Russians. You see, for the majority of Germans it is easy to solve their problem—they leave. Involuntarily the impression forms that some influential leaders of oblast and rayon scale in the territory of the former autonomous republic are placing their interests over those of the state and are prepared, for the sake of this, to go to the deception and intimidation of the local population. Evidently, they do not care even about the well-being of the inhabitants of their oblast, since the creation of a German autonomy opens up the path for the attraction of large funds from the union budget and from Germany, which can also be used for the needs of the local population (the construction of social, cultural, and consumer projects, the transfer of part of the new housing erected for the quick reduction of queues, etc.). The possibility is opening up of the creation of a unified economic region, consisting of the restored republic (not necessarily in the old boundaries) and Saratov Oblast, which will make it possible for the industrial enterprises of the oblast to establish with comparative ease business contacts with the West and to be linked to sources of convertible currency. Germany is willing to invest money, but you know, if there is no territory, there is nowhere to invest. Not in party committees. The managers of many enterprises understand this, and there is hope that they will convince the part of the oblast leadership capable of thinking in terms of the state of the necessity of reasonable actions.

It should not be thought that the restoration of autonomy on the Volga will take place easily, and not at all because of the resistance of the local population. You know, if they can speak the truth, they will welcome this reconstitution. The difficulty will consist in the fact that few of the Germans will want to come here. What needs to be done is to make the inclination to come to the Volga greater than the desire to leave for the economically flourishing Germany. Here it is possible to make use of the fact that a part of the Soviet Germans has still preserved something like a nostalgic feeling to return to the land of their ancestors, and a certain part is held back by their affection to the Homeland.

How can one make those who have submitted applications for departure from the country (and these are hundreds of thousands) and stop those who for the time being are only thinking about leaving? Here is a statewide (and not at all a German) problem. When you talk with people who are leaving, the following is a typical argument: "If I remain, I will die here a second-rate person (you see, discrimination continues even today); if I leave, I will also die a second-rate person 'there' (to get accustomed to a new environment will be difficult), but for that my children will be free, they will not know discrimination, they will know the German language and German culture." The future of their children is one of the basic incentives for leaving.

But for the children, schools are needed where all subjects will be taught in the German language (at the present time, there is not a single such school in the USSR—one of the signs of discrimination), and for the schools—teachers, German textbooks, and methodical guidance of the educational process. All this as a whole is possible only in an autonomous republic, where there will be a Ministry of Education, pedagogical institutes, and publishing houses, and from where teachers, textbooks, and everything else necessary for the national schools will be sent to the places where Germans live in compact groups in the territory of our union. In the republic itself, only a comparatively small part of the German population of the USSR may live. The republic will become a cultural center for all Soviet Germans, no matter where they would live, as this was also before the war, and the presence of their own statehood in the territory of the USSR, possibly, will stop many from searching for it outside the boundaries of our country.

Everything written about here was completely realizable a couple of years ago. Today the possibility of such a development calls forth doubt in many. There has been too much intensification of the flow of people leaving who are not waiting for anything good from the local Volga authorities and who see the impotence of the central leadership (a decision on the restoration of autonomy was adopted by the Supreme Soviet, but no one intends to carry it out). They talk about the disagreement of the local population, but you know it was artificially created and is constantly supported by information that lacks all conscientiousness. They say that what is happening is the result of democracy, but this is a distorted concept of democracy. Today people in our country understand democracy as the realization of the slogan "I have the right!" (or "We have the right!"), but few people take note of the fact that this is not at all an appeal to democracy, but an appeal to anarchy. It is among anarchists that everyone is doing what he considers necessary, and does not give a damn for everyone else. It is not surprising that this anarchist distortion of the principles of democracy is today leading to the disintegration of the country, where almost every street is starting to shout about its sovereignty and non-subordination to the higher organs. Real democracy begins where people above all see to the observance of the rights of others, and only after this—of their own rights. Margaret Thatcher, appearing on our Central Television, attempted in tactful form to explain this to us, but probably few people understood her.

Whether the question of the mass exodus from the country will be solved, proceeding from the principles of state wisdom, or the forces will gain the upper hand that proceed from the principle of "state stupidity," the future will show. But it is necessary to hurry, you know the flow of those leaving the country will pull after them the relatives that have still remained behind, including Russians, and after the adoption of the Law on Exit even simple acquaintances. We must hurry also because of the fact that every year of delay costs the country no less than R4 billion.

Soviet Koreans on National Identity, Cultural Heritage

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[Article by M. Pak, president, All-Union Association of Soviet Koreans, doctor of historical sciences, professor; and G. Yugay, vice-president of the same association, doctor of philosophical sciences, professor: "When the Roots Are Cut Off"]

[Text] Last May the All-Union Association of Soviet Koreans was founded in Moscow. The congress defined the basic trends for the national and cultural revival of the members of this nation, who live in the USSR.

No such attention to the fate of Soviet Koreans had been paid since Leninist times. The deformations in our society and the establishment of Stalin's dictatorship had a tragic impact also on the fate of the Koreans, who had become an intrinsic part of the multinational family of Soviet peoples.

For nearly 150 years our ancestors, driven by need and hunger resulting from the unbearable socioeconomic and political conditions in Korea, had been forced to settle in an area south of the Ussuri Kray, which became a Russian possession in 1860. Korean emigration increased particularly after the Japanese annexation and the establishment of a colonial regime in Korea in 1910.

At that time the territory of the Russian Far East and neighboring Manchuria became a foreign center of the anticolonial resistance of the Korean people. By the turn of the 20th century, Vladivostok had become a center of the Korean cultural-educational national movement, where newspapers and journals which called upon the people to fight for saving the country from the threat of Japanese enslavement were being published.

After the victory of the October Revolution, the Koreans wrote a number of outstanding pages in the history of the struggle for the establishment of a Soviet system in the Far East. The great "Volochoyevka Days" and the "stormy Spassk nights" were tainted with the blood of the best sons of Soviet Koreans.

After the Civil War, actively participating in peaceful construction, the Korean patriots made a noteworthy contribution to the development of the economy and culture of the Soviet Far East. Some successes were achieved also in the development of the national culture of Soviet Koreans. Until 1937 seven newspapers and six journals and a great deal of educational, fiction and political publications were being published in the Korean language in Khabarovsk, Vladivostok and other cities. Some 400 schools, a pedagogical institute and a technical school, a worker university department, two party schools, a theater, libraries, radio broadcasting stations, and so on, were in the Korean language in areas densely populated by Koreans.