

Soviet President issues decree on workers control

THE Soviet President on November 30 issued a decree aimed at strengthening workers control over foodstuffs and consumer goods.

The decree was issued in connection with the emergency situation in the country's consumer market, mass abuses in trade and the system of distribution of foodstuffs and other consumer goods, and demands by Soviet citizens to put the situation in order.

The decree instructs representatives of work collectives and educational institutions within ten days to elect district and city workers control committees.

The committees are given the right to control food and light industry enterprises, trade organisations, public catering institutions and co-operatives and supervise the delivery of foodstuffs and consumer goods to consumers.

Should there be any violations of the decree, the committees are empowered to close

temporarily trade enterprises and warehouses and immediately inform superior organisations and interior ministry bodies. They are also given the right to introduce proposals on the dismissal of employees, who are found to be responsible for abuses and mismanagement and, if necessary, to recommend instituting criminal proceedings against them.

The Soviet Interior Ministry, the Soviet KGB and their local bodies are instructed to ensure close interaction with workers control activists in their activities to control enterprises and organisations. It is considered expedient to hold court sessions at enterprises in cases of serious violations of trade rules, embezzlement and profiteering.



President declares republican defence acts invalid

PRESIDENT Gorbachev has declared several

defence bills passed by individual Soviet republics to be null and void.

In a decree issued on December 1, Gorbachev said that the protection of sovereignty, state borders and Soviet territory, defence issues and the management of the Soviet Armed Forces are a prerogative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The document ordered the Soviet Government to suspend the execution of resolutions issued by republican governments on defence matters in violation of the Soviet Constitution and laws.

Gorbachev ordered the defence and interior ministries and the KGB State Security Committee to defend and ensure the security of the Soviet Union in line with the Soviet Constitution and corresponding laws and resolutions.

The Soviet prosecutor's office will prosecute all officials and citizens who do not abide by Soviet defence laws, the decree says. □

Mikhail Gorbachev's statement in the magazine *der Stern*

PRESIDENT Mikhail Gorbachev expressed his gratitude to all those who want "to co-operate with the Soviet Union, who see a partner and good-neighbour in it and who have expressed the readiness to invest not only their sympathies but also capital in perestroika."

The Soviet leader took advantage of the invitation by the Germany magazine *der Stern* to express his thoughts on its pages, prompted by the German leadership's intention to initiate a large-scale action to lend economic support to perestroika in the Soviet Union.

Speaking about the critical rethinking of the past, complex and contradictory experience of the last seven decades, Gorbachev points out in his statement that at what really is of issue now is the "revolution within the revolution" in the USSR.

"This is not a phrase, not an image, this is

what is really being carried out in our country. Herein lies the rationale for many difficulties which are encountered by our country, society and each man's consciousness," Gorbachev emphasises.

He drew attention to the fact that "perestroika in the people's minds could not occur without the fundamental revision of previous foreign policy and strategic doctrines, without discarding all stereotypes born under the pressure of fear and the inadequate reaction to them."

Europe is already reaping the fruits of perestroika, Gorbachev goes on. "All of us were destined to become witnesses and participants in closing the door on the cold war and, I would like to hope, wars in general. Today, we are laying, by joint efforts, the groundwork for a new world civilisation, in which each nation, irrespective of its chosen way of life and social system, will be able to use all the benefits of progress and feel equal among equals."

Now that the USSR is embarking on the road to a market economy, great strain is felt in the consumer sphere, Gorbachev says. "It is clear that no foreign aid and support will substitute for our own efforts to establish order, raise labour morale to the proper level and increase production. However, aid from good-neighbours and friends would not go amiss," Gorbachev notes. □



Gorbachev's meeting with Horst Teltschik in Moscow

ON November 28 President Gorbachev received Horst Teltschik, an adviser to the German Federal Chancellor, who was in Moscow to address urgent issues of economic co-operation and add substance to the latest Soviet-German treaties and agreements.

Gorbachev was informed about the start of talks between Soviet and German representatives. The two politicians then discussed implementing measures stemming from treaties and new German initiatives to extend emergency aid to the Soviet Union, supplying food and essentials to the population.

Teltschik said it was important for Germans to know the reliability and effectiveness of the ways and means by which large-scale deliveries from Germany would reach the Soviet population. A virtual wave of solidarity with the Soviet people has arisen in Germany. This solidarity helps strengthen the new quality of relations between Germany and the Soviet Union, relations at the people's level.

Gorbachev described in detail measures that are being taken to separate what is attributed to democracy from what is simply unrest and chaos. He talked about planned measures to intensify market relations, stabilise the financial system, encourage enterprise and streamline economic relations between the centre, the republics and the outlying areas. □

Soviet-German talks

SOVIET Deputy Premier Stepan Sitaryan and Horst Teltschik, head of the Foreign Policy Department of the German Chancellor's office, had talks in Moscow on November 27-28 in accordance with an understanding reached between President Mikhail Gorbachev and Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

The considered a wide range of matters connected with the stabilisation of the Soviet economy, a stage-by-stage transition to market relations, priority measures to develop and broaden mutually beneficial co-operation between the two countries and to organise long-term co-operation to implement large-scale projects,

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Russian President holds press conference

RUSSIAN Federation President Boris Yeltsin referred to the passage of a resolution by the extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies about a programme for the revival of the Russian countryside and the development of the agro-industrial sector as "historic".

Speaking at a news conference for Soviet and foreign journalists in Moscow on December 2, he described how the document was discussed and set out its basic provisions.

Yeltsin described the four days of the discussion of the resolution as stormy and contradictory. He said the introduction of the limited private ownership of land, along with other types of ownership, is one of the key aspects of the document.

Provision is made that it will be possible to sell land only to the state as represented by the local council and not earlier than ten years after acquiring the right to own a land plot. The price of the land will be fixed depending on land quality. But it will be minimal, Yeltsin added.

A package of documents on the revival of the Russian countryside includes laws on a land reform and on the social development of the countryside, which has been recognised as the priority of the Russian leadership's policy.

Extensive measures have been mapped out to stimulate agrarian production, including large capital investments. A single tax on land is being

introduced in the republic, which was not previously the case, Yeltsin emphasised.

In response to a question from a TASS correspondent, Yeltsin voiced confidence that the planned programme of reforms in the countryside would make it possible to fill the shops with foodstuffs and reach out to the external market.

Many questions asked at the news conference concerned relationships between the leaders of Russia and the USSR. "People have got sick and tired of various political confrontations. And one would not like a Gorbachev-Yeltsin problem to be added to them," Yeltsin remarked.

He voiced the opinion that, in actual fact, "there is no such problem." He said it was a question of work "by two leaders with different points of view, on a business-like basis."

Asked about prospects for the signing of a union treaty, Yeltsin said that such a document "is necessary but it cannot be signed quickly because each republic has its own vision of such a treaty."

Yeltsin said that he had prepared "an address to compatriots abroad." It urges them to render help in various forms to Russia, including "intellectual, cultural and material" help.

Yeltsin believes that Russia has "an immense reserve fund" — in the form of intellectual potential and the vastness of the republic's territory.

All this, he said, cannot but attract the interest of foreign entrepreneurs. "Invest, and you will not make a mistake!" he called on foreign partners of the Russian Federation. □

President Gorbachev reiterates his adherence to Socialism

PRESIDENT Mikhail Gorbachev once again reiterated his adherence to socialism at a meeting with cultural figures on November 28, according to a broadcast shown on Soviet television late on Thursday, November 29.

Gorbachev stressed that he defends socialism because of deep internal conviction, and not simply because he is General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party.

"Socialism is deep inside all of us, and I do not think it should be wiped out, as some are trying to do," he said in his emotional speech.

"We will never agree with those who want to trample into the dirt everything that our fathers and grandfathers did over the decades," he said.

He categorically opposed private property on land, which he said violates collectivist traditions of the Russian rural community.

In other industries, private property is acceptable, but will never be the dominating form of ownership, "the people will not accept this," Gorbachev said.

Speaking on ethnic relations, Gorbachev said there was no alternative to the union of sovereign states because of close links between Soviet republics.

"We won't be able to separate. A terrible war will break out if we begin to separate. This could be catastrophic for the country and the entire world," he said. □

Soviet-Japanese space crew in orbit

THE Soviet spaceship *Soyuz-TM-11* with a Soviet-Japanese crew on board was launched from Baikonur cosmodrome on December 2.

The crew consists of Soviet cosmonauts Viktor Afanasyev and Musa Manarov and Japanese journalist Toyehiro Akiyama.

After they dock with the orbital complex *Mir*, the new arrivals will work together for six days with the members of the seventh main space expedition — Gennadi Manakov and Gennadi Strekalov.

Akiyama will then return to Earth with Manakov and Strekalov, both of whom have been in orbit for four months, leaving Afanasyev and Manarov to continue working in space. □

Baltic parliaments take new step towards independence

SUNDAY'S (December 2) emergency joint meeting of the parliaments of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia is a "new step towards the full state independence of the Baltic states," President Vytautas Landsbergis of Lithuania, Vice-President Alexei Krastyns of Latvia and President Arnold Ruutel of Estonia told a press conference late on Sunday.

(Continued from previous page)

primarily in the fuel-and-energy sector and other branches of the economy.

Sitaryan and Teltschik devoted special attention to deliveries of humanitarian aid being provided for the Soviet Union by German and other European community countries.

Taking into account the political and social importance of the aid and the fact that the Soviet President and the German Chancellor placed the carrying out of this co-operation under the aegis, the two sides agreed on organisational terms to implement the humanitarian co-operation programme to supply food and medicines, including those for the population in the Chernobyl and Aral Sea areas.

Sitaryan and Teltschik considered other matters aimed at further developing bilateral economic co-operation and agreed on subsequent meetings and consultations on the above-mentioned areas. □

Joint support and help are a key condition for independence, since the Baltic republics have no weapons "except the law," Ruutel said.

"Estonia did not participate in devising a draft union treaty, because it does not concern us," Ruutel said.

"The latest draft union treaty aims to preserve the old Soviet Union with all its institutions. There are very few changes," Ruutel said. "This is unacceptable to Estonia," he stressed.

The joint meeting of the three parliaments "despite obstacles set up by our foes — is a great achievement," Alexei Krastyns said.

"The independence process is irreversible, and we will win no matter which forces and arms oppose us," he said.

Landsbergis praised the "solidarity and unity of the Baltic states," saying that "cautiousness is not a key policy among Western politicians, who show increasing support for our striving for independence."

Landsbergis said he would visit Canada next week for talks with Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and Foreign Minister Jim Clark.

On December 10, Landsbergis will meet US President George Bush to discuss the situation in Lithuania-Soviet talks. □

Boris Pugo appointed Interior Minister

IT WAS announced in Moscow on December 2 that President Gorbachev had appointed Boris Pugo the Soviet Interior Minister and Boris Gromov First Deputy Interior Minister.

President Gorbachev released Vadim Bakatin from the duties of the Soviet Interior Minister in connection with his transition to another job.

This decision is to be approved by the USSR Supreme Soviet. □

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Soviet Foreign Minister comments on Security Council resolution

ON November 29, after a meeting of the UN Security Council which passed a resolution authorising military force against Iraq, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze gave the following interview to TASS.

TASS: The Security Council has just passed the "final", as journalists say, resolution on Iraq. What is it – an ultimatum? Does the deadline set in the resolution – January 15, 1991 – mean that if Iraq does not comply with the wishes of the UN military actions will begin immediately?

SHEVARDNADZE: This is certainly not an ultimatum. Both in terms of intent and content it is a "pause of goodwill", it gives rather a long time to make the choice in favour of a peaceful, non-military solution of the crisis and begin implementing Security Council resolutions.

There are no grounds to think that in the middle of December we will cross the rubicon beyond which we face immediate military actions in the Gulf. The "all necessary means" mentioned in the resolution could include various actions not necessarily linked with the use of force, but force will remain a measure of last resort.

The new resolution has been passed specifically to avoid a military solution. Let's put it this way: it will stabilise the situation to a certain extent and will enable Iraq and others to take a decision in a calmer atmosphere.

What did you feel as Foreign Minister of a super-power and permanent member of the Security Council voting for a resolution that does not exclude the use of force against another country today, when the cold war has ended? As a person whose preference for the force of policy over the policy of force is too well known to suspect you of supporting a forceful means of settling international problems?

I do not regard Iraq as something abstract, as a point on the map of world politics. I saw Baghdad in blossom and war-ravaged Basra. No more than three days ago I talked in Moscow with my Iraqi colleague Tariq Aziz, and we did not avert our eyes from each other. In other words, I put

the human dimension in politics above everything else. But precisely because of this the fate of Kuwait and its people is equally important to me – no other yardstick can be applied to this tragedy. And if we consider this in common human terms, to ignore the Kuwaiti tragedy would mean a tacit recognition of former practices, when the strong could go unpunished after abusing the weak and defenceless. This would mean that all that we have lived by, strived to realise and achieved over the years would go down the drain because of an arbitrary execution of illwill.

Law presupposes obligatory protection from encroachment on it. I voted for its firmness, and this does not contradict my beliefs as a convinced opponent of violence. I raised my hand not for the force, but against it.

What international guarantees prevent the spread of a "local conflict" in the Gulf, if military operations begin there, into other parts in the region?

I still work from the principle that the latest resolution of the Security Council is in line with a juridical, international-legal process to solve the problem within the framework of the Security Council.

In the current concrete situation I do not see how a regional conflict can start. All countries in the region want to settle the Gulf crisis. Objectively no one is interested in its proliferation. On the contrary, everything is being done to prevent this. This is the guarantee you asked about.

Do you envisage tying a Gulf solution to a parallel settlement of other problems in the region, primarily the Arab-Israeli conflict and the situation in Lebanon?

One can link anything one wants to. In this case such a linkage seems illogical and even absurd. If there is a linkage here, it points in the opposite direction. Iraqi actions upstaged the search for a comprehensive Middle East settlement, complicated it and, most importantly, inflicted a tough blow on the just Palestinian cause.

I will say more: perspective approaches had
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Shevardnadze to meet Bush

A MEETING took place between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and US Secretary of State James Baker at the Soviet Permanent Mission at the United Nations in New York on November 28.

After three-hours of talks, Baker told journalists that it was a useful meeting. The two sides considered a wide range of matters concerning the forthcoming UN Security Council meeting and a use-of-force resolution which is to be discussed there.

Baker and Shevardnadze also discussed other problems of the Gulf that have no direct bearing on the resolution, conventional armed forces in Europe, the problems of Angola, Afghanistan and El Salvador, and considered the question of a venue and date for their next regular meeting.

Baker invited Shevardnadze to visit Houston, Texas, on December 10-11, this year. After the Houston talks, Shevardnadze would fly to Washington on December 12 to meet President Bush.

When asked whether another Soviet-American summit would be held in January next

year, Shevardnadze said: "I do not know whether it will be January or another month. This will depend to a large extent on how fruitfully we will work with the US Secretary of State on the remaining issues of the START (Strategic Arms Reduction) Treaty.

"We mean to finalise work on the treaty. We are now working on several other major accords concerning primarily bilateral relations.

"I think that in Houston we will discuss in a very serious and substantive way our further actions after the adoption of the resolution if, of course, it is adopted," Shevardnadze said.

Shevardnadze confirmed that a peaceful settlement of the Gulf conflict was still a possibility.

This depends, naturally, on both the Iraqi leadership and concerted actions of the international community, Shevardnadze said.

He was asked whether he was prepared to go to Baghdad as an envoy of the international community to have talks with Saddam Hussein.

"I do not see any need for that so far," he said. "Especially as Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz visited the Soviet Union two days ago. We told him everything we wanted to tell him then." □

Eduard Shevardnadze's statement at UN security council

THE Gulf crisis posed "the first extremely grave test of the post-cold-war period," Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze told the UN Security Council on November 29.

"Today, we have started the countdown of the 'pause of goodwill,'" Shevardnadze said. He expressed confidence that "before the time is up a turn toward peace will have occurred and the pause will usher in a transition to a political settlement."

Shevardnadze emphasised that the adopted document expressed the collective will of the international community, its resolve to put an end to Iraqi aggression, so as not to inflict even greater woes and suffering on the world, on all nations. "Those who have broken the peace should know that 'all necessary means' will indeed, inevitably be used against them."

Shevardnadze called on the international community to continue "seeking a path toward a comprehensive settlement of the entire range of Middle East problems that existed prior to August 2."

Shevardnadze emphasised that the purpose of the new resolution was "to put an end to the aggression and to make it clear to the world that aggression cannot be rewarded."

At the same time, it contains a special warning about the Iraqi leadership's "personal responsibility for the fate of foreign nationals in Iraq. Endangering their lives will be regarded as a crime against humanity with all the ensuing consequences."

Assuming no adverse changes in the circumstances during the period set by the resolution, the USSR will not introduce or support "any Security Council action to extend the scope or nature of the sanctions" against Iraq. He recalled the personal responsibility of all those involved in violations of the laws of armed conflict, including the prohibition against initiating the use of chemical or biological weapons contrary to the Geneva Protocol of 1925, to which Iraq is also a signatory. □

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THE TREATY OF THE UNION

Draft

The following is the full text of the proposed new Soviet Treaty of Union:

The sovereign republics which are parties to the treaty.

Expressing the will of the peoples for the renewal of their Union, proceeding from the similarity of their previous development, determined to live in friendship and concord, and ensuring equitable co-operation,

Mindful of the interests of the material, cultural and emotional welfare of the peoples, mutual enrichment of national cultures, and common security,

Drawing lessons from the past and taking account of the changes taking place in the country and throughout the world,

Have decided to develop their relationships within the Union of sovereign Soviet republics along new principles.

I

Basic Principles

First. Each republic which is party to the treaty shall be a sovereign state with full political power on its own territory.

The USSR shall be a sovereign federative state formed as a result of voluntary unification of the republics and exercising the degree of political power given to it by the parties to the treaty.

Second. The republics forming the Union of Sovereign Soviet Republics shall recognise the inalienable right of each nation to self-determination and self-government, and independent action on all issues of its development. They will be strongly opposed to racism, chauvinism and other extreme forms of nationalism, and any attempts to restrict the rights of the peoples. The parties to the treaty will seek a combination of common human and national values.

Third. The republics shall recognise the primacy of human rights set out in the UN Universal Declaration and international covenants as the most important principle of their union. The citizens of the USSR shall have guaranteed access to the learning and use of their mother tongue, unrestricted access to information, freedom of religion, and other political and personal liberties.

Fourth. The republics see the formation and further development of civil society as crucial to the freedom and well-being of the peoples. They will seek to supply the needs of the people through the free choice of patterns of ownership and economic management and efforts to translate the principles of social justice and security into practice.

Fifth. It will be up to the republics themselves to determine their political system, administrative and territorial division, and the system of government and public administration. They recognise a democracy based on elected representation to be a common fundamental principle and seek to establish a law-governed state that would be a sure safeguard against any authoritarian practices and arbitrary rule.

Sixth. The republics regard the preservation and development of national traditions and state support for education, science and culture as their major task. They will work to promote intensive exchanges of humanitarian cultural values within the country and throughout the world for mutual benefit.

Seventh. The republics declare that their international priorities shall be lasting peace, abolition of nuclear and other weapons of mass annihilation, co-operation between nations, and

solidarity of peoples in dealing with all other global challenges facing mankind.

II

The Composition of the Union

Article 1. Membership of the Union.

The republics shall be members of the USSR on a voluntary basis.

The republics participating in this treaty shall be members of the Union either directly or as part of other republics. This does not infringe upon their rights or relieve them of their duties under this treaty.

The relations between the autonomous republics and the republics in which they are situated, shall be regulated by treaties and agreements between them.

Members of the union can raise the question of ending the membership of the USSR by a republic violating the terms of this treaty or the obligations assumed by it.

Article 2. Citizenship.

Citizens of a republic which is part of the USSR shall be simultaneously citizens of the USSR.

Citizens shall have equal rights and duties, laid down in the Constitution and laws and international agreements of the USSR.

Article 3. Territory.

The territory of the USSR shall be composed of the territories of all the republics participating in this treaty.

The borders between the republics can be changed by their mutual agreement only.

The republics shall guarantee all the peoples living on their territory political rights and opportunities for social, economic and cultural development.

Article 4. The relations between republics.

The republics participating in this treaty shall arrange their relations within the Union on the basis of equality, respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs, settlement of disputes by peaceful means, co-operation, mutual assistance, and the observance in good faith of their obligations under this treaty and the agreements between the republics.

The republics pledge not to allow the deployment on their territory of armed units and military bases of foreign states or sign agreements that run counter to the aims of the Union or are directed against the interests of the constituent republics.

Article 5. The powers of the union.

The participants in this treaty shall vest the USSR with the following powers:

(1) To adopt and amend the Constitution of the USSR, ensure on a joint basis with the republics the fundamental rights and freedoms of citizens of the USSR,

(2) To defend the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Union, establish and guard the state border of the USSR, ensure state security of the USSR, organise defence and control of the Armed Forces of the USSR, declare war and sign peace treaties,

(3) To work out and pursue the foreign policy of the Union, sign international treaties of the USSR, represent the union in relations with oth-

er states and in international organisations, coordinate the foreign policy activities of the republics, regulate foreign economic activities of the USSR and coordinate foreign economic ties of the republics, manage the customs services,

(4) To formulate on a joint basis with the republics the country's economic development strategy and create conditions for the development of a national common market, pursue a single financial, credit and monetary policy based on a single currency, draw up and execute a national budget, manage and use in agreement with the republics the gold reserve and the diamond fund, carry out national programmes and set up development and emergency relief funds,

(5) To manage in co-operation with the republics a single fuel and energy system of the country, railway, air and sea transport and trunk pipelines, control defence factories and plants, space research, national communications and information systems, geodesy, cartography, metrology and standardisation, pass fundamental laws on the use of natural resources and environmental control and pursue a coordinated environmental policy,

(6) To formulate jointly with the republics the fundamentals of social policy, including working conditions and safety at work, social security and insurance, health, and mother and child care,

(7) To coordinate inter-republic co-operation in the field of culture, education, fundamental research and the encouragement of scientific and technological progress.

(8) To pass fundamental law on issues agreed with the republics, coordinate activities in maintaining public order and combating crime.

The powers of the Union cannot be changed without the consent of all the republics.

Article 6. Participation of the republics in exercising the powers of the Union.

The republics shall participate in the exercise of the powers of the USSR through joint establishment of union bodies and the creation of other mechanisms and procedures for the coordination of interests and activities.

Every republic can pass on to the Union some of its powers by signing an agreement with the union and the union can pass on to one or several republics some of its powers on their territory with the consent of all the republics.

Article 7. Ownership.

The USSR and the republics shall ensure free development and protect all forms of ownership, including the property of citizens and their organisations and state property.

The republics shall be the owners of the land, its minerals and other natural resources on their territory as well as state property with the exception of that part of it necessary for the exercise of the powers of the USSR.

Regulation by republican laws of the relations of ownership of the land and its minerals and

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other natural resources shall not interfere with the exercise of the powers of the Union.

Article 8. Taxes and Duties.

The republics shall be free to draw up their own budgets and establish republic taxes and duties.

National taxes and duties and the republics' contributions to national programmes shall be established jointly with the republics for the exercise of the powers of the USSR.

Article 9. Laws.

The laws of the republics on their territories shall have priority on all matters with the exception of those within the competence of the Union.

Laws of the USSR passed on matters within its competence shall have priority and must be observed on the territory of all republics.

Laws of the USSR on matters within the joint competence of the union and the republics shall apply if the republic whose interests are affected by these laws does not object.

The Constitution and laws of the USSR and the Constitutions and laws of the republics must not contravene the provisions of this treaty and international obligations of the USSR and the republics.

A republic shall have the right to dispute a law of the USSR if it contravenes its Constitution or exceeds the powers of the Union. The Union shall have the right to dispute republican laws if they contravene this treaty or the Constitution and laws of the USSR. In both cases the disputes shall be settled by conciliation or submitted to the Constitutional Court of the USSR.

III

Bodies of Power and Management

Article 10. The formation of the bodies of power and management.

Union bodies of power and management shall be formed on the basis of broad representation of republics and shall act in strict compliance with the provisions of this treaty.

Article 11. The USSR Supreme Soviet.

Legislative power shall be exercised by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The USSR Supreme Soviet shall have two chambers: the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities. The Council of the Union shall be elected by the entire population of the country in election districts with an equal number of voters. The Council of Nationalities shall be formed from delegations of the highest representative bodies of power of republics and bodies of power of national-territorial formations by coordinated norms.

All peoples living in the USSR shall be guaranteed representation on the Council of Nationalities.

Article 12. The USSR President.

The USSR President is the head of the Union state wielding the highest administrative and executive power.

The USSR President shall act as guarantor of compliance with the Union Treaty, the Constitu-

tion and laws of the USSR, be Commander-in-Chief of the USSR Armed Forces, represent the Union in relations with foreign countries, and exercise control over the fulfilment of the international commitments of the USSR.

The President shall be elected by citizens of the USSR by majority vote in the Union as a whole and in the majority of republics.

Article 13. The USSR Vice-President.

The USSR Vice-President shall be elected together with the USSR President. The USSR Vice-President shall fulfil, when so charged by the President, some of his functions and act for the USSR President in his absence or in the event of the President being unable to fulfil his duties.

Article 14. The Council of the Federation.

The Council of the Federation shall be established under the leadership of the USSR President and made up of the USSR Vice-President and presidents (heads of state) of republics with the aim of determining the guidelines of the domestic and foreign policies of the Union and coordinating the actions of republics.

The Council of the Federation shall coordinate and harmonise the actions of the highest bodies of state power and management of the Union and republics, monitor observance of the Union Treaty, determine measures for carrying out the nationalities policy of the Soviet State, guarantee the participation of republics in the solution of questions of national importance, and draft recommendations on the settlement of disputes and conflict situations in ethnic relations.

Article 15. The USSR Cabinet of Ministers.

The USSR Cabinet of Ministers shall be formed by the USSR President by agreement with the USSR Supreme Soviet and shall be made up of the Prime Minister, deputies to the Prime Minister, USSR ministers and heads of other state bodies of the USSR.

The USSR Cabinet of Ministers shall include the heads of government of union republics.

The USSR Cabinet of Ministers shall be subordinated to the USSR President and accountable to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

To coordinate the solution of problems of state management collegiums shall be established at ministries and departments of the USSR comprising heads of corresponding republican ministries and departments.

Article 16. The USSR Constitutional Court.

The USSR Constitutional Court shall monitor the compliance of the laws of the USSR and republics with the Union Treaty and the USSR Constitution, and shall settle disputes between republics, and between the Union and a republic if these disputes are not settled in a conciliatory procedure.

Article 17. Union Courts.

Union courts are the USSR Supreme Court, the USSR Economic Court, and the courts of the USSR Armed Forces.

The USSR Supreme Court is the highest body of judicial power of the Union. The chairman of the highest judicial bodies of republics shall be members of the USSR Supreme Court.

Article 18. The Union Procurator's Office.

Compliance with the legal acts of the USSR shall be monitored by the Union Procurator's office headed by the USSR Procurator General.

The procurators of republics shall be members of the Collegium of the USSR Procurator's Office.

Article 19. The state language of the Union.

Parties to the treaty shall recognise Russian, which has become a means of communication between peoples, as the state language of the USSR.

Article 20. The capital of the Union.

Moscow shall be the capital of the USSR.

Article 21. The state symbols of the Union.

The USSR shall have its emblem, flag and anthem.

Article 22. The enforcement of the Union Treaty.

The Union Treaty shall come into force on the moment of its signing. The 1922 Treaty on the Establishment of the USSR shall be considered null and void for the republics that sign the new treaty as of the same moment.

Article 23. Amendments to the Union Treaty.

The Union Treaty or its individual provisions can be annulled, amended or supplemented only by agreement of all USSR member-states. □

(Pravda, November 24. In full.)

Soviet spokesman on relations with South Africa

"THE Soviet Union has stated more than once that it is ready to normalise and develop mutually advantageous relations with South Africa, including diplomatic relations, but only after the process of dismantling apartheid becomes irreversible there," Soviet Foreign Minister spokesman Yuri Gremitskikh told a briefing in Moscow on November 29.

He was commenting on statements by South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha, published by Western news agencies, that regular contacts have been established between the two countries, and the Soviet Union and South Africa will exchange diplomatic missions at a suitable moment.

Gremitskikh noted that the South African minister has considerably exaggerated the regularity of contacts. The two countries' foreign political departments have contacts on a regional settlement, he said.

"The contacts are useful, and we are planning to continue them," Gremitskikh said. The intensity of contacts will grow, as soon as obstacles are removed on the road to establishing normal relations between the Soviet Union and South Africa, he said. □

(continued from page 403)

begun to take shape and interesting ideas and concepts had emerged in multi-lateral contacts before the crisis. All this has been halted now. Diplomacy switched over to the Gulf crisis.

This, undoubtedly, has had a negative impact on efforts to reach an Arab-Israeli settlement and peace in Lebanon.

In the event of military action how would you define possible Soviet participation?

I believe that the only thing that could force us to directly intervene into the conflict is a threat to the lives and security of Soviet citizens in Iraq. We will take all the necessary steps in this case. Everybody should know that we will not hesitate to use force to protect our citizens. It's about time to end inaction in situations when human life, dignity and fate become expendable currency in an immoral political game. □

**Oleg
YEFREMOV**

**Director of the
Moscow Art Theatre**

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Pravda analyst on prospects for Gulf settlement

THE main thing in the United Nations Security Council resolution on the Iraq-Kuwait conflict is that it "for the first time sets a time-frame for meeting the international community's demands for full restoration of the consequences of the Iraqi aggression," *Pravda's* political news analyst Yuri Glukhov writes in the December 2 issue commenting on the resolution endorsed last Thursday, November 29.

"The council for the first time stated the need to use 'all necessary means' to implement the resolution, i.e. a possible use of force," he points out.

The resolution assigns only 45 days for the search for a peaceful solution to the conflict, the commentary emphasises. This is apparently enough if the positive efforts of all those who are involved in it in this or that way are combined. It is a matter of common knowledge that it is the United States that is involved most of all.

The US proposal for US Secretary of State James Baker to visit Baghdad for talks and Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz to visit Washington can only be welcomed, Glukhov writes.

Emphasising the importance of the document

adopted at the UN, the analyst at the same time points to the fact that "the forthcoming period will be the time when the Arab factor and its peace potential should finally have its effect.

"As far as the Soviet Union's stand is concerned, it is utterly clear," the commentary says. "It is inadmissible to engage in shameful bargaining about hostages or use them as a 'human shield'.

"Disregard for diplomatic immunity or trampling on international rights and the sovereignty of another country are also inadmissible. An aggressor should not enjoy the results of its aggression.

"This principle guided the Soviet Union in its support for Arab states in their confrontation with Israel. The same principle is now being applied with regard to Iraq's actions as well.

"Herein is the Soviet Union's stand. It is prompted by new political thinking, the renunciation of the policy of confrontation and the establishment of a world of civilised conduct," Glukhov stresses.

The Gulf situation is so explosive that "a high responsibility for every act is required, particularly from the Iraqi leadership. The interests of the country, the future of one's own people and the destiny of peace and stability in the world, not considerations of prestige, should be above everything else," Glukhov writes. □

Soviet Union and Switzerland sign declaration of intent

THE Soviet Union and Switzerland signed a declaration of intent on December 1, agreeing to co-operate in scientific, technical, industrial and economic spheres and expand contacts in education, health care, environmental protection and culture and youth exchanges.

The document was signed by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and his Swiss counterpart Rene Felber.

The sides agreed to share their experience in law-making, federalism, decentralisation, administrative structures and market economics.

The sides will meet regularly to discuss disarmament, political developments in Europe, the CSCE process and the work of the Council of Europe and other international organisations.

The Soviet and Swiss governments will pay special attention to cleaning up after the Chernobyl nuclear power plant disaster.

The two countries plan to expand co-operation in civil defence, and combating drug trafficking and organised crime.

The declaration of intent enters into force immediately and will be effective until the end of 1992.

By mutual consent the agreement can be extended. □

Soviet Foreign Ministry press briefing

THE Soviet Union welcomes the initiative of US President George Bush on US-Iraqi contacts in Washington and Baghdad, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vitali Churkin told a briefing in Moscow on December 3.

He read out a document which says that the US President's initiative should be viewed as a specific embodiment of Soviet-American mutual understanding that overcoming the crisis by peaceful means is preferable.

Touching upon the problem of Soviet citizens' exit from Iraq, Churkin said that Soviet Government envoy S. Arakelyan is now in Iraq and is tackling this matter together with the Soviet Embassy.

The Iraqi side, according to him, is trying to create obstacles to the departure of Soviet people by pleading that contracts have not yet been fulfilled.

"For our part, we have done and shall do everything depending on us to resolve this legal aspect of the problem as well," Churkin said.

He commented on Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman's interview with the German newspaper *die Welt*, in which the Romanian leader outlined the task of his country as "working for the independence of the republic of Moldova."

The Soviet spokesman described this statement as an unacceptable interference in the Soviet Union's internal affairs.

The Soviet Foreign Minister and the US Secretary of State will hold talks in Houston on December 10-11, Churkin said. The talks will deal with the problem of settling the Gulf crisis. On December 12 the Soviet Foreign Minister is scheduled to meet President Bush, he added.

Churkin was asked whether Erich Honecker would be handed back to the German authorities if Soviet physicians judge that he is in good health.

Churkin emphasised that one should approach this question from the viewpoint of humanism, since the former leader of East Germany was brought to a Soviet hospital because of the serious state of his health.

"We would like to hope that the German side, particularly at a time when the German people have accomplished their historic task of German reunification, will also be guided by the principles of humanism in deciding this question," Churkin said.

The fact that Cuba voted against UN Resolution 678 will have no adverse effect on Soviet-Cuban relations, Churkin said in response to a question.

"We proceed from the premise that Cuba is a sovereign country and that it is at liberty to vote on any question as it deems necessary," he stressed. □

Gorbachev-Bush hot line up-graded

THE hot line linking the White House and the Kremlin is operating efficiently after recent modernisation, enabling direct contacts between the Soviet and American presidents in an emergency, reports TASS correspondent Alexander Korolev from Washington on December 4.

The communications link, first set up in 1963. Has since served to preserve peace. Its latest modernisation will enable the superpower heads of state to maintain contacts at the latest technical level, said Lieutenant-General Jerome Hilms, director of information systems of the US Army Command. He was speaking at the hot line station in Frederick.

Each hot line message goes to the Soviet Union or the United States three different ways, said Frederick station manager Tom Brothers. Written messages are exchanged over a land cable and through two satellite systems, one Soviet and the other American.

The satellite systems were introduced to ensure the reliability of the hot line after a Finnish farmer cut the cable with his plow. The duplication ensures messages arrive at the Kremlin or the White House within seconds during a crisis.

Since 1986, presidents have been able to exchange maps, charts and so on to supplement their verbal messages.

The hot line has been used more than 15 times in its 27-year history. One of the most notable uses was during the six-day Arab-Israel war in 1967. □

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From a Woman's Viewpoint

Novosti correspondent Yelena BOGATYKH interviews ZOYA KRYLOVA, member of the Committee of the USSR Supreme Soviet on Women and the Protection of the Family, Maternity and Childhood, and Editor-in-Chief of the magazine *Rabotnitsa*.

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Union Treaty: pluses and minuses

ON November 28 the draft of a Union Treaty was considered at a joint meeting of the Standing Commissions of the Council of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet on Social and Economic Development of Union and Autonomous Republics, Autonomous Regions and Areas, and on Nationalities Policy and Inter-ethnic Relations, and of the Committee of the USSR Supreme Soviet on Architecture and Construction.

The Deputies listened to the commentaries by the legal experts who had participated in the preparation of the draft, and exchanged views.

On the whole, the participants in the meeting agreed that the draft of a new Union Treaty is an important step forward in the sphere of the shaping of relations inside the USSR. Naturally, it differs substantially from the analogous document of 1922 and from the previous Constitu-

Soviet Parliament session

THE Soviet Parliament on December 3 discussed and basically supported the President-suggested draft union treaty. The document will be referred for consideration to the fourth Congress of USSR People's Deputies, to open in Moscow on December 17.

In the event of the endorsement of the draft union treaty by the Congress, a special form of plenipotentiary representatives of republics is expected to be convened to sign it.

The draft union treaty proceeds from a fundamentally new concept for the building of the union: each constituent republic is regarded as a sovereign state.

Republics, by signing the treaty, delegate a narrow range of powers to the union for joint handling: the organisation of defence and the ensurance of state security, the elaboration and pursuance of foreign policy, the working out of an economic development strategy, the management of the single power system, transport, communications, and so on.

At the end of the day the Parliament considered the first reading of a bill on basic principles for the social protection of disabled people. The bill sets out a detailed system of social guarantees for this part of the population. □

Pages of History THE TURNING POINT

by Otto Laciš

When farmers lease plots of land in abandoned villages today, the state of desolation they find there is amazing. Those villages are found in areas that were occupied by the enemy during the war and also regions that the enemy did not reach. The desolation and neglect have nothing to do with the war. They were caused by the Great Turn imposed on the nation by Stalin - the turn that crushed the peasants' initiative, diligence and desire to work.

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tions and also goes farther than the recently-adopted regulatory acts. It takes the Union Republics' wishes into consideration and removes some contradictions which have emerged of late. The draft is distinguished, in particular, by a fundamentally new approach to the consideration of the powers of the Union and of the subjects of the federation. They are joint in most cases. A comparatively narrow range of questions relating to direction of the country's defences, adoption of a Constitution of the USSR, working out a foreign policy, and management of the munitions industry remains within the direct competence of the Union.

The draft also makes it possible to put an end to such an alarming phenomenon of our present-day life as the war of the USSR and Republican laws. The main thing is that the document is not based on ideological dogmas but on the universally accepted human values and national values.

At the same time, some provisions of the draft raised questions and objections on the part of the Deputies. For instance, they expressed doubt that the principle of the formation of the Council of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, proposed in the draft, will be able to fully ensure observance of the interests of all inhabitants of the Union Republics.

The participants in the meeting agreed that it would be more expedient to hold direct elections to the Council of Nationalities instead of forming it from the delegations sent by the Republics. In the Deputies' view, the provision of the draft which deals with the functions of the Council of the Federation, specifically, coordination of the work of the highest bodies of state authority and administration of the Union and the of the Republics, also needs a more precise definition. The Deputies believe that such coordination should take place in the sphere of actions of the bodies of executive power and should not affect the powers of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR as the highest legislative body of the country.

The participants in the meeting also expressed the view that the guarantees of representation of all nationalities in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR should be defined more accurately.

The rather vague formulation of the clause on citizenship also caused disputes among the Deputies. The participants in the meeting eventually backed up the idea of a single All-Union citizenship. The Deputies believe that the provisions dealing with the Union's and Republics' rights of ownership, specifically of natural resources, also need a more precise definition in the draft.

The participants in the meeting pointed also to some discrepancies in the text of the draft. On the one hand, it declares the right of the peoples to self-determination, and, on the other, speaks about the exclusive right of the Union Republics to determine their administrative-territorial division on their own. In the Deputies' view, this may prejudice the rights of the population of the Autonomous formations.

The Deputies paid attention also to one more remarkable fact. As it was said above, the draft of a new Union Treaty and its 68-year-old predecessor are poles apart. But that Union Treaty contained very important words about the right of Republics to withdraw from the Union. They do not figure in the draft of a new Union Treaty. In the Deputies' opinion, this is precisely a case when it is better to preserve continuity.

The participants in the meeting decided that in this connection it will be highly reasonable to specify the terms of not only withdrawal of a Republic from the Union but also the terms of accession to the Union in the future Union Treaty. □

(Izvestia, November 29. Abridged.)

Draft Union Treaty submitted to Soviet Parliament

RAFIK NISHANOV, Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Council of Nationalities, on December 3 submitted to the Soviet Parliament a draft union treaty which will be the new legal basis to build a federative Soviet state.

The draft sent by President Mikhail Gorbachev to the Soviet Parliament and union republics late in November proceeds from a basically new concept of building the Soviet Union: each republic forming the union is regarded as a sovereign state.

Republics, which will sign the treaty, will mandate a narrow range of powers to the union: defence and state security, the drafting and implementation of foreign policy, the strategy of economic development, the management of the united power grid, the united systems of transportation and communications, and so on.

Nishanov stressed that the new union treaty may be signed by all the republics, irrespective of whether they were union or autonomous. Moreover, peoples, which have no statehood for the time being, may join the treaty.

Nishanov argued with those politicians who suggested that a new union should be based on bilateral treaties between individual republics.

According to him, the transition of peoples that lived in close co-operation for centuries, only to horizontal relations would be a retrograde step.

Nishanov was asked about the fate of republics, which would not wish to sign the treaty. He referred to an article in the draft saying that the 1922 treaty will be applicable to such republics and, consequently, they will be able to secede from the USSR, observing all conditions provided for by a special law adopted by the Soviet Parliament this year.

Nishanov did not explain how much time would be allotted to the Soviet public or the Soviet and republican parliaments to discuss the draft.

Both chambers of Parliament began debating the draft treaty that day. □

LESSONS OF ANDREI SAKHAROV

The true scope and significance of an individual can be seen only from a distance in time. However, Andrei Sakharov is an exception to the rule. People involved in many, even the most incompatible sphere of human activity, consider him one of their own - as a model of the highest magnitude. He was a great physicist and he devoted his efforts to containing the nuclear arms race and to disarmament, the problems of world politics and social relations, to practical public and political activities. But Andrei Sakharov's most important dimension was his generous human heart, his pure and rapturous soul which made him the conscience of his people

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Have President Gorbachev's positions changed?

By Vyacheslav Kostikov, *Novosti* political analyst

BY declining to go to Oslo to collect his Nobel Prize, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev indicated both to his backers and opponents that he was fully aware of the gravity of the crisis of the country and intended to concentrate his attention on internal stabilisation.

The two-week time limit he set himself for renewing his team conceals both advantages and elements of risk. Advantages: a population weary of power dystrophy regards the President's proposals as the beginning of the country's emergence from a "paralysis of power". The risk is that if the renovation is not radical enough or if the President's Cabinet does not show dynamism and a new style of leadership in the very first days, the crisis of confidence will reach its peak. In such conditions, society may in desperation be tempted to resort to most unpredictable recipes.

Judging by everything, Gorbachev knows of such a danger, there being more than enough evidence to that effect. Several days ago a group of "hardline Bolsheviks", forming the unity movement, accused the President of revisionism and abandonment of Marxism-Leninism. The group decided at its conference in Leningrad to demand the expulsion of Mikhail Gorbachev from the Soviet Communist Party. Sharp criticisms of the President are also heard from the recently formed Russian Communist Party, which is headed by Ivan Polozkov. Keeping in the background, and not permitting personal attacks against the President, he nevertheless has become a symbol of the conservative bloc in the Soviet Communist Party.

Gorbachev has to advance towards reforms and, in particular, towards a market economy, accepted by far from all with enthusiasm, in a situation when both on the left and on the right of him passions run high and when in his own rear (it may be recalled that he is the General Secretary of the CPSU) "partisans" of conservatism have stepped up their activity.

In this connection the President has recently undertaken a series of seemingly unimpressive steps, but ones that are aimed at bringing up the rear in preparation for a new stage of perestroika.

Gorbachev's two latest speeches – at a meeting with intellectuals and before delegates of a Moscow Communist Conference – can be compared to castling in chess. Neither speech contained any sensations. In effect, Gorbachev reiterated major arguments of his previous reports: the need for national consolidation, for "socialist choice", and that he does not accept the idea of a "divorce" between the centre and the republics.

At the same time, Gorbachev reminded his audiences in a casual manner that he retains the leader of the Party "which is a ruling one" and that he is not going (such rumours have appeared in recent weeks) to abandon this key post.

Such a clarification can probably cause disappointment among democrats and centrists, who bank on the President, but think he should "distance himself" from the Communist Party.

Meanwhile, this "clarification" is evidence not so much of Gorbachev's political or Party predilections, as of his realism. The point is that political pluralism in the USSR, in spite of democratisation of political life, has been until now more symbolic than real. Yes, there is already a host of new parties and movements. But compared with them, the Soviet Communist

Party remains a Gulliver. The weakening of the Party due to a marked exodus of members is not entailing (as was expected) a rapid strengthening of the opposition parties.

Those leaving the Communist Party most often do not join other parties. This reflects the deep disappointment of the population with Party affiliation in general. One can also sense here the immense fatigue of the population from daily troubles and "superpoliticisation" of social life in the past few years.

As a result, individuals rather than parties are now playing a bigger role in the country's political life. Even so because of traditions, amassed experience and structures that have been kept throughout the entire country, the Soviet Communist Party remains the most significant political force. And it would have been a political mistake to disavow its support. Gorbachev did not make such a mistake.

Sound reasoning also suggests that the Soviet Communist Party, having absorbed almost the entire intelligentsia, the entire state apparatus, has itself matured for democratic evolution. And this evolution is proceeding, though much more slowly than in society as a whole.

Remaining General Secretary, Gorbachev is in a position to stimulate that process. To give over a huge and still strong Party to the conservatives would be a risky omission. Unfortunately, many democrats fail to see this, and continue to accuse Gorbachev of adhering to old dogmas.

Meanwhile, Gorbachev is carefully avoiding communist phraseology in his speeches. And his recent statement at a meeting with intellectuals that conceptually he has a lot in common with

leader of Spanish socialists Felipe Gonzalez, points eloquently enough to the direction of the Soviet leader's evolution. To accuse Gorbachev of "running too slowly" means not seeing the realities and traditions in which perestroika is unfolding.

And the last point, the main one in terms of a real balance of forces in the country. Obvious attempts have been undertaken recently to complicate Gorbachev's relations with the Army. A statement by one of the Parliament deputies (an army officer) that "yesterday Gorbachev lost the Army" sounded sensational.

The cause for such an emotional assessment was provided by the meeting the President had with military deputies, at which he heard many critical remarks. These criticisms reflect social, everyday and moral complications being experienced by the Army in the transition period (cuts in numbers, troops being moved from Eastern Europe, anti-Army outbursts in some republics, and so on.) Army deputies make no political claims to the President, for the Army needs reform as much as the whole of society.

Nevertheless even here a "clarification" was needed. And Defence Minister Marshal Dmitri Yazov, made it. I will quote only one part from his brief statement on Central Television of the USSR: "The Armed Forces have been and will be loyal to the perestroika course being implemented under the leadership of the USSR President."

Of all latest "clarifications" concerning the alignment of political forces in the USSR, this is perhaps the shortest but also the most substantial, isn't it? □

Minimum nuclear containment

By Vladimir Chernyshev,
TASS military analyst:

PRESIDENT Gorbachev said in Paris that the USSR was ready to determine jointly with Western nations the exact meaning of the term "minimum nuclear containment" and fix the limit beyond which the nuclear retaliation potential will turn into an attack force.

The Soviet Union has long since declared its firm readiness to renounce all nuclear weapons. It has declared more than once that it is ready to give up its status as a nuclear power, to exclude nuclear weapons from all defence sufficiency versions and to develop its armed forces without any reliance on nuclear armaments. Of course, this is possible only if other nuclear powers act likewise.

However, the United States and its NATO allies stubbornly refuse to renounce weapons of mass destruction and insist that "nuclear containment" should exist in the foreseeable future or maybe even "forever".

Can there be any compromise? I believe it is possible. The Soviet Union does not dramatise the existing differences on the role of nuclear weapons in general and is ready to scrap nuclear arsenals stage-by-stage. It is aware that the West and the East are now in accord that existing nuclear stockpiles are excessive and must be sharply reduced. This is borne out by the concluded agreement on medium and shorter range missiles and the practically ready agreement on strategic offensive armaments. Both sides realise that the goals of containment could be achieved with much smaller arsenals.

Realising that nuclear weapons cannot be liquidated all at once and that mankind will have to proceed towards this goal stage-by-stage, and in light of the present stand taken by the United States and its allies, the USSR moves to include another intermediate stage in the programme for the creation of a nuclear-free world – the stage of "minimum containment". If it is still necessary to contain each other, let's do it at the minimum level.

What criteria should be used to determine this level's parameters? Apparently, they should provide for nuclear equality within limits ruling out the possibility of "complete victory" for any side. It ought to be said that the problem of minimum nuclear containment is being discussed actively by specialists, both military and civilian, including in the Soviet Union. Their views on this level are rather contradictory, differing as regards the extent to which the arsenals could be reduced – from 500 to several thousand warheads.

What would minimum nuclear containment yield? It would primarily ensure greater trust and strategic stability. The economic factor should not be overlooked too. Of course, the scraping of large numbers of nuclear armaments alone would not yield any substantial economy, because resources have already been spent on the existing forces and they cannot be recouped, while the reduced spendings on the upkeep of nuclear forces amount to a rather modest sum.

The main source of economy can be obtained by limiting the modernisation of the existing tremendous nuclear triade, as well as the development and deployment of new weapon systems. This is where tremendous funds could be saved if the existing arsenals are reduced to the minimum. □