

Mikhail Gorbachev's address to Soviet troops

IN A wide-ranging speech to participants in a military exercise near the Black Sea port of Odessa on August 17, President Mikhail Gorbachev said that the country was on the eve of landmark events – the creation of a market economy and the signing of a new Soviet Union treaty.

Perestroika's aim remains "to implement the socialist idea and give a new lease of life to socialism through economic and political reform and the moral recovery of society," Gorbachev said.

He described "the pervasive monopoly and domination of state property" as the main cause of the current economic crisis.

"This is why the top priority now is to reform property relations across the board and without delay through privatisation, but do this within the framework of our choice," Gorbachev said.

He spoke of the need to "encourage the spirit of enterprise in every way" and foster "an atmosphere of respect for property."

"Everyone should realise that the socialist choice can only be realised through work based on people's own economic motivation. Such work will help overcome both the egalitarian mentality and parasitism, which literally fetter society and block the way to a prompt recovery as soon as possible," Gorbachev said.

Speaking of ethnic problems, he said that the form in which the Soviet Union has existed so far had exhausted its possibilities.

"This is not a justification for its break-up and separatism, but a reason to transform it drastically on new principles," Gorbachev said. He emphasised that the projected new union treaty should mark a turning point in resolving ethnic problems. "It is vital to do everything possible to conclude the union treaty as early as this year," he said.

The President criticised those "working, directly or indirectly, for the break-up of the union," he noted that in their political games, secessionists are afraid of holding a referendum on this issue.

Violations of proclaimed federation principles "have caused enormous damage to all peoples," Gorbachev said. At the same time the essentially "unitary nature of our state led to a very high

degree of economic integration and an unusually deep division of labour within the union and, especially, between production collectives."

"To destroy these ties would be a reactionary thing directly opposite to mounting trends in the world economy, especially in Europe," Gorbachev went on.

On the importance of republican integration, Gorbachev observed that the country's defences constitute a complex integrated system that ensures not only the Soviet Union's security, but also universal security.

"I don't think that someone could start dividing nuclear weapons and the nuclear potential or the system of national defence management, a sophisticated complex in which everything is mutually determined and interdependent," Gorbachev said.

"If we suddenly embark on the establishment of regional structure and the division of defences, we would not only undermine our own security, but would also damage world security."

On military reform, Gorbachev said that changes will be introduced in 1991. Next September, the concept of reform will be considered at the Defence Council (set up in a renewed form at the Presidential Council) and will then be submitted to Parliament.

Military reforms are usually carried out after a war, Gorbachev said. The present situation is similar. "Our armed forces were established to handle tasks of the cold war," he observed. "This war is over now."

The strength and quality of the Soviet Armed Forces in the 1990s are to be decided. The structure of the Army and Navy is to be determined: it will be necessary to decide whether all the existing five branches of the services are required and what role each of them will play, Gorbachev said.

He stressed the importance of calculating on a new rational basis, proceeding from the doctrine of defence sufficiency, what resources could be allocated for defence.

It will be necessary to decide how to form the Armed Forces. Should they be formed on a

mixed basis or wholly in a voluntary way? It must be decided what principle of service should be applied: national-territorial or exterritorial – all-union, or a combination of the two.

On international issues, the head of state said that the end of the cold war was greeted not just by solemn declaration. A whole class of nuclear weapons was reduced and the inexorable determination to cut strategic nuclear systems and conventional armaments in Europe and to ban and eliminate chemical weapons became obvious, he said.

Following the Warsaw Treaty, NATO began reviewing its military doctrine. A substantial step was made towards shaping new security structures in Europe to replace the bloc systems, Gorbachev said.

Responding to his critics within the country, who accuse the Soviet leadership of "losing positions" in Eastern Europe, the President said that Soviet security was not damaged by the developments in East European countries but received a chance to grow stronger on more stable and reliable foundations.

German unification and the USSR's positive attitude to this process became possible thanks to the profound positive changes in Europe, Gorbachev said. "I'm convinced that our policy with regard to German unification is sober and correct."

"We look with optimism at the future of Soviet-German ties. It is also important that the major factor of these ties in the future – the element of trust – was promptly used."

On the Soviet stance towards Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, Gorbachev said that the USSR counts on the sound sense and responsibility of Arab states, relies on the powers and rights of the United Nations and the Security Council and intends to act exclusively within the framework of the collective effort to settle the conflict.

The USSR stands for using political methods to prevent the conflict from growing into a military confrontation of an even more dangerous scope. □

Soviet Foreign Minister receives Iraqi representative

SOVIET Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Saadoun Hammadi met in Moscow on August 20 and discussed many issues.

Hammadi arrived in Moscow on August 20 on a two-day visit as special representative of the Iraqi leadership and was received by Shevardnadze that afternoon.

Replying to questions from TASS immediately after the meeting, Shevardnadze described the meeting which lasted three hours, as "useful and necessary". He said that the sides discussed the situation in the Gulf.

Shevardnadze stressed that the meeting should not be referred to as "negotiations but rather as consultations, an exchange of information, opinions, the comparison of views,

taking into account the present situation in that region."

He said that the sides reached an understanding that "more intense consultations" would be continued during the visit and later "on a more regular basis," which is prompted by the present situation.

Speaking of the latest proposals by President Saddam Hussein, Shevardnadze said: "I believe there are elements deserving attention. We are now conducting intensive work at an expert level."

"We are studying all the details and all parts of the Iraqi President's speech. Later, we shall respond in an appropriate manner."

Noting that he is aware of "the negative response of many in the West" to this speech by Saddam Hussein, Shevardnadze stressed again

(continued on next page)

IN THIS ISSUE

Shevardnadze and Genscher hold joint news conference..... p278

Nikolai Ryzhkov on economic situation p279

Soviet expert opinion on the crisis in the Persian Gulf..... p280

Conversion: the way to political and economic stability p281

Gorbachev, Yeltsin and Ryzhkov teams unite to combat crisis p282

Russian Vice-President says Federal Government should go p284

Shevardnadze and Genscher hold joint news conference

THE November summit Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) in Paris "will open a new stage in the European process," West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher told a news conference in Moscow on August 17 after talks with his Soviet counterpart, Eduard Shevardnadze.

Now that ideological contradictions are overcome, he said, it is necessary to create a single Europe and appropriate structures which should also include a centre to prevent conflicts.

"This accords with the new situation in Europe and new relations between signatories of the Final Act and accords with the peace-making spirit of the Final Act," he said.

Eduard Shevardnadze added that the views of the two sides concerning a centre to prevent conflicts "either concur or are very close."

Asked about a possibility of Soviet republics anticipating in economic co-operation with other states, Shevardnadze said that "there are almost no restrictions in this respect."

When relevant laws are adopted and the Soviet economy begins operating on market prin-

ciples, he said, this opportunity will be granted to union and autonomous republics as well as administrative entities. They will be able to participate in the development of economic co-operation with other countries, including a united Germany. "The central authorities will encourage this," Shevardnadze stressed.

Asked about the situation in the Middle East, including the US military presence in Saudi Arabia, he said that "the presence of US armed forces in Saudi Arabia is temporary."

"If tension persists, I believe the Security Council will act more actively and resolutely," Shevardnadze continued.

One of the questions put to Shevardnadze dealt with Soviet plans concerning the Soviet Embassy in Kuwait. Shevardnadze expressed reluctance to lose the embassy.

"We are now negotiating with Iraqi representatives," he continued. "We shall see the results of our efforts in the next few days."

Relations between the Soviet Union and a reunified Germany will hopefully "be mutually beneficial and useful to our two peoples, our states, to Europe and the whole world," Shevardnadze told the news conference.

Speaking of the contents of his talks with Genscher, Shevardnadze touched upon issues of

German reunification. A concluding document on the final settlement of the external aspects of reunification has already been decided upon in principle, he said.

Contacts are being permanently maintained with the negotiating partners under the two-plus-four formula, Shevardnadze said. "We are approaching a decisive stage," he added.

Shevardnadze believes that the next meeting of the Six, which will be held in Moscow on September 12, will be the last.

"An appropriate political document, coordinated at all levels, will hopefully be initialled and, maybe, signed," he added.

All components of such a document were discussed this time, Shevardnadze said. "Although the sides made substantial headway, I cannot say that all problems have been resolved," he added.

The Soviet Union's bilateral relations with a reunified Germany "were discussed during the talks," Shevardnadze said.

The negotiators also discussed an agreement on co-operation in the economy, trade, science, technology and culture and matters connected with the stationing of Soviet troops in East Germany and their withdrawal, Shevardnadze said. □

Tass comments on Shevardnadze-Genscher meeting

By Albert Balebanov, TASS political observer:

THE recent Moscow talks between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and his West German counterpart Hans-Dietrich Genscher have made it possible to take a considerable step towards the unification of East and West Germany.

The two ministers said the two-plus-four talks, scheduled to be held in Moscow on September 12, will finalise the settlement of external aspects of German unification.

This confidence rests on the Shevardnadze-Genscher accord on a final document, to be adopted by the six nations. The accord on major aspects of the document adds to the consensus already reached by the other partners in the negotiations.

Practically, this accord means that on September 12 the six nations will be able to initial a document on the final settlement of German unification.

(continued from previous page)

that, nevertheless, "the first impression" of the Soviet side is "that it has elements deserving serious attention."

Dealing with the evacuation of Soviet nationals from Kuwait, Shevardnadze said that the Soviet side does now feel "special concern" over this issue.

"The Iraqi authorities assist and co-operate with us to make the process of evacuation normal, painless and without any difficulties," he continued.

The first two groups of Soviet evacuees have returned from Kuwait to the USSR. The second, numbering over 120, arrived at Moscow's Shermetyevo Airport today at about 16.00.

Dealing with the evacuation of Soviet citizens from Iraq, Shevardnadze said that women and children are not returning from there. Specialists remain for the time being.

He added that a decision about them will be

This would pave the way for the signing of an agreement by the governments of East and West Germany and its ratification by the negotiating partners.

On the German part, the agreement will be ratified by the parliament of a united Germany. From the moment the fifth, last instrument of ratification is handed over, the agreement will come into force.

Simultaneously, the rights and responsibilities of the four World War II allies will become null and void, and the united Germany will become fully sovereign.

The Shevardnadze-Genscher talks have shown that the spirit of the meeting between Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl in Stavropol, south Russia, and the solutions reached by them have begun to bear fruit.

The understanding reached by Shevardnadze and Genscher on future relations between the Soviet Union and a united Germany is one more

proof of this.

A planned major Soviet-German treaty, the outlines of which are becoming more and more clear, will not only be advantageous to both sides, but will also be useful for Europe and the whole world.

Moscow and Bonn are determined to base their treaty, which will determine Soviet-German relations for years ahead, on the broad positive experience of co-operation between the Soviet Union and the two Germanys.

Shevardnadze and the Genscher believe that the future Soviet-German relations should not just be larger in scope than the Soviet Union's current relations with East and West Germany, but should be qualitatively new in essence, ensuring rapid growth of bilateral co-operation in various fields.

The growing mutual understanding between the Soviet Union and West Germany, which they have displayed in solving the German problem, has begun to cover also other areas.

The two ministers said in Moscow they were going to step up efforts to prepare a meeting of CSCE countries in Paris, and their readiness to start practical work to coordinate a joint declaration of Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries within the framework of the Vienna 23-nation group.

The Soviet Union and West Germany have a common stand on the current crisis in the Persian Gulf. They call for strict compliance with the UN Security Council's resolution and active collective efforts towards an early peace settlement there. □

PAGES OF HISTORY

A Time of Difficult Questions

price 70p from:
Soviet Booklets (SN),
3 Rosary Gardens,
London SW7 4NW.

Nikolai Ryzhkov on economic situation

THE pace of grain harvesting and state grain procurements has considerably risen over the past week, Prime Minister Nikolai Ryzhkov said in Moscow on August 17. This adds optimism to forecasts for harvesting.

Speaking on the programme At Soviet Government on Soviet television, he stressed that the gross grain output has already reached 115 million tonnes, increasing by 25 million tonnes this week.

The state procurements reached 35 million tonnes or seven million more over the week. The grain yield is higher, on average, by 6.4 metric centners per hectare than last year.

Ryzhkov noted the positive result of governmental measures to assist the countryside with labour and machinery, including help from the Army.

He said at the same time that the present rate of harvesting (ten million hectares last week) is insufficient. It is necessary to harvest at least 15 million hectares to complete the harvesting by the end of September with minimum losses.

Ryzhkov told the viewers that the government decided on August 16 to dispatch another 600,000 tonnes of fuel for harvesting needs.

This will tell on the situation with petroproducts in other sectors, since the oil output in the USSR has dropped by 16.5 million tonnes this year.

Ryzhkov expressed concern over economic separatism appearing in republics. Noting the present deep division of labour between republics, as well as the worldwide trend for expanding markets, he called for using advantages of

the capacious all-union market.

The government programme for switching to a market economy, which is now being drafted, is based on such a market.

Ryzhkov visits Ryazan and Tula regions

ON August 19 a helicopter with Prime Minister Nikolai Ryzhkov on board landed in one of the fields of the Novaya Zhizn State Farm, the Ryazan region. He began to acquaint himself with the harvest campaign right there and continued it on the fields of the Pronsky State Farm.

Ryzhkov was told in detail about a scientifically-based system of land cultivation introduced in the region. Now it accounts for a substantial growth in the yield of all farm crops. He also met with local residents and asked them numerous questions about their life, the organisation of communal services, the development of their individual plots of land and, in general, the restructuring of the countryside.

On the same day Ryzhkov visited farms of the Novomoskovsky agro-industrial amalgamation in the Tula region. Three years ago he signed a decree of the Soviet Council of Ministers on the formation of this new structure that embraces the economy of the whole district. Much has been done since that time. Profits have gone up 2.5-3 times, which is the best indicator showing that the reorganisation was not confined just to the changing of names, that it is based on a real economic interest. The district has a complete production cycle – the sowing of grain crops, corn and fodder crops, a pedigree stock-breeding farm and processing enterprises. A supermarket has also been built there.

However, Ryzhkov did not spend the whole day travelling by helicopter to hear enthusiastic stories. Whenever he talked with people – senior executives, ordinary workers or journalists – most serious problems were raised. Primarily, they discussed the harvest campaign and the necessity of inviting city dwellers to help farmers. Ryzhkov is sure that they should be invited.

He said that, unfortunately, food problems had become an inseparable part of our life. Nature and the industrious hands of farmers gave a unique chance to our society this year. It must be used, and the crop must be saved. □

Soviet bill envisages foreign ownership of enterprises

A BILL on foreign investments, submitted by the Soviet Government to Parliament, envisages establishing enterprises fully owned by foreign capital on Soviet territory, Prime Minister Nikolai Ryzhkov announced on August 17.

Addressing the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers, Ryzhkov said that the bill would allow foreign companies to open affiliates in the Soviet Union.

"It is impossible to move towards a market economy while the country is isolated from the world economy," Ryzhkov remarked. "One can no longer rely on joint ventures alone."

According to a senior official of the USSR State Foreign Economic Commission, who asked to remain anonymous, the bill stipulates substantial benefits for joint ventures in which the share of foreign capital exceeds 30 per cent. □

Presidium of Soviet Council of Ministers holds session

SOME 90 different ways for the transfer of the Soviet economy to a market-oriented system have been examined by a commission, created late in June specially for this purpose. A session of the Presidium of the Soviet Council of Ministers was held in the Kremlin on August 17. The session was addressed by Academician Abel Aganbegyan, head of the commission, who spoke about the results of its work. The session was presided over by Prime Minister Nikolai Ryzhkov.

He said that the commission had rejected both the proposals, aimed at saving the command system, and those aimed at the immediate introduction of market relations. Preference was given to a way of the transfer to the market-oriented system with the preservation of the regulating role of the state.

In comparison with the concept, worked out by the government previously, the commission suggested that greater emphasis be laid on the social sphere, the acceleration of transformation of the property relations, including the permission of private property and, which is especially important, on the stabilisation of the credit and financial sphere before starting the reform of price fixing (unlike the price growth together with the preservation of the state control over prices, proposed by the Council of Ministers).

Academician Aganbegyan believes that financial stabilisation can be achieved by next summer with the help of the expansion of the payment sphere, the privatisation of economy, the growth of bank interests rates, the blocking of channels of the growth of budget deficit, the issuing of securities and the growth of the production and imports of consumer goods. After that it will be possible to implement the price fixing reform.

According to Aganbegyan, a land reform, including the ending of the state monopoly on procurement and the giving up of administrative control could also bring quick results.

Those who participated in the debate supported, on the whole, the conclusions drawn by the commission. Viktor Gerashchenko, head of the USSR State Bank, said that deferred demand

was worth 105 billion roubles at the beginning of the year, including 47 billion in cash. This is why the privatisation of economy is possible only on a very limited scale, he said.

Appeals were made at the session to "rehabilitate" private property as soon as possible and to make the rouble a convertible currency.

Summing up the results of the discussion, Ryzhkov suggested that the session should approve the results of the commission's work and that the government working group should take them into consideration, when finishing the programme which is to be completed by September 1. □

NEW BOOKLETS FROM THE USSR

- Violence: Sources and Limits** 70p
- Openness and Espionage by Nikolai Brusnitsin** 50p
- Pages of History: A Time of difficult Questions**..... 70p
- Documents and Materials 28th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union** 80p

The above are obtainable from:

Soviet Booklets (SN),
3 Rosary Gardens,
London SW7 4NW.

CONSTITUTION (FUNDAMENTAL LAW) OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

(This edition includes amendments to the Constitution made in December 1988, December 1989 and March 1990)

price £1.00p from:
Soviet Booklets (SN),
3 Rosary Gardens,
London SW7 4NW.

Soviet expert opinion on the crisis in the Persian Gulf

THE situation in the Gulf following the Iraqi military move, its influence on the situation in the Arab world and the global petroleum market, sanctions against Baghdad, Moscow's reaction and ways to settle the conflict – these and other questions were asked and answered during a round table conference, staged in Moscow by Novosti. The conference involved a Foreign Ministry official, Soviet political scientists, and scholars.

Two documents reflect Moscow's vision of the Gulf crisis: the Soviet Government's statement and the joint Soviet-American statement, said Gennadi Ilyichev of the USSR Foreign Ministry. We see the *anschluss* of Kuwait as annexation, as a step in a series of tragic moves, the first of which was Iraq's attack on the neighbouring country. We do not agree with power methods. The USSR wants the crisis to be settled by political means, on the basis of the UN Security Council's resolutions 660 and 661.

Moscow has found it hard to vote for these resolutions, for sanctions against Iraq bear on the living tissue of the comprehensive Soviet-Iraqi economic, scientific and technological relations, built over the years. We will have to review them, which may entail losses for the USSR and may take some time, for we have to coordinate the actions by the many Soviet agencies, involved in business relations with Baghdad, said Ilyichev.

On the US proposal to establish multinational naval forces to ensure that the UN Security

Council resolutions are implemented, the Foreign Ministry official said that Moscow would prefer to act within the framework of collective moves, harmonised with the other Security Council members. One possible move is to revive the activities of the Security Council's Military Staff Committee. Moscow maintains contacts with Saudi Arabia via the usual channels in New York.

Izvestia writer Konstantin Geyvandov said he was dissatisfied with the position of Arab countries and the PLO. The Arab world has failed to live up to the demands of the day. He said the events in the region overshadowed the Arab-Israeli conflict and supplied Israel with propaganda and political arguments against the Arabs.

Soviet expert on international law Leonid Siukiainen shared Geyvandov's opinion and stressed that Security Council resolutions were binding on all UN members. Elevating personal interest above those of the international community and the generally recognised norms of the international law is a myopic policy. The Soviet stance is clear-cut and logical: the USSR is ready to sacrifice its political, economic and other interests for the sake of the international law and order, for any opportunistic steps would soon backfire at those who departed from the principles.

Soviet petroleum expert Boris Rachkov noted that the Soviet side was not gloating over petroleum price increases, like it had done just a few years before. Our position is based on the new global approach to international economic co-operation and the striving to be integrated in the global economy as an equal among equals.

The USSR does not want to base its foreign policy line on the beneficial market situation. Rachkov said that the Soviet petroleum exports, which were falling for a number of reasons, were expected to stay under 180 million tons in 1990 as against 205 million tons in 1988.

The prices of all petroleum products may grow, Rachkov warned, but this is a temporary phenomenon. The unanimously introduced boycott on Iraqi petroleum exports places Baghdad in a very difficult position. Iraq and Kuwait can produce some 230 million tons of crude oil, but they have yet to sell it. And the boycott is here to stay. There are big petroleum reserves both in and outside the OPEC countries, although it does take time to mobilise them. Nor can Iraq count on the international black market, which could consume several tens of millions of tons in the best of times. The Soviet expert concluded that Iraq would certainly run into economic difficulties.

Soviet expert on military policy Pavel Bayev noted that the sanctions did not aim to stifle Iraq. Rather, they send a signal to Baghdad that it would have to adopt the relevant decisions.

Ilyichev said that the prospect of disrupting the Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation that the Soviet Union concluded with Iraq in 1972 and that was very beneficial for bilateral relations, was not on the agenda.

The sanctions that we would fully support do not mean we are disrupting all relations with Baghdad. The Soviet President has sent two messages to Saddam Hussein. We leave the door open for dialogue. We cannot exclude an exchange of visits and talks to help settle the crisis, Ilyichev noted. □

(Novosti)

Foreign Ministry briefing on events in the Gulf

PRESIDENT Mikhail Gorbachev has abrogated the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet's 1966-1988 decisions taking Soviet citizenship away from a number of people now living abroad, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Yuri Gremitskikh told a briefing in Moscow on August 15.

He did not identify any of those people. But when asked if they included Nobel Prize winning author Alexandr Solzhenitsyn, he said: "I heard that he may have had his citizenship restored."

Gremitskikh acquainted journalists with the content of President Gorbachev's telegram to the leaders of Democratic Korea on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the liberation of Korea from Japanese colonial rule.

Gremitskikh also informed journalists about the contents of the talks between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and his Indian counterpart Inder Kumar Gujral held in Moscow on August 14.

He added that on August 15 he met and conferred with Soviet First Deputy Prime Minister Lev Voronin. They focused on developing Soviet-Indian co-operation.

**Patriot, Fighter, Humanist
Patrice Lumumba**

50p from:
Soviet Booklets (SN),
3 Rosary Gardens,
London SW7 4NW

Gujral left Moscow on August 15. Gremitskikh noted that his visit was a follow-up to the tradition of regular meetings at various levels between the two countries.

Soviet military specialists in Iraq "have not participated and could not have participated in planning Iraqi military operations," Gremitskikh went on.

Asked to comment on Western press reports that some 1,000 Soviet military advisers in Iraq were helping Saddam Hussein's armed forces, he said: "there are no advisers with staff or other units planning military operations."

Gremitskikh described President Bush's decision to lift quotas on the number of Soviet trade and business representatives in the United States as a sign of the cleansing of Soviet-American relations from "the vestiges of the past."

Gremitskikh said that Moscow dispatched an envoy to the Middle East on August 14 in an effort to try to settle the crisis unleashed by the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.

Special government envoy Mikhail Sytenko will consult the leaders of Syria, Jordan, Egypt and several other Arab countries on the Gulf crisis.

He is expected to visit Baghdad Gremitskikh said.

Asked about the possibility of closing the Soviet Embassy in Kuwait, Gremitskikh said that "the Soviet Embassy in Kuwait is operating." From the point of view of international law, embassies or other state institutions can be closed only if some specific state recognises Iraq's

annexation of Kuwait, he said.

Vladimir Pavlinov, deputy head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Department for International Scientific and Technical Co-operation, spoke at the briefing.

Pavlinov will be a member of the Soviet delegation to attend the forthcoming conference to review the Treaty of the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, opening in Geneva on August 20. He expressed the hope that the conference would adopt decisions strengthening the treaty.

"The treaty should be of unlimited duration in terms that it can only be replaced by a comprehensive global treaty not to revive nuclear weapons by the time when these weapons have been eliminated," Pavlinov said. □

Soviet envoy holds meetings in Egypt

THE special representative of the Soviet leadership Mikhail Sytenko, on a tour of several Middle East countries, on August 19 was received by Egyptian Foreign Minister Ismat Abdel Maguid and Egyptian Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Butros Ghali.

During the meetings, the sides discussed the situation in the Gulf which developed as a result of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.

They expressed serious concern over growing tension in the region and pointed to the importance of collective actions under the auspices of the UN to settle the conflict. □

Conversion: the way to political and economic stability

By Evgeni Serov and Dmitri Polyakov, *Novosti special correspondents*

AN international conference, Conversion, Changes in the Economic Field in the Age of Arms Reductions, ended in Moscow on August 17. The forum, organised by the UN Department for Disarmament with the assistance of the Soviet Peace Fund, was attended by more than 130 political figures, industrialists, experts and businessmen from 40 countries.

As the proceedings showed, all participants were convinced that conversion must become part of the effort to build a better world — both on a national and a global scale.

The process of conversion brings dividends to countries both in politics and economics. The dismantling of the economic foundations of a military threat is the most reliable confirmation of a country's intention to move towards a world without wars. It strengthens its prestige in the world. From the economic point of view, capacities released from military production serve to raise the level of economic development of the country concerned.

But, to successfully go over from munitions to civilian production, it is necessary to resolve a number of problems, each of which can be examined both at a national and at international level.

To begin with, there must be scientific ideas for the concept and programmes of conversion at national levels. The successful achievement of this task will be promoted by the continued exchange of experience in converting arms production by states, which was started by the establishment of bilateral contacts and the UN

conference. At the highest level a bank of conversion data could be set up with the UN Department for Disarmament. As a first step towards regional exchange of information it was proposed to set up a group to look into the problems of conversion with the participation of Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries. That group could form the core of a European institute on problems of conversion. Also, industry representatives discussed proposals on a possible exchange of conversion projects between related defence enterprises in different countries.

Accessibility of information is closely connected with the second problem — the possibility of transferring former military technologies to civilian sectors. In the view of conference participants, in some cases adoption of military technologies at national enterprises of the civilian profile will have little effect. For example, in the case of Soviet industry, only 15 per cent of ideas developed in the space and rocket complex are of use in the civilian field. A way out may be found in wider international co-operation, exchange of know-how and establishment of joint ventures.

As discussions showed, introduction of military designs can be most efficient only when representatives of enterprises to be converted are consulted. For this purpose, every munition factory should set up a conversion committee to formulate proposals on conversion and ensure social guarantees for the workers. At enterprise level, such guarantees may be provided as material assistance from development funds. But the main thing is certain help from the state, above all, out of the insurance system if military production is phased out, and also from state financing of a programme to retrain workers in

defence branches.

Procedural matters and guarantees should be written into a national conversion legislation. No state so far has a law on conversion. The need to adopt such laws, according to experts, is also due to the fact that at the initial stage conversion will involve heavy expenses, most of which must be financed by the state.

This, however, does not mean that under market conditions the military monopolies will find themselves in a privileged position. The state will only compensate them for cuts in munitions orders paying subsidies within the framework of a conversion programme. To these ends means from the reduction of military spending on the production and purchase of arms will be used. Some of the funds may be taken from the budgets of local bodies interested in converting military plants to certain types of output. A third source should be funds of the enterprise, which depending on market conditions may itself determine one of its future specialisations.

Conversion, in the view of conference participants, must not have anything in common with sales abroad of arms not needed inside the country. It was proposed to enshrine in a UN resolution a ban on the sale of surplus armaments to third countries and also on the sale of arms to obtain additional funds for conversion within the country.

Such an impressive array of problems cannot be solved by one state or by defence departments alone. Participation of widely diverse sections of world public opinion will be required. Thus, conversion will help to form new relations inside countries and in the international arena, and to formulate principles of worldwide development based on trust and mutual understanding.

Soviet Government opens Foreign Ministry archives

THE Soviet Government has opened the doors of the Soviet Foreign Ministry archives to researchers. It has been decided that after 30 years in the archives the 'classified document' stamp will be removed from all documents dealing with foreign policy. Only those that deal with specially important national interests or those whose publication could jeopardise basic human rights and freedoms will be kept under wraps.

The government has finished work on the draft fundamentals of the legislation of the USSR and union republics on social protection of the disabled in the USSR and the "main directions of the state policy on problems of disability in the USSR."

The characteristic feature of these documents consists in an entirely new approach to problems of the disabled in this country. Previously disability was interpreted only as the inability to work, while the draft legislation defines it as the restriction of vital activity.

This makes it possible to approach in a new way the very essence of the social protection of the disabled, regarding it not as compensation for disability, but as a creation of conditions for individual development and the realisation of the abilities of each of the disabled.

These documents are an important step forward in bringing social policy in this sphere into line with international standards. They take into consideration recommendations of the International Labour Organisation, the International Social Security Association and the World Organisation for the Rehabilitation of the Disabled.

The Council of Ministers will submit the documents to the USSR Supreme Soviet. □

Party secretary on Moscow UN conference on conversion

"SIZEABLE military production conversion is not feasible if it is carried out unilaterally," Oleg Baklanov, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, said in an interview with *Pravda* on August 18.

Emphasising the importance of the depth of

the process to convert military-oriented factories to civilian work, Baklanov noted that in implementing it, each country should look at its neighbours and remember the principle of sufficiency for its own defence.

Asked by *Pravda* about the results of the UN conference on conversion, which ended in Moscow on August 17, Baklanov recalled that Mikhail Gorbachev was the first to speak from the UN rostrum about conversion as state policy based on new political thinking.

"I think that the holding of the UN-sponsored conference, the first of its kind, in Moscow signals the public recognition of this initiative of ours," Baklanov said.

Baklanov emphasised the importance of the conference to the USSR as the country is switching to a regulated market economy, and the forum's representative nature. He said the conference drew may delegations from various associations and firms.

Businesses, including defence factories, are gaining more and more autonomy, they are experiencing the lack of expertise in independent economic activity, Baklanov said.

"This is why I think it is very important that the Moscow conference elaborated solutions of a general nature as well as helped from personal contacts between people from various countries. This means a lot. Deepening and upgrading military conversion and increasing its returns in the name of people's well being is inconceivable without building trust between peoples and states," Baklanov said. □

The Wonders and Problems of Lake BAIKAL

Lake Baikal is often called "the gem of Siberia" or "the Siberian Sea". It has a surface area of 31,500 square kilometres. Baikal is the world's deepest lake (1,620 metres), containing one-fifth of the fresh water on the surface of the planet.

Lake Baikal's water is almost as pure as distilled water. There are some 1,800 species of wildlife and vegetation living in the lake, and three-quarters of them are not to be found anywhere else in the world.

obtainable at 60p from:
Soviet Booklets (SN),
3 Rosary Gardens,
London SW7 4NW.

Gorbachev, Yeltsin and Ryzhkov teams unite to combat crisis

By Vladimir Mytarev, *Novosti* analyst

AFTER Nikolai Ryzhkov, the Soviet Prime Minister, made a statement at a session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR last May, spaghetti and cereals disappeared from Moscow shops – that was the popular response to the government's programme of transition to a market economy.

I am not trying to ridicule the worried citizens – in fact, empty or, at best, half-empty shelves in the shops give rise to quite a different feeling. More than 40 million Soviet people, according to the official statistics, live below the poverty line, and the relatively low average wages in this country (250 roubles per month) would be a poor compensation for 'free' prices which, in view of the present monopoly of producers, are likely to grow.

This is why prices and, in broader terms, living standards have become a key issue in the political battles for the country's future. The ill-fated governmental programme honestly admitting that prices should be increased (by the way, with a certain compensation) has become both a target for attacks and a starting point for many alternative programmes.

The Russian Government's programme entitled '500 Days' during which the whole of Russia's (the largest of the union republics) economy is supposed to switch over to market relations is very special. By the way, its first version was called '400 Days' and was proposed for the whole of the country, with the Soviet President, rather than the government, implementing it by his extraordinary power.

This, probably, is the main difference between the union and the republican programmes. While orders 'from above' are needed to carry out measures, according to a fixed schedule, to move the '500 Days', Ryzhkov's programme can be implemented only while civil peace is maintained.

Since then, the political climate in the country has not improved. Practically all the union republics have issued declarations of sovereignty,

separatism begins to dominate the public opinion, trade restrictions have been introduced which could develop into intra-union customs. The looming strike movement has become a reality, and ethnic conflicts tend to be lasting. In view of the strong desire by many republics to do their own decision-making without the interference of the centre and of a general consensus that republican laws should be given priority over union laws, some amendments had to be made to the existing governmental programme.

Accordingly, the introduction of the programme of '500 Days' and the Soviet President's decision to set up a panel to map out a union programme of transition to a market economy (expected to form the backbone of the future union treaty) were considered by many as undermining the union government, and the introduction in the panel of Yeltsin's 'think tank' as replacing 'union' experts by 'republican' ones.

Those digging for the roots of a state coup will be disappointed: the governmental programme and related bills are being drafted by the same 'Ryzhkov team', and the President's panel is working on a new union treaty. Of course, for the government's programme to succeed, an economic foundation of the union treaty should be laid. But this is what the programme begins with – a section on relations between the union republics and the centre. Besides, government experts are not the only people who formulate that section of the treaty – all the republics, including the Baltic ones whose representatives have the status of observers, take part in this work. Which means that the coordination between 'Gorbachev's team' and 'Ryzhkov's team' will depend on another 15 votes.

In fact, the very idea of a 'team' is rather vague – for example, Academician Abalkin, a member of the presidential panel, is not just an ordinary member of 'Ryzhkov's team' but his deputy heading the governmental commission on economic reforms. And Academician Stanislav Shatalin, head of the 'Gorbachev team' and a member of the Presidential Council, in turn, works in Abalkin's commission. Grigori Yavlinsky, Abalkin's disciple, also worked in his

commission until recently. Now Yavlinsky is in 'Yeltsin's team' (chairman of the republican commission on economic reforms) and, at the same time, in 'Gorbachev's team' working on the union treaty.

So the dividing line between the 'teams' is practically non-existent. As for their functions, the presidential panel is working on the economic part of the union treaty, and the government's panel is drafting a new version of its programme, taking into account the bigger role of union (and autonomous) republics, the popular concern about prices and social protection mechanisms, and the need for a more detailed plan of developing market structures in this country.

The following documents must be prepared by 1st September:

- A revised concept of transition to market relations. To be presented by Ryzhkov in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on 10th September.

- The government's programme of organisational steps to implement economic reforms and switch over to market relations.

- The government's report on the implementation of the already adopted laws in economy, and

- The government's analysis of all alternative options of transition to a market economy.

Parallel to it, a package of documents will be prepared: 118 draft laws of the USSR, presidential decrees and governmental acts relating to the transition to a market economy. Some of the decrees and governmental acts could be passed before 10th September – this right was given to the President and the government at the last session of parliament.

The programme itself consists of three major parts: the plan of action (sort of '400 Days' or '500 Days') outlining the order of priorities, the programme proper consisting of 19 sections on all kinds of economic activities, and a supplement including, besides the above-mentioned bills, technical documents, like papers on methods, analytical notes, calculations and so on. □

Union in search of an identity

By I. Sedykh

THE declaration of rights of the peoples of Russia adopted by the first Soviet Government on December 2, 1917, put an end to the "prison of nations", of the former Russian Empire. The only two nations to be able to use the right to self-determination were Finland and Poland. The other nations had to be content with paper sovereignty, while the Soviet Union that put them all in one bag turned out to be as unitary a state as the extinct empire.

Perestroika has given the USSR nations one more chance for self-determination, and it looks like they are committed to taking it this time. This is corroborated by the talks under way in the Kremlin between a delegation from the USSR Supreme Soviet and the legislators in the union republics with a new union treaty on top of the agenda.

Two approaches to sovereignty

As of now 11 out of the 15 union republics have passed declarations of sovereignty, while

the three Baltic republics have declared state independence.

It is obvious that there is no such thing as absolute sovereignty. Even superpowers cannot but honour international treaties they are parties to. But to what extent can a country cede its sovereignty and remain a sovereign state? This is the key issue at the current talks in the Kremlin.

There are two approaches to sovereignty. The Presidential Council and the leadership of the USSR Supreme Council believe that the future union treaty should be drawn up as a result of negotiations with the republics. While they will be sovereign regarding domestic issues, they will voluntarily turn over certain functions, such as the defence, main foreign policy issues, general financial and crediting policies, economic strategies and other, to the competence of the union with the union treaty to seal such general functions.

However, the new leaders of the Russian Federation, the largest Soviet republic, hold that the process should be launched at the bottom level, that of the republics. After they sign treaties among themselves, they can single out common issues that will be handled by ad-hoc federal executive agencies.

Who will have the warheads?

The formula offered by Mikhail Gorbachev, that of a union of sovereign states, has invited no opposition. On the contrary, the contents for the formula are a subject of much controversy.

The approach of the USSR Supreme Soviet reflects an attempt to preserve the union as a superpower while its federal agencies will keep certain supranational powers. There is some reason in the approach as the question needs to be answered: if the union disintegrates, who will inherit the nuclear potential (both military and civilian), and what will happen to the Soviet Union's international commitments? I believe this issue is also important: what will happen to the union's bodies of power and people who are leading them?

The approach has been opposed by the republics. For instance the Ukraine, which has not turned down the idea of being part of the union, announced in its declaration of sovereignty its right to independent foreign policy and its own armed forces thereby promulgating its intention to acquire the status of neutral state. Moldova supports the proposal for a union or, rather for an association of sovereign republics, but it will not give priority to the centre in any sphere. The

(continued on next page)

A new dimension for Europe

Reflections after the second conference on the human dimension of the CSCE in Copenhagen

by V. Kamyshanov and A. Lopukhin

THE delegations from 33 European nations, the US and Canada have exchanged information on the implementation of their commitments in the humanitarian and legal sphere and have drafted and adopted a concluding document which is called Europe's Freedom Charter, acknowledging its importance for the future of our continent.

The human dimension is a relatively new notion. It embraces a much broader sphere than human rights in their traditional interpretation of the days of confrontation and the "cold war". The dramatic changes of the past few years and the overcoming of "bloc" thinking have brought closer the reality of the emerging all-European legal democratic environment. Today, it comprises not only individual rights and liberties, but also the principles of a law-governed state, recognition of the supremacy of law and refinement of the mechanisms of all-European co-operation.

It is interesting to note the consonance of many ideas adopted at the conference in Copenhagen with those reflected in the final documents of the 28th Congress of the CPSU. This is not just a coincidence but a reflection of a perfectly objective process in which our country plays an important role on a par with other countries.

This has become possible thanks to new political thinking whose main principles are incorporated in our perestroika where the human factor and the human dimension are increasingly becoming the prime mover. The meaning of perestroika is the return to socialism of its basic ideal of freedom and value of the human personality.

The emblem of the forum in Copenhagen: the figure of a man breaking a circle has proved to be remarkably prophetic.

Indeed, the participants in the conference in the Danish capital have succeeded in breaking the circle of many, though not all, stereotypes which obstructed the construction of a common European home. Progress is obvious even compared to the first conference on the human dimension of the CSCE which failed to produce

(continued from previous page)

Council of the Baltic States has rejected the very idea of the Baltic contribution to the drawing of a union treaty.

The reality of a common market

On the other hand, the 15 republics, including the more separatist-minded, are interested in the preservation of the economic ties. Indeed the USSR's autarchic and overcentralised economic model in which the level of co-operation is as high as 40 per cent has resulted in the regions' economic inter-dependence. The situation is taken further by the deformed pricing system and the republics lacking hard currency.

Hence the interest in joint movement towards a market-based economy and the setting up of a common market. Even Lithuania, which was the first to decide to secede from the USSR, has put a representative on the commission set up as a result of agreement between Gorbachev and Yeltsin that is in charge of drawing up a concept for the move towards a market.

While the political contours of a future union remain vague, the setting up of an economic association is quite a realistic prospect. □

a concluding document. The Copenhagen accords adopted by the participants by consensus have not only formalised the process achieved in the field of human rights, but have also reinforced the mechanism of levelling the all-European democratic environment.

Today, when the "cold war" is finally over, the centre of gravity in East-West relations is gradually shifting from the military to the political, economic and humanitarian spheres. More politicians are coming to realise that peace on the continent depends not only on military balances, but, probably first of all, on each citizen's trust in his own country and on mutual trust among nations. Indeed, the liberation from the fear of the threat of war has a purely material implementation, too, because it leads both to arms control and reductions and to the expansion of mutually beneficial economic and humanitarian co-operation and exchanges of people and ideas. For its own part, this raises the level of mutual trust. The main thing is that this process should be irreversible and steady.

Everyone benefits from this. As for our country, today other countries believe us and, as noted by the head of the Soviet delegation at the conference in Copenhagen, Yu. A. Reshetov, no longer regard us a closed, incomprehensible and therefore dangerous society. Hence the progress in the reduction of the levels of military confrontation and in the development of economic and other forms of co-operation within the framework of the Helsinki Process.

Relations with the East European countries have become different, too. Whereas at previous such forums we had outwardly successful but actually pointless consultations, in Copenhagen the relations between the Soviet and the East European delegations were built on a new, quite constructive basis.

The main preoccupation with many countries now is unpredictability and instability. Naturally enough, the process of democratisation does not go smoothly everywhere: the persisting intolerance to others' views and the resistance of the minorities who have lost in the election to the will of the majority who have won are accompanied by social tension and even outbursts of violence. In practically all countries there has been an increase of nationalism. That is why the forum in Copenhagen where much attention was notably given to the problems of ethnic minorities has quite tangibly contributed to the stabilisation of the situation in Europe and to the elaboration of the new approaches to the settlement of various conflicts. The all-European conference in Copenhagen has thus proved to be in the midst of pressing problems of contemporary development of Europe. The concluding document adopted there is not an abstract declaration. It is actually a step towards a new European charter concerning the everyday life of every citizen of all countries participating in the CSCE.

Political stability and living in peace can only be based on the principles of democracy. This explains the special interest shown by non-governmental public organisations in the work of the Copenhagen conference. More than 40 most different national and international public organisations: humanitarian, trade-union, youth, women's and others have held numerous parallel functions. There were discussions at conferences, seminars and hearings in many auditoriums of the problems discussed there, for the term "human dimension" comprises practically all human rights: political, civil, econ-

omic, social and cultural, as well as contacts between people, including co-operation in the sphere of culture, education and information.

As before, the activists of non-governmental organisations or public diplomats as they are sometimes called paid much attention to the rights of man as an individual, to the questions of the prohibition of torture, of the abolition of capital punishment, censorship, to various conflicts and also to the problems of ethnic minorities and refugees.

Representatives of Soviet public organisations took an active part in all discussions in the Danish capital. This time they did not speak as before, from positions of monolithic unity, because apart from the generally recognised public organisations of our country, delegates to the conference in Copenhagen were also sent by the popular fronts of some of the republics, by the public council for "refuseniks", by the Moscow Helsinki group and by many other new movements. So the forum in Copenhagen is interesting for us also because the preparations for and the participation in it have enabled the Union of Soviet Friendship Societies, for example, to find new forms of dialogue between different Soviet public organisations, too.

Here is an interesting point. At one of the parallel meetings we witnessed a discussion which was conducted in high tones and was seasoned with fairly sharp mutual accusations. It may have been an ordinary picture familiar by previous international conferences on human rights but for the fact that the dispute this time was between representatives of different movements and organisations from the USSR. So the amazed West Europeans followed with interest, though without fully understanding the subject of the dispute, these verbal attacks.

Difficult and multiform international problems cannot be resolved today without the participation of both the governments and public forces. In this sense, the forum in Copenhagen has come as an important step in overcoming the estrangement of the man in the street from the processes of foreign policy.

"We started work", said the co-ordinator of the preparatory committee for the parallel functions of the Copenhagen conference, Ole Richter, last August. "The Danish Foreign Ministry has given us financial support, although it certainly does not cover all the expenses."

"We were hard-pressed for time, and the work proceeded with difficulties. Every decision of the preparatory committee was passed on the basis of consensus, which is not easy, given that we had invited for participation most different organisations - different in terms of their size and the direction of their activities. There was only one criterion for the invitation of participants: the activities of their organisations had to be based on the Helsinki principles. In this manner we kept out of the conference racist and terrorist organisations, although there had been applications for participation from some of them. In the long run, as you have seen we have had a broad and open all-European discussion in Copenhagen, haven't we?"

As participants in the forum, we would like to note that the organisers have succeeded in arranging fairly effective co-operation between the professional and public diplomats. The secretariat of the parallel functions organised by non-governmental organisations worked at the same Bella Centret where the official sessions of

(continued on next page)

Russian Vice-President says Federal Government should go

By TASS correspondents Lev Aksenov and Andrei Orlov:

RUSSIAN Vice-President Ruslan Khasbulatov urged the resignation of the Soviet Government, saying that if it continues in office, this will destabilise the situation and undermine Mikhail Gorbachev's policies.

He told a news conference in Moscow on August 20 that this was illustrated by attempts to torpedo the agreement between Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin on economic reform.

Khasbulatov refuted assertion that the decree of the Presidium of the Russian Parliament of August 9 on the protection of the economic basis of the republic's sovereignty "was unexpected for the federal government" and "confrontational".

Khasbulatov said that the decree envisages consistent fulfilment of the main decision of the union government, headed by Comrade Ryzhkov, to ignore Russia's interests in its decisions." Khasbulatov said. He said that the union government, which is extremely incompetent, has carried the country into an economic, financial, and social impasse, and shows inability and unwillingness to co-operate constructively with

the Russian Government and local authorities specifically, in matters of various kinds of national economic agreements."

"Our decision is by no means directed against the course steered by the Soviet President Khasbulatov stressed.

"We back the President's efforts to expedite the transition to a market economy, and I am very highly in agreement supporting the Russian plan to change over to a market," he said.

Emphasising the interest that all foreign economic deals concluded should be observed, Khasbulatov at the same time noted that in order to avoid "unclear and indefinite situations, the negotiations should be conducted with those authorities who are authorised for this by their people". He said that Russia is interested in attracting foreign partners and foreign capital investments, but noted that "we intend to do this independently."

In answer to a question put by the TASS correspondents, Khasbulatov confirmed that the Russian leadership does not intend to take actions aimed at the heightening of tension and confrontation. He declared in favour of talks between the Russian and Soviet governments about the separation of powers. "The Ryzhkov government does not manifest this wish as yet."

Regarding steps taken by the Soviet leadership, which actually mean the abrogation of the

Russian authorities decisions on a number of matters, Khasbulatov said that not one of the decrees of the Presidium of the Russian Parliament runs counter to the Soviet Constitution which proclaims every republic of the Soviet Union a sovereign state.

"Federal agencies and the union government who became accustomed over decades to certain ways of working can not abandon old thinking," Khasbulatov said. "While in the foreign policy area President Gorbachev actively popularises new thinking, the successes in the domestic area in this respect are very modest. It is precisely the union government that rejects new thinking."

Russian Minister of Foreign Economic Activities, Viktor Yaroshenko, who participated in the news conference, announced the intention of the Russian Government to set up bodies aimed at ensuring foreign ties of the Russian Federation. The Russian Government has already secured the agreement of foreign partners to grant it credits of five billion currency roubles, he said.

Regarding Russia's relations with countries of the Third World, Khasbulatov said that the Russian Federation will be developing such ties. But "we are against the USSR supplying developing countries with piles of arms," he said. He added that the Russian leadership is "against co-operation with dictatorial regimes, no matter how they describe themselves." □

Valentin Falin describes international policy of CPSU and USSR

APART from the maintenance of contacts with fraternal parties, movements and groups, the primary task of the Soviet Communist Party's International Department will be to analyse international developments, department chief Valentin Falin told *Pravda*.

Describing the main tasks facing the department, Falin said it was necessary that "the Party adequately respond to the challenges of the times and approach our domestic affairs in a more qualified manner with due regard for international experience."

Falin emphasised that "day-to-day international affairs have become and will remain the prerogative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. State problems of larger scope are

(continued from previous page)

the Copenhagen conference were held. Its task consisted in promoting broader contacts between the government delegations and representatives of the public. Public diplomats were given access to the plenary sessions of the official forum, though naturally with the observance of the necessary security measures. Direct contacts with official delegations enabled the public to exert influence on the work of the official conference.

One can feel that the attitude of the governments to public diplomats is changing, too. The official delegations of the USSR, the US and the Scandinavian countries, for example, comprised representatives of public organisations, too, while many diplomats found time to take part in the discussions at parallel functions.

Of course, some of the diplomats are still to overcome the disdainful attitude to the participation of the public in real international politics. Some non-governmental organisations, too,

within the competence of the Presidential Council."

"But there are many subjects that go beyond the framework of inter-state relations where public attitudes, expressed directly or through Party's structures, come to the fore."

Commenting on German reunification, Falin emphasised that "Germany is returning to world politics at a new qualitative level. If everything happens as Germans assure us and the entire potential of a powerful state would be used for the benefit of people and if only peace, not war, originate from German soil, Europe will enter the most constructive era of its existence."

"As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, developments illustrate our readiness to believe in the choice being made by the Germans as a nation in favour of peace. This is an investment of trust in a common peaceful future."

Touching upon relations with Eastern Eu-

rope, Falin said: "We recognised the right of our own people to decide how to live in future. How could we deny others this age-old right?"

At the same time he condemned the manifestation of anti-communism, as it manifests itself in a number of East European countries now," Falin said, "is an unworthy phenomenon, because one should not shift responsibility on to honest people who sincerely believe in the socialist idea or on members of their families for the actions and errors of a small group of ruling functionaries who did not stand the test of life and time. This is like blaming the American people for the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki."

Asked about prospects about the Soviet Union's relations with developing countries, Falin emphasised that "most of them are our partners and good friends. Hence, naturally, our desire to put our relations with them on a more solid and stable basis. This is possible only provided one side does not turn into a giving party and the other into a taking party. A balance of interests and mutual benefit are essential." □

(Moscow, August 20)

OPENNESS and ESPIONAGE

By Nikolai Brusnitsin
Deputy Chairman of the
State Technical Commission
of the USSR

price 50p from:
Soviet Booklets (SN),
3 Rosary Gardens,
London SW7 4NW.