### **Education's Listless** Journey

After several days of non-stop anarchy in the streets, during which 10 to 16-year-old schoolkids wrought havoc to put their elders at the universities and colleges to shame, the government did a stunning somersault and accepted all their demands. The education minister, Dr. Badruddoza Chowdhury, praised the new system which he had just scrapped (or should we say shelved?), but also termed the schoolboys' demands "justified".

Naturally, that left more questions unanswered than not. To begin with, the ministry said it was ordering the U-turn in order to preserve peace and discipline at schools. Did that mean the government was simply bowing to the pressure of boys in their early teens throwing bricks at innocent bus and car passengers? If so, then what kind of precedence does the ministry think it sets for the future? Not a healthy one, we should say, since it sends the worst possible signal that the government is vulnerable to pressure, no matter how unlawful the method of protest. In fact, no attempt was made to treat the street violence as a law and order issue, separate from the arguments about the rights and wrongs of the changes the ministry planned to bring to the Secondary School Certificate examinations.

But even on the core issue of the examination system, the education ministry has managed to land itself in a wholly unnecessary mess. Not so long ago, the new system was hailed as a progressive one by the ministry itself. But by doing a sudden volte-face, was the ministry trying to tell us that it was wrong in its assessment, and that the old system was better? If so, then why did it move ahead with implementation of the changes in the first place, without giving much thought to the consequences? But if the ministry still insists that the aborted system is indeed a progressive one which would help to improve the standard of education in the country, then why did it abandon it? Has the ministry simply abdicated its responsibility to carry out the reforms necessary to improve the quality or output from our schools?

These are not friendly questions, and they are not meant to be so either, but somebody has to stand up and answer them. Education is possibly the most critical area for any developing nation, which deserves the greatest thought and care, as well as expenditure. Unfortunately, what we have at present is a picture of a directionless ministry muddling through from crisis to crisis, sending all the wrong signals.

We know the decision to introduce the new system was taken back in 1988, under a vastly different political environment. It was imperative, therefore, for the ministry to enter into wideranging consultations with teachers, parents and, yes, pupils, to see exactly how the changes were likely to affect those most directly involved. We simply cannot accept a bureaucratic decision to be a fait accompli under a democratic dispensation. There is such a thing called public opinion, and the decision makers must learn to consult it.

But even in the current situation of all muddle and no direction, we sincerely hope the education ministry knows where it is going, and that a clear, imaginative and far-sighted policy will emerge to guide this most vital sector to the 21st century.

## Double Boost for Castro

For the first time in the history of the Pan-American Games, the United States found itself knocked off its usual perch at the top of the gold medal list. Worse, perhaps, for the North Americans, was the fact that it was little Cuba, that perennial thorn in Washington's side, which destroyed the myth of US invincibility in the sporting arena of the Western Hemisphere.

Of course, the Western media have already constructed some kind of excuse, by pointing out the absence of a number of top ranking US athletes from the Games line-up at Havana, as well as what they considered the overall low quality of the competition. True, several American stars of the track preferred to spend their summer running for cash on the European circuit than help the national cause; true again, that the quality of the performances, judging by press reports, did not reach the level of Olympics. But neither of these two "facts" can rob Cuba, an island-country of nine million with a per capita income of less than US\$2,000 per annum, of the credit of upstaging a supremely athletic nation of 250 million earning over \$20,000 on average per year.

Cuba's victory was a personal triumph for President Fidel Castro for more reasons than one. The US has been his Enemy Number One ever since he and his fellow revolutionaries ousted the pro-US dictator Batista, in 1959. But he has had to contend with another threat in recent years — the collapse of Soviet power and worldwide retreat of communism as a result of the advent of Mikhail Gorbachev. But despite the sharp decline in Soviet aid and the apparent triumph of Western liberalism all across the globe, Castro stuck to his guns and refused to abandon Marxism. His antipathy towards Gorbachev and his policies was no secret.

A supreme irony of fate, then, that the hardliners in the Kremlin should decide to remove from power the man who had called on the Soviet Communist Party itself to give up Marxism, on the very day that Cuba achieved its sweetest victory over the United States by finishing top of the gold medals list in the Pan-Am Games.

While success in sports can never substitute for the material and social well-being of the people (note, East Germany), triumph at the Games may still have an inspirational effect on the flagging spirit of the Cuban Revolution. At the same time, departure of Gorbachev from the scene may provide yet another boost to Castro's conviction that the "socialist world" (or what's left of it) must either stick to its chosen path or perish. But what these two developments will mean for well-being of the Cuban people remains to be seen.

## A PAGE FROM SOVIET HISTORY

HO led the plot to oust Nikita Sergeye-

vich Khrushchev in

October 1964? In Soviet re-

assessments of this event, his-

torians and former leaders

sharply disagree, with some

blaming Mikhail Suslov, others

Aleksandr Shelepin, others

Leoind Brezhnev, and still

nost and filling-in of "blank

spot" in Soviet history, new in-

formation is being published

about many episodes in Soviet

political life - including the

overthrow of Khrushehev.

Soviet historians and political

scientists with inside knowl-

edge — such as ROY Medvedev

and Fedor Burlatskiy - started

a debate over Khurshchev's

overthrow by writing detailed

new versions of the coup that

were published in the official

Soviet press in 1988.

Subsequently, Khurshchev's

son serge revealed fascinating

new information about the

coup from the perspective of

Khurshchev and his family. In

turn, the appearance of these

versions prompted several re-

tired Soviet leaders to make

public their won versions

based on their participation in

the plot against Khurshchev.

However, unlike other impor-

tant episodes of Soviet history-

for example, the arrest of

Lavrentiy Beria - where one

leader (Khrushchev) presented

his insider's account (in sev-

cral variations) and other par-

from, this time we have been

presented with varying ver-

In the current wave of glas-

others Nikolay Podgornyy.

# Another Ouster Another Time

by Werner Hahn

With the removal of Mikhail Gorbachev from the Presidency of the Soviet Union many will be looking back on other dramatic changes in Kremlin. One such change was the downfall of Nikita Khrushchev in 1964. Here is an account of how it happened.

sions by insiders. The new information undermines the long-held interpretation that Suslov played the leading role - or at least one of the leading roles in the plot. Most new versions assert that Suslov had little to do with it, that Brezhnev led the plot, along with Central Committee Secretaries Podgornyy and Shelepin and KGB Chairman Vladimir Semichastnyy, and that the plot had been under way for many months and involved a large number Central Committee members. Perhaps most important, the new versions make it clear that Khurshchev was not overthrown by his enemies (such as Suslov), but by some of his own proteges (Brezhnev, Podgornyy, Shelepin).

### Accounts in the West

Previously, the most widely accepted view of the plot was that Suslov led it (based on his ovious opposition to Khurshchev for some time and also on his delivery of the October 1964 Central Committee plenum speech listing Khurshchev's errors) and that Brezhnev and ticipants were never heard ... Pedgornyy - who were close to Khurshchev-were persuaded to join only later. Michel Tatu's

account-written soon after the event -presented the most detailed and convincing arguments supporting this position. He contended that Suslov, the 'main spokesman the opposition." was unquestionably the spearhead of the opposition," While Brezhnev, who "could not have played an active role in the preparations," and Podgornyy, whose behavior before the overthrow "suggested that he was not a member of the plot," were informed only at the last Shelepin. minute. Semichastnyy, and Ukrainian First Party Secretary Petro Shelest were promoted immediately after the coup, suggesting that they were being rewarded for their help. Tatu portrayed the plot as originating only a few days before the coup and as restricted to a small circle - a logical assumption in view of the danger if such a plot were exposed.

Later, dissident Soviet historian Roy Medvedev included explanations of the coup in books published in the West. in his first book on Khrushchev, Medvedev gave the lead role to Suslov. declaring that Central Committee members "were briefed mainly by Suslov" on the intended move against

Khrushchev. This account gave lesser role to Brezhnev (Brezhnev phoned Khurshchev to persuade him to come back to Moscow) and made no mention of Podgornyy or Shelepin.

In a subsequent book, Medvedev provided more detail and also altered the story somewhat, labeling Suslov and Shelepin "the prime movers", he also mentioned that Khurshchev had briefly questioned Podgornyy about a possible plot, and described plotting during hunting and fishing trips hosted by Stavropol First Secretary Fedor Kulakov in September. He mentioned that there had been rumours of a discussion about removing Khrushchev in early 1964. Medvedev asserted that Khurshchev vigorously fought his removal at the October 13 meeting of the Presidium (as the Politburo was then called).

Medvedey's version - apparently based on some insiders' information - sounded convincing, but like Tatu's, it is now being refuted on many points by the recent accounts of both observers and insiders.

#### Accounts in the Soviet Press

In the era of glasnost, the first attempt to describe

Khrushchev's overthrow in detail in the Soviet press was presented by Roy Medvedev in 1988. He again portrayed Suslov and Shelepin as the ringleaders, whom Brezhnev later joined. Medvedev made no mention of Nikolay

Podgornyy: At the center of the discussions were, as one could judge, M.A. Suslov and A.N. Shelepin. Of decisive importance was the Joining of CPSU Central Committee Secretary L.I. Brezhnev and USSR Defense Minister R.Ya. Malinovskiy.

According to Medvedev, it was Brezhnev who phoned Khurshchev on October 13 and persuaded him to return to Moscow to attend a Presidium meeting on agriculture. Semichastnyy met Khurshchev and Mikoyan at the airport and escorted them to the Presidium meeting, where "Suslov and Shelepin raised the question of removing Khrushchev from all his posts. Although Khrushchev at first stubbornly fought back, he eventually surrendered. At the plenum, Suslov delivered long indictment Khurshchev's errors.

Medvedev also asserts that Stavropol First Secretary Kulakov organized hunting trips with other leaders to dismoves against cuss Khrushchev, and that former Presidium member Nikolay lgnatov engaged in similar discussions around the country.

Burlatskiy - a speech writer for Khrushchev and a long-time Central Committee official-followed Medvedev with a remarkably detailed version of the coup in the September 14, 1988, issue of Literaturnaya Gazeta. He contended that Shelepin was the ringleader, along with Suslov and Brezhnev:

Probably not everyone knows that Khrushchev's overthrow was not planned by Brezhnev. Many people think that M.A. Suslov did II. In fact, it was the work of a group headed by A.N. Sheleptn. They used to meet in the most unlikely places, usually at a stadium during a soccer match. And there they plotted. A special role was assigned to Semichastnyy, leader of the KGB, who was recommended for that post by Shelepin. His task was to replace Khrushchev's bodyguard. And indeed, when Khrushchev was summoned to the CPSU Central Committee Presidium session from Pitsunda, where he was on vacation with Mikoyan at the time, on boarding the plane he saw a new bodyguard, not his own. Khuushchev apparently realized at once what was afoot, and unsuccessfully tired to persuade the pilot to land the plane in Kiev.

Burlatskiy contends that it is still unclear when Shelepin entered into the compact with Suslov and Brezhnev. It is only clear that Shelepin joined first with the former, then with the latter. Burlatskiy also wrote that the immediate pretext for the Presidium session was a speech by Khrushchev's sonin-law Aleksey Adzhubey in West Berlin, where Adzhubey said flippantly that it would cost the Soviet Union nothing to accept the unification of Germany. The GDR leaders immediately expressed their indignation to their Soviet colleagues, and this was the spark that started the conflagration.

In a four-part series in the October 1988 issues of Ogonek, Khurshchev's son Sergey presented a dramatic account of how he learned of the plot and sought to warn his father. According to him, the

Semichastnyy, with former Presidium member Ignatov playing a big role and Krasonodar First Secretary Georgiy Vorob'yev (not Stavropol First Secretary Kulakov) hosting the vacationing leaders who discussed Khrushchev's removal Brezhnev and Podgornyy, the senior CPSU secretaries, undertook most of the political preparation, canvassing and persuading Central Committee members and regional party officials. Sergey wrote that Brezhnev and Podgornyy were the "key figures." In talks with Presidium members, they repeatedly stressed how difficult it was to get along with Khrushchev. According to Sergey, "Brezhnev complained of Khrushchev's intolerance and sharp criticisms of him, especially about the fact that father once called him 'lazy.' Because of his "irresoluteness," however, Brezhnev only spoke of holding a plenum to "criticize" Khrushchev, rather than actually daring to suggest removing him. Sergey depicted Shelepin

plot was led by Brezhnev, Podgornyy, Shelepin, and

and Semichastnyy as playing especially devious role, because to discred- it Khrushchev, they fabricated stories about Khrushchev abusing his position by granting special favours to family members and relying on family members to conduct sensitive state matters (such as son-inlaw Adzhubcy's 1964 diplomatic mission to West Germany). Shelepin raised accusations that he, Sergey, had taken advantage of his father's position to acquire the title of doctor of science, while Semichastnyy used KGB reports to portray Adzhubey's diplomatic activities in West Germany in a bad light. Scmichastnyy, as KGB chief, also controlled Khurshchev's guards, isolated Khrushchev from his supporters, and escorted him from the airport to the Presidium meeting held to oust him. Sergey considered the conspirators all the more duplicitous because, he said, Shelepin had consciously played up to him (Khrushchev's son), while Semichastnyy had married Adzhubey's sister and was a close friend of Khrushchev's son-in-law.

In contrast to Medvedey, Sergey Khrushehev portrayed Suslov as playing a minor role. He wrote that "according to rumours he knew nothing about the impending coup and when he found out, became very frightened." Nevertheless, continued Sergey, Suslov "quickly reoriented himself" and agreed to be the one who phoned Khrushchev to persuade him to return from vacation to attend the Presidium meeting. He also delivered the main report against Khrushchev at the plenum. However, wrote Sergey, Suslov was "assigned" to deliver the report only because Brezhnev and Podgornyy had refused.

Sergey's account of the debate in the Presidium - an account related by Anastas Mikoyan to a close friend - had Shelepin listing Khrushchev's errors "in the name of the others present," Shelest and Gennadiy Voronov sharply attacking Khrushchev, with Brezhnev, Podgornyy, and Aleksey Kosygin remaining silent, and Mikoyan halfheartedly suggesting that Khrushchev be allowed to keep one of his leadership posts.

Werner Hahn is Senior Specialist for the Foreign Broadcast Information Service (Reston, VA). The views in this article do not necessarily reflect the official position of the

## Philippines: Peace Babble

In the war between the communist insurgents and the Philippine military, to be able to talk peace both sides will have to fight more. Ramon Isberto of IPS explains reporting from Manila.

South-east Asia's longest running insurgency conflict, talking peace is as good a tactic as shooting in the war between the Philippine military and communist rebels.

Thus, when government and rebels talk of peaceful negotiations, observers wonder whether what they really mean is more fighting.

Recently, the government responded to persistent peace scelers from the rebel underground by saying it was willing to talk - but only with local commanders and not the national leadership.

The National Democratic Front (NDF), the rebels' umbrella group, quickly dismissed this as a crude attempt at divided and rule. But the government said it would start localised peace talks anyway.

Analysts here take the government's response to mean it is not interested in peace negotiations.

"What (officials) are reallytrying to say is 'no'," commented the Philippine Daily Globe newspaper. "But they don't want it to appear that the government is averse to talking peace."

The military leadership is plainly not eager to interrupt a war they say they are winning. Armed Forces Chief of Staff

Gen Lisandro Abadia has claimed that the military's strategy of systematically dismantling strongholds of the New People's (NPA), the military arm of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), is succeeding.

In the past three years, the number of NAP 'guerilla zones' dropped from 71 to 57 while rebel manpower fell from 26,000 to 17,000 Abadia says.

At that rate, the insurgency will shrink to a manageable 'police problem" by the time

Aquino steps down from office next year, Abadia adds.

It is the insurgents who have doggedly pressed their peace proposals. Days after Mt Pinatubo erupted in June, the NPA declared a ceasefire in the devastated areas.

Soon after, in an open letter to President Corazon Aquino, the NDF reiterated its willingness to "sit down with your government and seriously work towards negotiating a political settlement."

This was a repeat of events last year when the NDF declared a ceasefire and proposed peace talks shortly after a killer earthquake destroyed large areas in the country's

That initiative won the support of the Catholic Church and various peace groups, which successfully convinced Aquino to reversed her longstanding policy of spurning rebel peace feelers.

But hopes for peace quickly fizzled out. Manila rejected NDF proposals for face-to-face meetings between government and rebel representatives abroad and the involvement of intermediaries.

Defence department officials say the NDF peace initiatives are cynical attempts to score political points. The rebels' real objective, they say, is not peace but belligerency

In an 82-page primer that details its peace proposals, the NDF does stress that it should be recognised as a "belligerent force in a civil war."

The NDF also proposed that negotiations be held under the auspices of the United Nations Secretary General, like the talks between the Salvadorian government and the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN).

The NDF international ticularly in the capital.



office in the Netherlands has also asked the Swiss government to host the talks, possibly in Geneva.

Swiss deputy foreign minister Klaus Jacobi brought up the matter with the Philippine government when he visited Manila in May. But the Swiss offer was turned down.

Analysts here wonder whether the NDF's repeated peace offers, which date back to February 1989, are simply attempts to regain the political initiative from the government or reflect a genuine shift in the movement's strategy for seizing power.

Though the CPP and NPA remain officially committed to a strategy of first building rural bases and seizing power in the cities later, the rebels have in recent years tried to establish a greater urban presence, par-

Underground sources say rebel leaders here and abroad have shown great interest in the FMLN's decision to shift its emphasis from seeking an outright military victory against the government to political actions like peace talks and elections.

A similar shift in strategy by the NDF would mean a situation where two contending sides would, as an NDF source put it, "talk and fight." One NDF source observed

that the FMLN succeeded in bringing the Salvadorian government to the bargaining table because its guerilla forces where strong enough to battle the state to a stalemate.

To create a similar situation, the NPA would have to greatly increase its present armed strength and may mean more, not less, fighting.

long the law allows it. The

non-smokers are becoming too

good Samaritans) and boorish.

do not realize that in large

metropolitan cities they

"smoke" the equivalent of

three cigarettes every day.

How do they propose to stop

'smoking', before they offer

free advice to the smokers?

A Smoker

Dhaka 1207

Perhaps the non-smokers

US government. By arrangement with "Problems

of Communism".

Letters for publication in these columns should be addressed to the Editor and legibly written or typed with double space. For reasons of space, short letters are preferred, and all are subject to editing and cuts. Pseudonyms are accepted. However, all communications must bear the writer's real name, signature and address.

### Gorbachev utters God

Sir, A very interesting news was published in the 4th August issue of one of the local datlies, "Gorbachev utters God, quotes Bible." The last paragraph is specially worth mentioning:

"Gorbachev frequently mentions God in his public remarks. Last week the Communist Party Central Committee adopted his new party platform that is expected to end the preaching of atheism as party doctrine."

Socialism as a belief has seen its own death within a' period of less that 100 years. On the other hand, more and

more people throughout the world are evaluating Islam from a new perspective - they are beginning to view Islam not as a "religion" only but as a "system" for man to follow the term system meaning anything and everything a human being encounters throughout his life.

Md. Humayun Kabir,

### Smokers' wars

Sir, Etiquette books remind us "Mind your own business." Those who do so are certainly gentlemen. When non-smokers start giving their views on smoking, they are apt to get carried away by their own enthusiasm. They do not care to read the small print which

i) Smoking is not yet illegal, therefore the smokers are not breaking the law; and are, therefore, not criminals yet but are being treated as pseudo criminals by a small section of the society, which is not fair. The sales of cigarette (and tobacco products) are very much legal.

ii) Officially there are campaigns in various countries to discourage people from smoking, and certain areas, mostly indoors, have been declared 'No Smoking' zones, with legal penalties in some countries.

The smokers are sane people who do not get 'drunk' on excessive smoking, as in the case of drinking alcohol, but since the western society has accepted 'drinking', the anticampaign, if any, is on low key, and rather 'transparent'. The social and domestic effects of drinking are well known. We seem to be blindly impressed by western materialistic R & D. Let us be democratic, so

**English Language** 

Sir, Now-a-day both English Literature and English Language are taught at Dhaka University as Honours and Post-graduate courses. But it is a matter of great regret that only English Literature is taught at Jahangirnagar University. Although a large number of students are interested to study English Language they cannot avail themselves of the opportunity for the lack of this system at Jahangirnagar University.

Therefore, I draw the attention of the appropriate authoriintolerant (in trying to be the ties to the matter in the hope Mourning Day? of necessary action as soon as possible.

> Mahbubul Alam English (Hons.), 1st year, Jahangirnagar University .

### National mourning day

Sir, It is interesting to note that Awami League has demanded 15th August to be declared as National Mourning Day. We remember, in 1972 Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman himself declared 21st February as National Mourning

Is it possible that a nation observes two National Mourning Days and Awami League proposes to disregard the decision of Bangabandhu, their own leader, and the Father of the Nation by changing the date fixed for national mourning? Cannot we pray for the departed soul, show re-

spect to him without the day being called as National

Munira Khan

Dhaka

### Obituary reports and FP

Sir, It appears from obituary reports in various newspapers that a good number of govern ment officials left behind half a dozen children or so each. The government continues to preach two-child family, family planning, population control, birth control. All those officials were responsible to realise those objectives but they themselves practised otherwise should the government officials be sincere in controlling the 'number one' problem and maintain record of all

Sadiq Alee Maghbazar, Dhaka.

public representatives?