

## Mikhail Gorbachev's speech at Finlandia Palace

*Here follows the full text of the speech delivered on October 26 by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev at the Finlandia Palace, Helsinki:*

Mr President,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,  
Comrades,

This meeting with you, representatives of people who have become our friends, is winding up the main part of my visit.

We will implement its results together. But one can already say that President Koivisto and I have initiated a new stage in the favourable development of Soviet-Finnish relations.

The meeting here, at the Finlandia Palace, is also remarkable for the fact that it takes place, if you allow me to express it in this way, at the same "maternity home" where the common European process was born 15 years ago. It was here that the Helsinki chimes started to count European time from 1975.

Strongly influenced by new thinking in the past few years, this process is rapidly gaining in strength and being filled with practical measures. Under its influence, the entire world community began moving.

For centuries interstate relations were subordinated to the logic of violence – the harsh and sophisticated logic of war. Politics was the hostage of Mars, the God of War. It was said that the diplomats' role was to foster an atmosphere that ensured advantage for their country in the next war.

Only in our times, the new logic – the logic of new political thinking – intruded into this centuries-old process. It is making only its first steps: achieving a new level in the Helsinki Process, the 1986 Stockholm Agreements on confidence-building measures, the Delhi Declaration, the INF Treaty, the Geneva Accords on Afghanistan, the new dimension of interstate dialogue at summit level as a key factor of modern world policy, the revival of the role of the United Nations – all these are impressive signs of the new logic of global development.

An hour ago they were joined by the Soviet-Finnish Declaration, which we signed with President Koivisto. It is a document of international significance: the largest Eurasian nuclear state, a member of a military alliance and a relatively small neutral state in northern Europe jointly stated their resolve to promote in interstate affairs the principles of free choice, democratisation and humanisation of relations, the primacy of international law and common human values. They also call on other countries and peoples to do the same.

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This document testifies to the unique, high level of relations between the Soviet Union and Finland and at the same time reflects the growing hope in the world for turning the domestic and foreign policy of states to man.

But this turn of paramount significance can only take place in conditions of peace.

What is it? How do we understand it?

Peace envisages a general agreement between states that no problems, past or present, can be solved with the help of weapons. If this is so, armaments should be reduced to the level of sensible defensive sufficiency, while power politics, hegemony and interference in the internal affairs of other states should be renounced. Phenomena, like the presence of troops on foreign territories, military alliances, COCOM and vast areas kept off limits, which are so habitual but are incompatible with the peaceful period, should be gradually phased out.

Peace means a constant political dialogue, which signifies a search for mutually acceptable decisions and at the same time represents a kind of preventive measure against conflicts and misunderstandings. It is also a source of new ideas, and new attitudes in international affairs.

Peace means creating a generally-recognised legal basis for relations between states. A worldwide legal order, if you like, which ensures the freedom of socio-political choice and guarantees the sovereignty and independence of every one. Naturally it presupposes observance at international level of the moral norms which characterise relations between civilised people.

Peace means taking joint care to form a truly international, genuinely global economy, which would promote the stable development of each country, the sensible utilisation of its own resources and mutually advantageous access to resources of other countries on an equal basis.

Peace means broadly-based and open co-operation in tackling global problems, from protecting the environment to eradicating such scourges of the century as terrorism and drug abuse.

Peace means establishing an international system of emergency relief aid in cases of natural calamity, industrial accidents and catastrophes, or any other life-endangering situations.

Finally, peace means the interaction of countries and peoples in ensuring and protecting human rights in all their diversity on a worldwide scale. These constitute the pivotal and humanistic contents and the main meaning of peace.

Can mankind effect this breakthrough towards a fundamentally new quality of mutual relations?

Of course, this is a difficult problem. History practically does not know a prolonged period of stable peace.

However, mankind has an "example", a kind of "experimental base", on which to foster a peaceful period. This is Europe, which has been living without war for nearly 45 years and accumulated an instructive potential of living together by many different countries. It is called the common European process.

It is no accident that Finland was the venue of the successful first "constituent" European conference on security and co-operation. To this end, it provided its capital and through the art of

its diplomats made a sizeable contribution to building "bridges of accord" between East and West, to drafting the agreements which were reached at that time. It is only logical that the process, which started here, is referred to by two names, "common European" and "Helsinki"

I cannot help mentioning the constructive contribution of small and medium states, especially in the north of Europe. Europeans owe many useful ideas and compromise initiatives to them. We hear the clear and authoritative voice of Finland in all this work. Much credit for what has been achieved by common European efforts, goes to the "N & N" group that is to neutral and non-aligned countries which, incidentally, make up a third of the European community of states.

The months since the Vienna meeting have shown things are making confident headway in Europe. This is corroborated by the first part of the Paris Conference on Human Rights, the London Information Forum and the Sofia Conference on Ecology. There are grounds to hope that agreement on the reduction of troops and weapons and confidence-building measures in Europe can be achieved already next year. This would be an event of such importance that it would be correct for the leaders of all states participating in the European process to sign this document.

Moreover, I believe, a logical idea is taking root in public opinion: it is evidently high time for the present generation of the leaders of European countries, the United States and Canada to discuss once again the state of European affairs and to look at Europe's future and even into the next century. Therefore, it would be advisable to hold a meeting within the European process, scheduled for 1992, at the level of the leaders of all 35 states. We would welcome it if this "Helsinki-2" would be held in Helsinki. President Manuno Koivisto told us today that he agreed.

In the meantime, we intend to tirelessly consolidate bilateral co-operation with European countries, the United States and Canada and to improve interaction with the European Economic Community and the European Free Trade Association.

The establishment of a European economic zone is on the agenda today. The fact that the integration groups are developing at a different pace, should not interfere with a search for points of contact. Especially, since there are many common concerns even now.

Taking this into account, would not it be expedient to hold an expert meeting of countries representing all the three groups? Such a "European tripartite commission" could discuss, for instance, the comparability of economic and statistical indicators and compatibility of economic mechanisms. The changes in Europe remind us of this need.

After our visit to Strasbourg, we are establishing contacts with the Council of Europe at parliamentary and government levels. Those contacts are encouraging and make us think about the future. The Council of Europe with its conventions and agreements as well as specialised agencies has accumulated a rich experience of many-sided relations, which deserves to be

actively utilised.

Turning to the disarmament aspect of the European process, it will undoubtedly be beneficially influenced by recent positive changes also outside the Vienna talks. We have moved closer to concluding a treaty on the complete prohibition and elimination of chemical weapons. There is progress in intermediary steps which, we hope, will lead to the end of Soviet and American nuclear tests, in which the entire world population is vitally interested. Constructive actions on both sides have improved the prospects of concluding a treaty on a 50 per cent reduction in Soviet and US strategic offensive weapons. All of this, undoubtedly, brings us closer to a peaceful period.

But the greater the progress along this road, the more urgent the need for tackling questions concerning naval forces, including confidence-building measures and adequate controls. The destabilising role of these forces will grow as other types of armaments are reduced.

Their present numerical strength in the East and especially in the West clearly exceeds the requirements of protecting sea lanes and coastal defence. Naval forces with their immense missile and artillery power, aviation, aircraft carrying ships and landing forces are capable of operating both at sea and on land.

In our view, the process of strengthening confidence, of lowering and then completely eliminating military confrontation and making the transition to non-offensive defence will not take place if this problem is not resolved.

As your guest, it is appropriate and topical to express our viewpoint on the security of the European north. This region is of great stabilising importance for the entire European process.

The Soviet Union praises Finland's initiative (supported by other countries) which prompted the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in the north of Europe. We know that this idea does not meet with understanding everywhere, for instance in the United States. Speaking here, I should like to address our partners in Washington and other capitals: let us examine all aspects of this issue. Let us meet halfway the wish of peoples in northern Europe to turn their countries into a reliable flank of a European and world-wide system of security.

Some ideas on this issue were put forth in Murmansk. We have also taken specific actions over the past two years. They resulted partially in the INF Treaty and in unilateral moves by the Soviet leadership, which are not directly connected with the on-going negotiations. Today there are no Soviet intermediate- and shorter-range missiles on combat duty in areas adjacent to the north of Europe. Our tactical nuclear weapons are now stationed in such a way that they cannot reach the Nordic countries from anywhere in the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union made a decision about its nuclear weapons in the Baltic Sea. We have begun to eliminate unilaterally some types of these sea-based weapons.

As it was reported the USSR took two submarines out of commission, as a first step, and will eliminate the remaining four submarines known in the West as "Gulf", by the end of 1990. We will also destroy the ammunition for nuclear missiles for these submarines. We shall not replace them. We are ready to agree with all nuclear powers and the Baltic states on efficient guarantees for a Baltic Sea nuclear-free status.

The numerical strength of forces in the European part of the USSR and in the territories of our allies has already been unilaterally reduced by over 200,000 men. In Central Europe we have made considerable cuts in the amount of assault-landing and assault-crossing equipment.

In short, our armed forces increasingly assume a defensive character. In the northern region their transformation in this direction will be completed next year. The numerical strength of Soviet land forces on the Soviet-Finnish border

is now less than the total numerical strength of land forces in Finland.

It can be said with certainty that the military-political situation in the north has drastically improved. An attack or an outbreak of armed conflict in the area is out of question.

I am aware that our neighbours in Nordic Europe and in Finland itself are concerned over a large group of naval forces that is stationed mainly off the Kola Peninsula.

These are our sea-launched strategic forces. As I have already said, the question of their reduction must be decided on a global scale.

As for the northern region, I would like to say the following:

Firstly, our previous proposals for the limitation and reduction of military activity in the area, including that of the navy and the air force, and these made at Murmansk, remain valid.

Secondly, I would like to point out President Koivisto's idea for confidence-building measures in northern maritime areas. As is known, we have proposed to discuss the naval aspects of disarmament at the Vienna talks. These proposals still hold.

However, as an initial step, it is possible to agree on appropriate measures that apply to sea expanses in the northern part of Europe.

Thirdly, taking into consideration the initiatives of other countries, including Norway, we are prepared to start consultations or negotiations towards concluding an agreement envisaging mutual notification of accidents on naval ships, including nuclear submarines.

We want this agreement (that would also cover the North Atlantic) to be signed not only by the Nordic countries but also by all countries that conduct naval activity in this region.

Fourthly, we propose to set up a permanent parliamentary group of Nordic countries to discuss all problems of the region, ranging from security to human rights.

A number of questions could be decided on a bilateral basis. We believe, for instance, it is time to take a fresh look at the problem of demarcating expanses of the Barents Sea with Norway. We need to arrive at a mutually-acceptable solution.

We are ready to establish contacts with the Nordic Council. Initially, we propose a meeting of a delegation from the Council with representatives from the USSR Supreme Soviet, to be followed by meetings with representatives from the supreme soviets of union and autonomous republics situated in the northern part of the USSR.

We are aware of the Nordic countries' concern about environmental problems. We share this concern. Northern nature is fragile and difficult to restore. Considerable damage has already been done to it, and the Arctic region is one of the areas where global weather patterns are determined.

The Leningrad conference of scientists from Nordic countries late last year and a meeting of parliamentarians in Moscow this year marked the beginning of the quest for co-operation in the environmental protection.

Apparently it is time to adopt a common platform and to begin co-operation on its basis, specifically in the production of equipment for environmental protection. We must also establish common norms, standards and methods for controlling the state of the environment in the North.

We welcome Finland's proposal to convene a multilateral intergovernmental conference on the Arctic's ecology.

A discussion of major economic and energy-oriented projects planned to be implemented in Nordic countries would, perhaps, be useful to all. Some of these plans could be mutually supplemented.

The question of the destiny of the national minorities in the North was raised at the parliamentarians' meeting mentioned previously. We are also concerned about this matter.

It was discussed at the Congress of USSR

People's Deputies, by the USSR Supreme Soviet and the September plenum of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Central Committee. We are prepared to establish broad contacts and to exchange our experience in this area.

In short, co-operation among Nordic countries is a very important part of the European process. It promotes the democratisation and humanisation of international relations and ushers in a peaceful period.

Now I would like to address myself to the topic which is central to my visit - Soviet-Finnish relations.

They have a rich history that has not always been easy. There were good and bad times, but the good predominates. A decisive role in this history was played by the fundamental and responsible conclusions our states made after the tragedy of 1939-1944.

Experience has shown that the decision made then has proved to be the only possible, correct and historically wise decision.

An invaluable contribution to the good-neighbourliness and friendship between our two peoples was made by prominent Finnish statesmen, such as Juho Kusti Paasikivi, Orho Kekkonen and, certainly, President Mauno Koivisto, for whom the USSR has full trust and sincere respect.

We in the Soviet Union are deeply satisfied with the development of our relations with Finland. Their importance to us at the height of the cold war, when the Western world had built a wall of alienation around us, can hardly be overestimated.

These relations have not been affected by circumstantial anti-Soviet storms. Now that the post-war period is over, Soviet-Finnish relations will remain a symbol of honesty in international affairs, of respect and of loyalty to promises. It will remain an example of the important role that the reliability of a partner and confidence in bilateral relations can play in world politics. These relations are filled with new political and economic contents and are becoming more effective as an international factor.

We learned to trust the peaceable disposition of each other. We do not avoid discussing problems and frankly familiarise each other with our concerns and anxieties, seeking solutions to difficulties that arise, on this basis.

More than 150 treaties and agreements link our states. Partner relations between the CPSU and Finnish political parties have existed for decades. Public ties between citizens of the two countries are wide and diverse. There emerged a set of instruments for the reciprocal study and coordination of interests. Is this not a contribution to the formation of a policy for a peaceful period on an international scale, to the creation of our future world - a non-violent world, built on a balance of interests, and attention and respect paid to another nation, to people of a different country? The preservation of such relations with Finland will form a lasting and inalienable link in our entire foreign policy activity.

In this context, one cannot but say kind words about the 1948 Treaty on Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Aid. There are few documents in the history of diplomacy which have been so effective for such a long period of time. The Treaty marks a crucial turn in our relations.

We agree with President Koivisto: not a word should be changed in the Treaty. It meets the realities of our time and enables us to act in a fully-fledged and equal manner now and in the future in one's own interests, in the interests of Europe and the world. It has become an inalienable part of the security of northern Europe.

The 1948 Treaty and Finland's neutrality is the basis of your country's foreign policy. Both elements, the Treaty and neutrality, complement rather than contradict each other.

It is known that there were disputes over how to interpret Finnish neutrality. Sometimes they resurface today. Let us not repeat the old stereo-

(continued on page 374)

# Soviet President's speech at reception in Helsinki

President Mauno Koivisto of Finland on October 25 gave a dinner in honour of visiting Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev. The Soviet President made the following speech:

Esteemed Mr President,  
Esteemed Mrs Tellervo Koivisto,  
Ladies and Gentlemen, Comrades,

I am sure, Mr President, that your friendly words will be gratefully received by Soviet people who have the best of feelings and profound respect for their northern neighbour, the land of Suomi.

I wish to greet a people who has preserved the poetic beauty and original look of its land and ennobled rigorous nature by persistent work.

I wish to welcome a nation that has enriched European and world culture by the epos Kalevala, the music of Jean Sibelius, and by the remarkable works of writers, artists, designers, architects. We invite Finnish masters to help us restore architectural monuments in our country.

What Russian artist and philosopher Nicholas Roerich described as 'Finland's enchantment' was an inspiration to Repin, Glinka, Rimsky-Korsakov. Many Russian poets dedicated their verse to Finland's nature and its people.

Lenin and Finland, this theme is forever a source of sympathy between our two peoples. We are grateful to Finns who treasure the memory of the founder of the Soviet State, the leader of our great revolution.

Our destinies have been closely interwoven by history. And both of our countries have not been ungrateful. We have contributed a unique example of equal relations, mutual respect and confidence to the treasure trove of history. And this despite the fact that the past has not always been smooth, and that there was even fierce strife at times.

I wish to greet neutral Finland, its effective and benevolent policy that has been serving peace in Nordic Europe and the whole of Europe for many years.

Finland earned high respect among European peoples and the international community by its international activity, inclination towards dialogue, attention to partners, and at the same time firmness in asserting its stand and the right to its stand under any circumstances.

This made Helsinki the starting point of the European Process. The Soviet Union highly appreciates Finland's contribution to the shaping of positive, sound tendencies during the post-war period and its persistent striving to put an end to the cold war.

We appreciate the stable, many-faceted and productive co-operation between our two states, the public of our countries and personal contacts between Soviet and Finnish citizens.

These are fruits of a far-sighted choice made 45 years ago, a result of efforts by statesmen from Paasikivi to Koivisto. It is particularly important that the youth of our two countries has learnt to treasure everything that has been achieved in this respect by the previous generation and that they wish to replenish this.

The policy of Soviet-Finnish good-neighbourliness has a European scope and is an asset in world politics.

Much of what is now used in international communication was manifested for the first time in relations between the Soviet Union and Finland. They developed methods for the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

I do not want to sound affected, but I cannot

avoid mentioning the fact that relations between the USSR and Finland are exemplary relations in many respects.

Their vitality is shown also by the fact that the international importance of Soviet-Finnish interaction has not lessened even now that dozens of countries have joined in the European Process.

It assumes fresh importance. Our experience confirms the possibility of relations between very dissimilar states that are long-term and remain unaffected by either domestic or foreign circumstantial political considerations.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Staying in your country we have become directly aware of the close interest with which the Finnish people are following the processes taking place in the Soviet Union. What is particularly pleasant, they understand the universal importance of the things with which we are occupied.

The President of Finland and I have already discussed today specific features of the present stage of perestroika.

Each subsequent stage in the renewal of Soviet society – this work has been widely launched – has turned out to be more difficult than the previous one. This is natural, for what we have is a revolution within a revolution. It is more than likely that we are now living through the most crucial moment.

The special complexity of the situation is determined by its transitional character. The correction of past deformations and the radical revision of views on socialism have released a huge amount of public energy and swiftly involved millions of people in political affairs.

Profound transformations in the economic basis and an atmosphere of unfettered hearts and minds has given rise to or aggravated problems which quite often are felt acutely and evoke discontent.

The current priority task is to channel the released energy into practical actions to achieve tangible results in daily living.

We rely on our new Parliament which is promptly increasing its work and learning to perform its role as required by the times.

Fundamental laws currently under discussion by the Supreme Soviet, some of which have already been passed, will alter the entire economic and political structure of society.

Our socialist federation will be filled with new contents. The forthcoming elections to republican and local soviets is a second stage in the political reform, a stage of great importance.

The 28th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party will be a historic milestone in the development of perestroika.

The democratisation of society is the core of the entire process. With all the pluralism of opinions and passions which are characteristic of our life today, the socialist choice of the people remains unshakeable.

Our perestroika has already had an international impact. Tapping the energy of our vast country to assert the primacy of common human values in the world development can help streamline human progress.

We are solving our tasks now in the context of the interests of the world community. This has already influenced the atmosphere in the world and promoted the improvement of the international situation.

Our countries are vastly dissimilar.

But remaining different, preserving all our originality, we respect each other's choice.

What is more, we regard distinctions and dis-

similarity as a source of mutual enrichment and of supplementing each other economically and culturally.

Here is a fresh example from the latter area. Before departure I was presented with two voluminous books in Russian and Finnish. This is the first volume of the joint publication, the bibliography of Uralic studies, prepared by scholars of our two countries.

Unique work has been done. It comprises research into archaeology, ethnography, folklore, linguistics and literary studies of all peoples of the Finno-Ugric group in the 70 years since 1917, the year of great importance for both our states.

Isn't this an example of Soviet-Finnish contribution to world humanities exclamation.

The Soviet Union is firmly determined to continue along the road of friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance with Finland. As you see, I used the formula of the 1948 Treaty.

Much has changed since then, but the fundamental idea, to be friends, to co-operate, to help each other, that was then adopted has not become dated.

It is capable of taking on new contents, adapting to the present and remaining ever relevant.

I hope, Mr President, and I will permit myself to say this on behalf of us both that we shall do our utmost so that Soviet-Finnish relations should remain at the highest level of confidence and good-neighbourliness.

And when needed, our two countries will as ever by trailblazers in international affairs. This requires constant attention and sustained effort.

But we have become accustomed to this. We have rich experience and firm support of our peoples.

I believe that we shall cope with the task. And the summit meeting that we have started so successfully today confirms my belief.

I have one more mission, which is very important and pleasant, to invite you, Mr President, to pay an official visit to the Soviet Union.

To the health of Mr Mauno Koivisto and Mrs Tellervo Koivisto,

To the flourishing of friendly Finland and its people,

To further co-operation and friendship! □

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# Gorbachev and Koivisto discuss Soviet-Finnish relations

THE Soviet Union and Finland have stressed their commitment to "active participation in the creation of a world where there is no use of force, intimidation, inequality, oppression, discrimination, nor interference in the internal affairs of other countries."

In a joint declaration signed in Helsinki on October 26, the leaders of the two countries, Mikhail Gorbachev and Mauno Koivisto, pledged their support for the settlement of all disputes, including regional conflicts, solely through political means.

The two countries expressed "absolute respect for the principle of the freedom of social and political choice, deideologisation and humanisation of the relations between states, adherence to international law in foreign policy activities, and the priority of human interests and values."

Among top-priority measures to guarantee international security they singled out "an exact and urgent definition of the concrete parameters of the minimum deterrence concerning nuclear armaments, including tactical nuclear weapons."

Gorbachev and Koivisto called for the reduc-

tion of conventional armed forces in Europe to a level sufficient for defensive purposes in order to "effectively eliminate the capability for launching surprise attack and for initiating large-scale offensive action."

In the economic sphere, they proposed equal and free interaction between economic systems and integration processes on the basis of extensive commercial, economic, scientific, technical and industrial co-operation.

In a special section dealing with environmental issues, the Soviet and Finnish leaders called for the "restoration of the balance between man and nature as well as recovery of the human habitat by combining scientific and technical development and the improvement of the condition of global and regional ecosystems."

The two countries will strive to protect and restore regional ecosystems and to develop international co-operation for the protection of the Arctic environment and the revival of the marine environment of the Baltic Sea.

The Soviet Union and Finland called for "implementation everywhere to their fullest extent of the human rights and fundamental free-

doms that have been internationally agreed upon, as the yardstick of the practice of states; a dynamic implementation of the human dimension of the CSCE Process and its enrichment in the Conference on the Human Dimension of the CSCE, the next meetings of which will be held in Copenhagen in 1990 and in Moscow in 1991."

The two countries pledged to adhere to the principle of free and open exchange of people, ideas, information, spiritual and cultural values.

They will also exchange experience to be gained from the socio-economic and political development, with a view to eradicate deep-rooted patterns of thinking and enemy perception of the past, to prevent their re-emergence, and to replace them in the consciousness of new generations, above all of the youth, with the image of a partner.

The USSR and Finland undertake to harmonise their laws, regulations, practices and policies with their international obligations.

The two countries will strive to advance towards a unified Europe - a Europe of states adhering to the rule of law, a Europe of trust, harmony, openness and stability, a Europe that does not withdraw into itself but is open towards all continents. □

## Gorbachev, Koivisto sign declaration

AT A meeting held in Helsinki on October 25, Mikhail Gorbachev and Mauno Koivisto expressed satisfaction with the timing of their summit and the opportunity to focus attention on areas in which Soviet-Finnish relations, characterised by a high degree of mutual trust, play an exceptionally important role.

"Our attitude towards Finland has an independent and great value not only on a bilateral basis, but also within the framework of all-European process," said the Soviet leader.

"The meeting is also important as it gives a chance to see what can and should be done to promote Soviet-Finnish interaction with due account for changes in the two countries, in Euro-

pean and world economics and politics," he said.

The people of Finland are making a substantial contribution to civilisation, Gorbachev observed, stressing that this is especially important today when international relations are beginning to change on new, democratic and humanistic principles.

Gorbachev frankly and in detail informed the Finnish President about the current situation in the Soviet Union.

In discussing specific problems of the Soviet economy, they concentrated on a new type of foreign economic relations, the role of joint ventures and the establishment of intensive co-operation zones.

The Soviet President shared his ideas about prospects for resolving ethnic problems in the USSR through renewing and perfecting Soviet federation.

Koivisto expressed full understanding of the Soviet leadership's policy in this area and reaffirmed his principled stand of building Finland's relations with the USSR and its republics in a corresponding way.

In the opinion of the Finnish President, no serious statesman in the West whom he had met lately underestimates the international significance of perestroika.

No one is inclined to behave provocatively with regard to the Soviet Union or Eastern Europe, he added.

Koivisto stressed the importance of integrating the Soviet economy into the world economic system and involving the USSR in the activity of international economic organisations.

Gorbachev, referring to the Soviet Union's principled stance that rules out any interference in the affairs of other countries, pointed to the particular importance of the current period when any attempt to disrupt the natural development desired by peoples is fraught with very grave consequences for the world situation on the whole.

The two presidents exchanged views on the current state and importance of Soviet-American relations.

Gorbachev assessed positively on the whole the talks on strategic arms, conventional armaments and armed forces in Europe, even though serious problems awaiting a mutually acceptable solution remain.

One-on-one conversations will continue. □

invitation to the Finnish Prime Minister to pay an official visit to the Soviet Union.

The Gorbachev-Holkeri conversation was marked by openness and a business-like and broad political approach to prospects of Soviet-Finnish co-operation. □

## Gorbachev and Holkeri express satisfaction with visit

DURING a meeting on the morning of October 26, Mikhail Gorbachev and Finnish Prime Minister Harri Holkeri briefly exchanged impressions of the first day of the visit and voiced complete satisfaction with its content and benevolent atmosphere.

They highly assessed the agreements and protocols to be signed that day, which will largely determine the future of Soviet-Finnish co-operation resting on the solid foundation created in the preceding decades.

They stressed the signal importance of the summit declaration that raises bilateral relations to a qualitatively new level and symbolises the historic significance of the visit.

The interlocutors agreed that the protocols and agreements reflect the intentions of the two sides. They should be followed by practical deeds and the development of specific mechanisms to implement joint ideas.

The sides discussed contacts in the scientific and technical sphere on mutually complementing principles and the mutually beneficial use of Finland's experience in the procurement and

processing of timber.

Special attention was given to ecological problems on the Kola Peninsula, in the border areas and in the Baltic Sea.

Problems of protecting and restoring the environment show how important it is for the two neighbours to take into account each other's interests.

This is also important in the global perspective. The mounting ecological threat inexorably reminds one about the interrelationship of today's world and the interdependence of the Earth's inhabitants, Gorbachev observed.

This is one of the basic ideas of the new thinking. When there is understanding, including on the ecological aspect of interdependence, it is easier to look for solutions in the political sphere.

The Prime Minister resolutely backed this theme and attributed it to the emphasis on human interests that characterises Soviet perestroika.

They agreed in principle on the procedure for studying some most important co-operation projects, including the Pechenganikel Works.

Gorbachev reaffirmed Nikolai Ryzhkov's

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# Eduard Shevardnadze's meeting with Polish President

SOVIET Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze was received in Warsaw on October 25 by President Wojciech Jaruzelski of Poland.

The Soviet official conveyed cordial comradely greetings from Mikhail Gorbachev to the Polish head of state. Jaruzelski expressed his sincere wishes of success to the Soviet leader.

The Polish President stressed the significance of Shevardnadze's visit to Poland. Both parties highly assessed the tonality and content of the conversations and talks held by the Soviet Minister with Poland's Prime Minister and Foreign Minister.

The main message expressed at the meetings was the idea that it is necessary not only to preserve, but also to develop relations between the USSR and Poland and strive to enhance their efficiency.

The Polish officials reaffirmed Poland's loyalty to its allied commitments under the Warsaw treaty which is playing an important role from the viewpoint of Poland's national interests and of the international situation.

The meetings in Warsaw showed that Soviet-Polish friendship is not subjected to short-time

oscillations but rests on the firm foundation of the two states' and peoples' objective interests.

The expansion of the social basis of this friendship in Poland and the completion of the process of clarifying 'blank spaces' in the history of Soviet-Polish relations can and should facilitate the development of friendship.

The known declaration signed by Gorbachev and Jaruzelski gave an impetus to this process.

The parties had a conceptual discussion about changes carried out in the USSR and Poland. The path chosen is not easy, but there is no alternative to it, they said.

The sides expressed confidence that the policies reflecting society's objective requirements will make it possible to overcome the current difficulties and lead the two countries to a new level of development.

Shevardnadze, who is also a member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, met with Mieczyslaw Rakowski, First Secretary of the Central Committee Polish United Workers' Party.

Shevardnadze conveyed to him warm greetings from the leader of the Soviet Communist Party.

It was stressed during the conversation that

the results of Shevardnadze's visit to Warsaw point to the broad understanding in Poland of the paramount importance of close ties with the Soviet Union, that rest on a solid basis created over the past decades.

Rakowski expressed full understanding and approval of the Soviet leadership's policy towards establishing and developing business contacts with the new Polish Government which enjoys the PUWP's support on specific measures directed at overcoming the crisis.

The interlocutors exchanged information about the activity of the two countries and the tasks facing each of them at the current crucial stage in social development in the two countries.

They expressed satisfaction with the two parties' contribution to making positive, tangible changes in the world arena. Tireless efforts by states, parties and peoples are required to promote the positive trends.

The formation of a modern image of socialism and its renewal in keeping with the challenges of the time is to play a fundamental part in this process. □

## SOVIET-POLISH COMMUNIQUE

THE further development and consolidation of good-neighbourly co-operation between the Polish Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the mutual observance of their alliance commitments are in full accord with the vital interests of the two countries and nations and the tasks of safeguarding peace and stability in Europe.

This was stated in the Soviet-Polish Communiqué published on October 26 on the results of the visit to the Polish People's Republic of Eduard Shevardnadze, Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs and member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee.

During his two-day visit to Poland on October 24 and 25, Shevardnadze met President Wo-

jcich Jaruzelski. During their talk, the parties expressed profound confidence in the vital importance of the development of relations of friendship and all-round co-operation between the Polish People's Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Soviet and Polish peoples.

Shevardnadze also met Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki. During their friendly conversation, they agreed that the efficiency of Soviet-Polish co-operation needs upgrading on the basis of mutual benefit and full account of the interests of either party, the development of production co-operation and a radical improvement of the mechanism of economic interaction.

Shevardnadze had circumstantial talks with the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs Krzysztof Skubiszewski. They ranged over a wide range of questions covering Soviet-Polish and international relations.

The sides shared the opinion that recent constructive East-West dialogue has given rise to the opportunity for a radical turn towards reducing confrontation and creating pre-conditions for a new, peaceful phase of international development.

The feasibility of the nuclear disarmament programme is attested to by the translation into life of the US-Soviet treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate and Shorter-Range Missiles and the notable progress in talks on the reduction of strategic offensive weapons in conditions of the observance of the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty.

The ministers reiterated their identity of views on the key issues of world politics and expressed interest in a close co-ordination of foreign policy actions taken by the Soviet Union and the Polish Republic with the aim to consolidate European and universal security, reduce arms and attain disarmament, develop co-operation and build up relations of trust among all nations. □

### Soviet State Bank announces rouble exchange rate change

THE USSR State Bank announced on October 25, in line with a decision of the USSR Council of Ministers, a new lower rate of exchange for the rouble to serve Soviet and foreign citizens: the basic rate will be 6 roubles 26 kopecks to the dollar, as of November 1st, 1989.

The special rate will be used by banking institutions in the USSR when selling hard currencies and instruments of payment to citizens travelling abroad on personal matters (visits to relatives, tourist trips, and so on) and when purchasing such currencies and instruments of payment, including when paying out roubles from currency accounts of Soviet citizens.

It will also be used when selling hard currencies and instruments of payment in these currencies to state, co-operative and other public and other enterprises for business trips of their workers abroad.

The rouble's special rate will be published monthly, along with the official rate of the USSR State Bank, in the newspaper *Izvestia*, before the two rates come into force. □

### Shevardnadze praises results of visit to Poland

"SOVIET-POLISH co-operation will continue to develop along an ascending line. Not only the Soviet and Polish Peoples, but all of Europe, are interested in this development," Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze said on Soviet television on October 25.

Commenting on the results of his two-day visit to Poland, Shevardnadze emphasised that his talks with the Polish leaders, including members of the new coalition government, were held "in the most favourable atmosphere" and were "constructive and substantive."

The discussions revealed the interest of the country's new leaders to develop relations with the Soviet Union and deepen and expand Soviet-Polish co-operation.

Shevardnadze stressed the importance of the start of a dialogue with members of the Polish Coalition Government, a step to be continued in the future. □

Address by  
**Mikhail GORBACHEV**  
at the Meeting  
to Mark  
the 40th  
Anniversary  
of the  
German  
Democratic  
Republic

Berlin, October 6, 1989

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# COMMUNIQUE

## Warsaw Treaty Foreign Minister's Committee

THE time is ripe in Europe for a radical change in relations between European countries and the eradication of remnants of the cold war, says a communique signed by the Warsaw Treaty Foreign Ministers and published in Warsaw on October 27.

The ministers said "the unconditional respect for the inviolability of existing borders, territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty of countries, and the observance of generally-recognised principles and norms of international law, provisions of the Final Act of the Conference for Security and Co-operation in Europe and other documents, adopted within the framework of the Helsinki Process, have fundamental significance for building a common European home."

The ministers expressed satisfaction with the positive development of the Vienna talks of 23 Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries to conventional armed forces in Europe, and voiced their determination to work toward the achievement of the first agreement on considerable cuts in conventional armed forces and armaments as early as next year.

Such an agreement could be signed at a summit conference of European countries, the United States and Canada, they proposed.

The foreign ministers favoured the adoption of new confidence- and security- building measures that would cover all kinds of military activities, including naval and air force activities, at the talks of 35 CSCE countries.

They said the creation of a centre for reducing the military threat and averting a surprise attack in Europe would be of much importance.

The ministers called for the immediate beginning of special talks on tactical nuclear weapons in Europe and for the early conclusion of a Soviet-US treaty on 50 per cent cuts in strategic offensive weapons.

The participants in the meeting pointed to the need to observe the Soviet-American anti-ballistic missile treaty in the form it was signed in 1972.

The ministers stressed the need to end all nuclear weapon tests. They called for the renunciation of nuclear weapon modernisation on a mutual basis and for the early conclusion of an international convention on a total ban on and elimination of chemical weapons.

In this connection, they called on participants in the Geneva talks to solve outstanding issues in 1990.

The ministers also favoured talks on naval forces with the participation of all countries concerned, above all countries having the biggest potentials in this field.

The ministers reiterated the topicality of the stand and proposals on disarmament issues, contained in a statement adopted by the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee in Bucharest.

They called for the extension of economic, commercial, scientific and production ties and

denounced the practice of containing their development for political reasons.

The ministers emphasised the importance of broadening international ecological co-operation, which is expected to be boosted by an all-European conference on the environment in Sofia, Bulgaria.

The foreign ministers favoured broader contacts between people and for co-operation in the areas of information, culture and education.

They exchanged views on preparations for CSCE conferences on the human dimension in Copenhagen and Moscow and for a symposium on the European cultural legacy in Krakow, Poland.

"Headway on disarmament, confidence-building, the development of co-operation and the construction of an indivisible Europe will help create a common European system of collective security and simultaneously disband the Warsaw Treaty and NATO," the communique said.

The foreign ministers called for an early negotiated settlement of regional conflicts and seats of tension and for a comprehensive political settlement of the Afghan problem on the basis of national reconciliation. They favoured a united, sovereign and non-aligned Afghanistan.

The ministers noted the considerable contribution of the Non-Aligned Movement to the solution of topical problems.

The communique said the Warsaw Treaty Foreign Ministers' Committee will hold its next meeting in Bucharest. □

## MIKHAIL GORBACHEV'S FINLANDIA SPEECH

(continued from page 370)

types and recall unfounded apprehensions. Yes, Finnish neutrality, like the neutrality of every country with such a status, has its peculiar features. But I would like to state with all certainty: the Soviet Union unconditionally recognises Finland's neutral status and will continue to observe it in full measure.

Mr President, you said on many occasions that Finland believes that its neutrality means neither indifference to the processes under way in the world nor disregard for the obligations which it has taken, like any other member of the world community. Finland proved with deeds that a relatively small, but goodwilled state can play an important, dynamic role in the world affairs.

In talks with the President and other Finnish statesmen, we discussed ways to further develop bilateral relations. I will not repeat what was said yesterday. I will only say that the President and I are firmly convinced that, for all their scope, Soviet-Finnish relations have many un-

sed possibilities. We agreed to do all we can to translate these possibilities into reality.

In fact only one aspect of our relations – the state of trade and economic exchanges – gives rise to concern. The difficulties that have arisen are objective in nature, but this does not mean that they cannot be overcome. I am convinced that the numerous contacts and talks between our representatives during this visit and, naturally, the documents which have been signed will facilitate a solution of the problem.

The President and I also discussed some new ideas.

I think that republic and regional cost-accounting will boost the ties of Finland and its individual regions with regions of Russia, Karelia and Komi, and the Soviet Baltic republics.

Mr President,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,  
Friends,

Each of our countries has its own history and traditions, concerns and interests. Each lives by its own time, so to say.

But the extension and perfection of our relations with each other is also in our own interests, in the interests of Europe and the entire world community. Together we have already begun to build the "northern wall" and the "northern roof" of the European home – a peace project of the future. We have helped others to believe in it by setting an example of good-neighbourliness.

I sincerely wish Finland and its people well-being and prosperity.

I want to thank all the citizens of Finland for their hospitality, cordiality and friendly feelings. □

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# New Soviet approach to United Nations

"IN ITS view of the future, the Soviet Union attaches a most important role to the United Nations Organisation, to international institutions. We attach priority importance to enhancing the role of the United Nations and its prestige in international affairs."

Vladimir Petrovsky, USSR Deputy Foreign Minister, said on October 26 in the First Committee of the UN General Assembly (for political, disarmament and related international security questions).

He said Soviet foreign policy is based on the principles of primacy of common human values, morality and ethics.

These values are not abstract notions. They exist, and they cannot be interpreted arbitrarily or selectively.

Generally recognised documents, above all the United Nations Charter, declarations, covenants and conventions, resolutions adopted and observed by the overwhelming majority of states serve as the guidelines, he said.

Precisely this approach enables the USSR to admit courageously and honestly the errors made, and it is a guarantee that they will be corrected and prevented in future, Petrovsky said.

The primacy of common human values means also the priority of international interaction. International institutions and mechanisms are called upon to play the guiding, consolidating and integrating role, to serve as a beacon of stability in the world today.

All-out support for the United Nations is one of the main directions of the Soviet Union's foreign policy.

The Soviet Union's reappraisal of the role and place of the United Nations and other international mechanisms of interaction went hand-in-hand with the growing awareness of the fact that there are no problems in the world that are not our concern.

The ensurance of compatibility of the measures taken in the USSR with international practice assumes special importance during perestroika in the USSR.

The changes in conceptual approaches to the United Nations entailed practical steps to restructure the Soviet Union's line in the United Nations, Petrovsky said.

This is the purpose of the unified strategic line with regard to the United Nations and related international organisations, adopted by the USSR. It is based on such fundamental principles as the consistent course at deideologisation of the United Nations and the overcoming of politisation of its specialised institutions.

This strategic line is based on fundamental orientation at observing and following standards developed by international organisations and serving as the gauge of the conduct of states in virtually every area of human activity.

The revival through which the United Nations is now living has been manifested most strikingly in its growing success in the construction of a new world and settlement of regional conflicts. This revival is also felt in the area of disarmament.

This is promoted by the fact that instead of mere declaration, disarmament is now beginning to be manifested in specific actions.

However, most dynamic changes in the area of disarmament are taking so far only in Soviet-American relations.

A great deal has been achieved in this. As a result of recent meetings in Washington and Wyoming the Soviet-American dialogue was brought to a new level.

A comprehensive approach to the quest of

security requires bilateral and multilateral efforts in the area of disarmament.

It is only through multilateral efforts and arrangements that it is possible to eliminate nuclear weapons, create guarantees that they are not restored, impose a comprehensive ban on nuclear tests, prevent the spread of the arms race to space, agree on parameters of reasonable sufficiency of military potentials and ensure that they are defensive only.

It is expedient to employ multilateral mechanisms also for the solution of such important matters as non-proliferation and elimination of chemical weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, the limitation and reduction of conventional arms, and world military expenditures and arms deliveries.

The main thing is that the United Nations activity be oriented at the establishment of a new model of security on a global scale, at turning away from the principles of overarmament to principles of reasonable sufficiency.

"We believe that the enhancement of the role and effectiveness of the General Assembly in the sphere of disarmament would also be promoted by consistent fulfilment of appropriate resolutions of the General Assembly," Petrovsky said.

"And we do not just urge others to do so, while keeping apart. We embark on this ourselves and we show consideration for how our words and actions are regarded.

"New political thinking made us employ a different criteria of our own conduct, viewing them through the prism of common human values," he said.

"Thus, in connection with Afghanistan, taking into account numerous instances when our action was condemned by 100 odd members of the United Nations, we have come to realise that we have opposed ourselves to the international community, violated norms of conduct, went against common human values. The realisation of this made us withdraw our troops from Afghanistan," Petrovsky said.

An example from the area of disarmament can be cited. Over a number of years, the Soviet Union voted against the resolution calling for the termination of production of fissionable materials for military purposes. Later the USSR abstained from voting, and now it actively supports the resolution. This is not a tactical correction of the stance, but its essential revision, Petrovsky said.

The Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister declared for a substantial enhancement of the United Nations contribution to multilateral disarmament. He declared that the United Nations Security Council, in the framework of its powers, should tackle matters of armaments regulation.

The United Nations Secretary-General plays

an important role in the United Nations activity for the consolidation of international peace and security through disarmament, he said.

The Soviet Union heeds the opinion of the UN Secretary-General and highly appreciates his recommendations, striving to help them promote the enhancement of the United Nations efficiency.

The setting up of various mechanisms helping the United Nations Secretary-General in his effective work is wholly justifiable. Thus a mechanism of investigating various uses of chemical and bacteriological weapons is functioning.

The Soviet Union is preparing to admit to its territory UN groups of inspectors in the framework of the agreed-upon procedures.

Further steps in this direction should be considered, for instance, by working out a similar mechanism for the investigation of cases of possible violation of the convention on 'inhumane weapons'.

The USSR believes that the work of the First Committee of the General Assembly can be made more effective by passing on from debates to virtual actions and adopting important decisions.

The Geneva Conference on Disarmament plays a special role in multilateral efforts.

Its priority task is to conclude talks on the working out of a convention on complete and effective ban on the development, production and stockpiling of all kinds of chemical weapons and on their destruction.

This would give an important impetus to work in other directions, above all on matters of terminating nuclear tests, curtailing the nuclear arms race and preventing nuclear war.

The USSR is in favour of this multilateral forum becoming a universal permanent body for talks on disarmament.

The Soviet Union highly appreciates the successful initiatives of France and Australia for the holding of a conference on chemical weapons in Paris and Canberra. The USSR supports the idea of spreading the action of the 1963 Moscow Treaty to underground nuclear tests, welcomes the United States initiative for working out a regime of open skies and will take part in a conference proposed by Canada to discuss this matter.

The Soviet Union is prepared to discuss such a problem as international supplies of armaments and to take part in deciding on parameters.

The problem of terminating naval arms race requires the use of entire mechanism for talks, Petrovsky said. He also set out the Soviet stance on the problem of regional disarmament.

The Soviet Union calls for a constructive dialogue about ways and means of using the potential of multilateral disarmament, the Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister said in conclusion. □

## Marshal Akhromeyev on reduction of naval forces

*THE Soviet Union Wants Dialogue and Co-operation, What About the United States?* is the headline under which the October 30 edition of *Pravda* carries an article by Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergei Akhromeyev.

He emphasises the problem of talks for the reduction of naval forces, which, he states, now comprise the major security issue to the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union, the article says, remembers that talks are under way on problems concerning strategic nuclear arms and cuts in armed forces in Europe.

"Both sides are interested in such cuts. However, naval forces are now one of major and even the most important security issues to the Soviet Union.

"Owing to the United States' opposition, no talks on the reduction of naval forces are being held. The United States gives unclear reasons for its stand but only one reply suggests itself, namely, that it rejects any talks on the reduction of American and Soviet naval forces because it has a considerable advantage in naval forces and weapons over the Soviet Union."

The US Navy, Akhromeyev points out, has a 2.5-1 advantage over the Soviet Navy in large surface ships (battleships, cruisers, destroyers,

(continued on next page)

## Meeting of economists at CPSU Central Committee

ON October 30 the newspaper *Pravda* published a detailed report on a meeting of Soviet economists at the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee.

Opening the meeting, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev pointed to the equal interest of all in the all-round and objective appraisal of the economic and social situation in the country.

"We are unanimous in this respect," he said. "But there is great discordance on how to get out of this situation," he added.

"But differences are caused not only by a search for ways. Their roots are evidently in different understanding of the key questions, the general questions, without the perception of which it is impossible to march forward.

"One of such issue is, above all the question of how we understand the society in which we want to carry out perestroika," said the Soviet leader.

"The concept, the main idea lies in the fact that we want to give a new lease of life to socialism through perestroika and to reveal the potential of the socialist system, overcoming people's alienation from property, means of production, political process, power and culture," Gorbachev said. "In my opinion, this is essentially a truly Marxist formulation of the problem: man is at its centre."

This is a concept which inspired us over all these years and on the basis of which we are charting specific ways through the difficult transitional period where there will evidently be many various stages," Gorbachev continued.

But there are also other questions which need immediate solutions. Above all the situation on the consumer market and in finances. This is what should be tackled as soon as possible so

that people should feel real fruits of perestroika.

"We should confidently march along the new road. But we should march deeply convinced that we act correctly on the main issues," Gorbachev emphasised.

"The subsequent discussion was joined by leading economists, lawyers and managers of major enterprises. Many of them are legislators. Their speeches reflected the entire range of interests, stands and viewpoints on questions set before the meeting.

Summing up the meeting, Gorbachev said: "We should come to the Congress of People's Deputies with the government's report on measures to improve the economy, finances and the market and to set out clearly views on the 13th five-year plan period.

"In tackling current questions, we should at the same time prepare an economic programme for the next five-year plan period which should be well thought-out and studied. Therefore, I'd like to ask comrades to form groups of scientists which would join this important work.

"We should create even now great 'scientific safety margin' for drafted measures, since we take major decisions which will determine the development of our economy for many years ahead. Therefore, now that these prerequisites are being created, it is very important for us to give society well thought-out laws."

"It is important to pool all creative efforts now, at the stage of taking key decisions," Gorbachev noted. "Major constructive steps are needed. We are ready for this, quite ready. We should work all together. The entire creative potential of politicians, economists and all specialists should be mobilised." □

## President Bush receives Supreme Soviet delegation

ON October 26 US President George Bush met in the White House the Yevgeni Primakov, Chairman of the Council of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet and alternate member of the CPSU Central Committee.

Primakov is leading the delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet on a visit to the United States at the invitation of the leadership of the US Congress.

During the talk, President Bush and Chairman Primakov discussed aspects of the development of the Soviet-American relations and the expansion of interparliamentary contacts between the two countries.

US Vice-President Dan Quayle, Presidential National Security Adviser, the White House Staff Manager and Yuri Dubinin, Soviet Ambassador to the United States, were present at the meeting.

The meeting with President Bush was held in a very positive atmosphere, Primakov told journalists after the event. We analysed the way traversed by our countries to attain better relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. We can move ahead together in tackling a number of international issues.

During the conversation, the leader of the Soviet delegation continued, we noted the need to strengthen links between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the US congress.

The President spoke very warmly about the need to expand and strengthen such ties. This gives rise to optimism.

Primakov also noted that President Bush wished success to perestroika in the Soviet Union and expressed the hope that his forthcoming summit with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev will be productive and fruitful. □

(continued from previous page)

and guided missile frigates), an absolute advantage in attack aircraft carriers (the United States has 15 of them, the Soviet Union — none), a 2.5-1 advantage in naval aviation planes, a 2-1 advantage in aggregate tonnage, and a 19-1 advantage in marine corps strength.

"Surrounding the Soviet Union with military bases, including naval ones, for 40 years and deploying ships, aircraft, troops, command agencies and stocks of material means, the United States, it seems, intends to continue to exert pressure with these forces and to threaten the Soviet Union.

"The Soviet Union should inevitably draw appropriate conclusions from this. If we reach accords during talks — with the United States on a 50 per cent cut in strategic offensive arms and with NATO on a radical cut in armed forces in Europe — and actually reduce these forces on a reciprocal basis, the US naval forces and military bases around the Soviet Union will remain intact. The military threat to the Soviet Union will grow and its position in the world will deteriorate.

"Can we allow this to happen?" Akhromeyev asks.

"The Soviet-American talks on reducing nuclear and conventional arms have a 20-year-old record," Akhromeyev writes. "They have proceeded with variable successes over the years. It seems that they have now entered a favourable period and there appear to be possibilities for major accords.

"But the US stand is contradictory. While seeking to ensure that the Soviet Union takes into account the interests and concerns of the US and its allies, the American Administration does not take into consideration our interests and concern over US actions at sea in areas which are close to the Soviet Union.

"In view of this, the Soviet-US talks on reducing nuclear and conventional arms apparently

## Soviet economic performance in first nine months

In the first nine months of this year structural shifts continued to take place in social production, according to the USSR State Committee for Statistics (Goskomstat) which released figures on Soviet economic performance over this period. New forms and methods of management continued to be introduced. More than 130 million people were employed in the economy between January and September.

However, economic development this year takes place in complex conditions, the report says. The country's socio-economic situation became especially acute in the third quarter, largely due to slackening labour discipline, inter-ethnic conflicts and strikes. As a result losses of working time in the national economy amounted to over 7 million man-days, including 2.3 million in September.

Measures, which are being taken in the country to improve the financial situation, have not yet yielded tangible results.

The average wages and salaries in the national economy have a long and bumpy road ahead. The Soviet Union is ready to remove obstacles from the road, ensuring continuous headway. Is the United States prepared to follow suit?

"Only mutual understanding and the recognition of the need for equal security for each side can lead to accords," Akhromeyev emphasises. □

economy were 236 roubles as against 216 roubles over the same period last year, while remuneration for collective farmers was 168 roubles as against 156 roubles. Personal savings at banks grew by 23.1 billion roubles and reached 319.8 billion.

Three billion roubles' worth of consumer goods were produced (in retail prices), which is 22.3 billion roubles, or 7.8 per cent, more than in the same period last year.

The total volume of retail goods turnover in state and co-operative trade amounted to 295.9 billion roubles. Growing incomes of the population have fueled higher consumer demand for clothes, domestic appliances and radio equipment, building materials. However demand has not been satisfied completely. The range of goods in short supply has increased.

Industry put into production 2,600 new product lines, of them consumer goods account for 10 per cent. Industrial output rose 2.2 per cent over the nine months, while labour productivity increased by 3.6 per cent.

Enterprises of the agro-industrial complex produced 104.2 billion roubles' worth of foodstuffs in retail prices, which is 3.2 billion roubles or 3.2 per cent more than in the same period last year.

The annual plan for exports was fulfilled by 71 per cent, for imports by 74 per cent. Over the past period the number of participants in foreign economic ties increased and amounted to 9,000 by October 1. Over nine months 49.3 and 50.4 billion roubles' worth of products and services were respectfully exported and imported. Exports grew by 0.5 per cent and imports by 5.1 per cent. □