

## Mikhail Gorbachev's speech at luncheon in honour of Rajiv Gandhi

*The Soviet leadership gave a luncheon on July 3 in the Grand Kremlin Palace in honour of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of India and his wife. Here follows the full text of the speech made by Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, at the luncheon:*

Esteemed Mr Prime Minister,  
Esteemed Mrs Gandhi,  
Dear Indian friends,  
Comrades,

Let me cordially greet Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and the members of the Indian delegation. You are always welcome guests here. We are glad at this opportunity to repay the warmth and hospitality which were accorded to us so generously recently in New Delhi.

Soviet-Indian summit meetings have served our states and peoples well. They have always imparted an impulse both to our bilateral relations and, in a no small measure, to international development.

After our last meeting with you, joint efforts have been made to realise the understandings reached there. Our renewal drive has helped them as well. There are grounds for saying that our interaction is reaching a drastically new level. This is borne out also by the just-signed comprehensive long-term programme for scientific and technological co-operation.

The Delhi Declaration we adopted last November is a phenomenon that is really new and fruitful. It has riveted general interest. The ideas laid down in it are influencing, directly or indirectly, the moral and political climate in the world. The fact that such countries as India and the USSR are behind them has made them a factor of real politics.

The philosophical and moral basis of the Delhi Declaration is the priority of universally shared human values at a time when the problem of mankind's survival has become disturbingly real and dictates the vital need for a new manner of thinking in world politics.

You and we are far from claiming to be in a position to give prescriptions to everyone on how to act in his own specific conditions to help avoid catastrophe. But the sense in the goal is obvious. This goal, a world free from nuclear weapons and violence, is also the only possible. Vladimir I. Lenin spoke of "mankind's far wider collective experience, which has left its impress upon the history of international democracy". As far as we are concerned, we are prepared to derive anything valuable from this experience.

New thinking is rejected by conservative forces. All manner of dogmatics and sceptics are in the same camp with them. No arguing, it is not easy to overcome the age-old view on the purpose of foreign policy. There is a thicket of problems and logjams confronting us.

But time demands a constructive answer to the question: "What is to be done?", it demands an alternative to power politics, to "nuclear deterrence" and to military doctrines based on intimidation.

This is why I would like to call attention once again to the idea of a comprehensive system of international security.

What meaning do we put in the notion "comprehensive"? It should be both horizontal, covering all countries and regions, and vertical, taking into account all factors affecting international relations — military, political, economic, ecological and humanitarian. Undertaking to build an edifice of security, we should show equal concern for constructing each of its storeys and each of its sections.

We are aware that a comprehensive system of international security cannot be obtained all at once, in ready-made form, as a kind of artificial structure fitted onto the living fibre of international bonds and contradictions. It is not a static but a dynamic system. Its dynamism depends on purposeful activities by the entire community of states.

No single country or even group of countries can monopolise the functions of the architect and builder of such a system. This is an international matter taking joint efforts and time.

Have we all been able to get any nearer to a safer world lately? There have been some encouraging signs.

We can see that something has already changed in worldwide public awareness. The voices of political realism have been sounding ever more forcefully and authoritatively. More and more people have been actively upholding the positions of reason. There has been less and less trust in those shunning equal dialogue and a serious search for ways of ending the arms race and lessening the nuclear threat.

Public opinion in the world has begun making a stronger impact on this process. It has proved possible to check escalating tension.

As a result, there has emerged the possibility of taking a first step and signing an agreement on medium-range and shorter-range missiles, which would open the prospect of further, bigger strides.

It is as yet, however, just a possibility. NATO has erected hindrances this time as well. The reasons remain the same: the vested interests of influential militarist groups in an arms race and, consequently, the absence of a constructive concept in NATO ruling quarters on how to build

## Mikhail Gorbachev opens Festival of India

*Here follows the full text of Mikhail Gorbachev's speech at the opening of the Festival of India in the USSR in the Kremlin's Cathedral Square:*

Esteemed Mr Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi,  
Esteemed Indian guests,  
Dear Muscovites,

We are opening today another remarkable page in the chronicle of Soviet-Indian friendship, the National Festival of India in the USSR.

On behalf of the Soviet leadership and our people I wholeheartedly welcome the delegates from friendly India and all participants in the signal and colourful event.

This festival is more than a tribute of respect to one of the most ancient civilisations on Earth. This is another manifestation of the special character of Soviet-Indian relations. It is also symbolic that its opening ceremony is taking place in the Moscow Kremlin, a place sacred for our people. The feeling of the link of times is especially keen here. The great Lenin lived and worked here.

Relations between states need the living breath of mutual spiritual enrichment with people's wisdom in order to grow and strengthen.

The festival will again demonstrate the

profound and sincere mutual interest of our peoples, a factor of international significance.

Mr Gandhi, you and I solemnly stated in the Delhi Declaration that human life must be recognised as supreme. It is only man's creative genius that makes progress and development possible. For that, the human race needs peace, co-operation and confidence. Universal and equal security for all is required.

The Soviet Union and India are united by commitment to the lofty ideals of struggle against the threat of war and all forms of inequality.

The Festival of India in the USSR and the Festival of the USSR in India, to open in November, are timed to mark major dates — the 40th anniversary of India's independence and the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. I'm convinced that both festivals will be worthy of these events in world history and meet their noble, humanistic purpose.

I wish all participants in the festival successes, good health and realisation of hopes for a peaceful future.

Good luck, festival. □

(Moscow, July 3, TASS)

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West-East relations if confrontation is to be renounced. They do not have a replacement for the now utterly unacceptable concept of "nuclear deterrence".

If the view of the NATO leaders on prospects for world development in the 21st century is presented in as simple form as possible, what becomes exposed is their perplexity and lack of realism: we propose dismantling the entire system of weapons of mass annihilation and reducing other weapons to the level of sensible sufficiency. In response we are being offered a dismantling of a social system — our system. The absurdity of this "dilemma" does not deserve even a refutation.

Esteemed Mr Prime Minister,

Speaking in Vladivostok a little less than a year ago, I set out our view of security in the Asian-Pacific part of the present-day world.

In Delhi, we discussed with you this major direction of world politics. In the time that has passed the Soviet Union has sought to expand its positive contribution to the region's affairs, establish, renew and step up contacts with a number of countries situated there.

We can state with satisfaction that we are encountering ever greater understanding of our policy, our intentions, which are not directed against anyone's interests, do not encroach upon anyone's independence.

Ever more countries, even those situated far from focuses of conflicts and acute confrontation, adopt a position in favour of talks, national reconciliation and normalisation of the situation around these focuses. In this way they are beginning to use more actively their right to participation in world affairs. We welcome this.

The interdependence of the entire modern world is such that with each passing year and every event of international importance, it is making itself felt ever more clearly. This has been the case with the talks on nuclear missiles in Europe, too. We are aware of the link between that issue and problems of the military threat and security in Asia and the Pacific. We are concerned with it directly because a vast part of the Soviet Union's territory lies in Asia and the Far East.

Let me make it clear once again — we emphatically propose to open talks with the United States on nuclear armaments in the Asian and Pacific region and approach that problem on the basis of reciprocity and with strict account of the security interests of all.

There is no doubt that on a broad philosophical and political plane the core of universal security is **trust**. I'm raising this question not because I want to join in the old scholastic argument: what appeared earlier, the chicken or the egg, that is, mistrust or the arms race?

It cannot be denied that, historically, mistrust in international affairs was a reaction to the emergence of states with a new social system or a differing political order. However, it became a factor of tension and even the cause of wars when it was transformed into a policy of intervention and aggression. At the present time this is truer than ever before.

It is precisely the infringement of independence and the encroachment on the right of each people to an independent choice and an original way of development which is the source of mistrust with all its perilous consequences for all humankind in our complicated age.

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Soviet-Indian relations are in this sense a very beneficial "object" for reflections on the problem of trust.

They have developed to their unique level precisely owing to the fact that throughout their history the principle of independence, equality and non-intervention in each other's domestic affairs has been strictly observed — let me say more, painstakingly cultivated.

We have arrived at an identity of views on many issues of the present time, each traversing one's own road, proceeding from our own compelling motives.

This is why one can see in our relations sprouts of such international order in which peaceful co-existence and mutually beneficial co-operation in good faith will become a universal norm.

Mistrust has been placed outside the framework of relations between the governments and the peoples of the Soviet Union and India. Our good relations are causing virtual allergy among definite political quarters in the world. Those who are bent on militarism, escalation, confrontation and on kindling regional conflicts.

The role of India, a major modern power, in world politics does not suit them. They want to check the growth of its influence on international affairs. And we can see how without scruples in the choice of means pressure is being put on India, how attempts are being made to destabilise the situation inside and around the country.

The Soviet Union is expressing its full

understanding of the concern of the people and Government of India over the hostile anti-Indian campaign aimed at undermining the country's unity and weakening its international potential.

The world is moving — through immense difficulties, amid the struggle of contradictions, through the collision of interests and trying to cope with unheard-of problems — toward such a status when interstate relations will be based on the same moral principles that are underlying relations between people. Wrath gives birth to delusion, delusion impairs memory, impaired memory kills cognition and without cognition man perishes. It is very appropriate to recall these words from Mahabharata today.

Dear friends, the peaceful policy of our great southern neighbour is held in high esteem in the Soviet Union. We are interested in a united, strong and independent India playing an outstanding role in the Non-Aligned Movement and the initiatives of the Six States. India of this kind is an immutable and indispensable factor of peace and security in Asia and the world over.

We are glad to meet again with you, Mr Prime Minister, and other Indian statesmen.

We are glad that our policy of mutual understanding, trust and co-operation is being supplemented with the "diplomacy of the masses" embodied in the festivals to be held in the Soviet Union and India.

I wish you, esteemed Mr Prime Minister and Mrs Gandhi, health, happiness and success and I wish Soviet-Indian friendship development and luxurious flourishing. □

## SOVIET-INDIAN TALKS

TALKS were held in the Kremlin on July 3 between Nikolai Ryzhkov, Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Eduard Shevardnadze, Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, and the Prime Minister of India Rajiv Gandhi.

Questions of the domestic life and international policy of the two friendly states were discussed during the talks which passed in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and goodwill characteristic of relations between the Soviet Union and India. Mutual satisfaction was expressed with the high level of Soviet-Indian relations and the striving was stated to further develop and improve them.

The two sides stressed the common fundamental interests of the USSR and India in the creation of a nuclear-weapons-free and non-violent world and noted that the active interaction of the USSR and India in the world arena has become an important stabilising factor of a global scale, playing a substantial role in normalising the international situation in Asia and in the world as a whole. They confirmed the mutual striving to further expand and improve the co-operation of the two countries in the interests of strengthening peace and international security on the basis of the Delhi Declaration on principles for a nuclear-weapons-free and non-violent world.

The sides noted the growing role in world affairs of the Non-Aligned Movement which is ever more vigorously joining the struggle to avert nuclear war and strengthen the co-operation of states in the name of peace and development.

The Soviet side confirmed again its profound and invariable respect for the Indian leadership's independent foreign policy course. The

impermissibility of foreign interference in the internal affairs of states with the aim of achieving a change in their independent foreign policy was particularly stressed.

An in-depth study was made at the talks of questions of Soviet-Indian co-operation, including the prospects of its main directions.

The sides confirmed their desire to switch more vigorously to new forms and methods of co-operation, to develop co-production and specialisation of production, establish direct ties between Soviet and Indian ministries, amalgamations, enterprises and firms.

Also discussed were concrete questions connected with the creation in the USSR and India of joint enterprises, the implementation of Soviet-Indian projects in the scientific-technical field and the deepening of co-operation and development of trade.

\*  
MIKHAIL GORBACHEV and Rajiv Gandhi signed in the Kremlin on July 3 a comprehensive long-term programme of scientific and technological co-operation between the USSR and India. □

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# Mikhail Gorbachev's speech at unveiling of monument to Indira Gandhi

*Here follows the full text of the speech made by Mikhail Gorbachev on July 3 at a ceremony in a Moscow square, attended by Rajiv Gandhi, the Indian Prime Minister, and his wife, during which a monument to Indira Gandhi was unveiled:*

Esteemed Mr Prime Minister,  
Esteemed Mrs Gandhi,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,  
Comrades,

We have gathered here on a solemn and exciting occasion. We were brought here by the grateful memory of Indira Gandhi, an outstanding person and stateswoman.

For the Soviet people, the image of Indira Gandhi is indivisible from the image of India. Her life and activities are a vivid and undetachable page in that ancient country's eventful history of many centuries. For nearly two decades Indira Gandhi stood at the helm of state.

A patriot in the loftiest meaning of the word, she dreamt of a great and strong India

and made an invaluable contribution to translating her dream into reality. She acted resolutely and vigorously to protect the unity and territorial integrity of India and uphold its sovereignty.

Indira Gandhi was sincerely committed to humanistic ideals. She knew and loved her people and saw the meaning of life in serving them.

From the very start of her political biography, Indira Gandhi was a consistent advocate of co-operation with the Soviet Union. She proved a worthy successor to her great father who laid the foundations of Soviet-Indian friendship.

Remarkable events in Soviet-Indian relations are associated with the name of Indira Gandhi. The signing of the historic Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation in August 1971 holds a special place. This is an outstanding

example of political far-sightedness and wisdom which Indira Gandhi possessed in full measure.

Mutual understanding and proximity of our positions in foreign policy have always been based on our mutual striving for peace. The international community had in the person of Indira Gandhi one of the most dedicated advocates of peace. Peoples' memory will preserve her passionate speeches against imperialism, domination and aggression, nuclear madness and the arms race, her wrathful accusations of colonialism and racism.

Commitment to the ideas of equality of peoples and solidarity with freedom-fighters won Indira Gandhi exceptionally high prestige all over the world. Her initiatives in the diplomatic sphere and in the Non-Aligned Movement are still operating in international politics. The constructive activity of the Group of Six, at the source of which stands Indira Gandhi, is one of the examples.

It is largely thanks to her effort that a comprehensive complex of Soviet-Indian relations has been established and is functioning fruitfully, while regular personal contacts between the leaders of the USSR and India have become traditional. Each meeting gives a fresh impetus to the all-round interaction of the two powers and becomes a major international event.

Let us solemnly proclaim today in fond memory of Indira Gandhi: let Soviet-Indian friendship, for which she had done so much, develop and strengthen for ever and ever. This will be yet another monument, not made by human hand, to Indira Gandhi, a great daughter of the great people. □

## Political Bureau meeting

THE Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee at its meeting on July 1 discussed top-priority measures for organising the implementation of the decisions of the June (1987) plenum of the CPSU Central Committee on the Party's tasks in the fundamental reorganisation of economic management.

The Council of Ministers of the USSR was assigned to define the order and terms of establishing an integral management system and exercise constant control over the introduction of the Law of the USSR on the State Enterprise (Amalgamation).

The Political Bureau approved the results of Mikhail Gorbachev's conversation with Jambyn Batmunkh. It was noted with satisfaction that Soviet-Mongolian co-operation was becoming ever more diverse and dynamic and facilitated the solution of topical socio-economic tasks facing both countries and the implementation of the course towards stronger peace and security in Asia.

In view of the accords reached during the conversation, Soviet organisations were recommended to coordinate with the Mongolian side specific measures for enhancing interaction in the field of industry and agriculture and deepening bilateral ties in ideology, science and culture.

The Political Bureau approved the results of Mikhail Gorbachev's meeting with the leader of the Republic of Zimbabwe and Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement, Robert Mugabe.

It was noted that equitable and mutually beneficial co-operation between the USSR and Zimbabwe was following an upward trend and had good prospects.

It was emphasised that the Soviet Union regarded the Non-Aligned Movement as an important positive factor in international politics and invariably took this into account in its foreign policy.

Having approved Gorbachev's conversation with United Nations Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar, the Political Bureau pointed out the growing role that the UN was called upon to play in achieving a balance of diverse interests of all states, large and small, which made up the international community. Stability in international relations was impossible to achieve without that.

The Political Bureau studied Nikolai Ryzhkov's report on the results of the talks with a party and government delegation from the German Democratic Republic.

It stressed the great importance of the further upgrading of economic, scientific and technological co-operation between the USSR and the GDR on the basis of the consistent introduction of its progressive forms.

Corresponding Soviet departments and organisations were given specific instructions on this account.

The Political Bureau discussed the results of Eduard Shevardnadze's official friendly visits to Bulgaria, Hungary and Yugoslavia, stressing their importance for dynamic co-operation among socialist countries in international affairs.

The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee also discussed some other issues of domestic and foreign policy. □

## Gorbachev's greetings to film festival

*Mikhail Gorbachev has sent a message of greetings to the participants and guests of the 15th International Film Festival which opened in Moscow on July 6. The message says:*

In our anxious time, people round the world come to think more and more about the future of civilisation, and become increasingly aware of the need to protect the very life on Earth. This is why the unity of progressive cultural figures who are capable of developing the intellectual and cultural energy of mankind is so important.

You have arrived in Moscow in a period which is significant to us. In the process of reorganising our society, we now turn again and again to the historic experience of the Great October Revolution, and rely on the Leninist principles of cultural co-operation and peaceful coexistence between all states and peoples.

The October Revolution emancipated the creative energies of the masses and proclaimed that "art belongs to the people". Soviet film-makers have played an important role in the process of fostering the new art and making it an effective instrument of moral education.

Cinematography with its captivating power of influence can do much for the unity of all people of goodwill in the work for a nuclear-free world and for the survival of humanity.

I sincerely wish the festival every success. Let its lofty motto "For the Humanism of Cinema Art, for Peace and Friendship Among Nations" promote broader and stronger creative contacts between cinema workers, cultural progress and mutual understanding among the peoples. □

### Mikhail Gorbachev Speech in Vladivostok

July 1986

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# Mikhail Gorbachev receives Jimmy Carter

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV, on receiving Jimmy Carter in the Kremlin on July 1, said that the name of the former US President was associated in the Soviet Union not only with negative moments of that period but also with such a major achievement as the SALT-2 Treaty.

Many opportunities had been lost, however. This later facilitated a turn for the worse both in Soviet-American relations and in the international situation.

Most of the conversation dealt with regional conflicts, above all in the Middle East. There were many positive features in Carter's current stand, Gorbachev said. If the US Administration embraced his ideas, they could be considered by both sides.

The Soviet Union was prepared to facilitate in all ways success of an international conference on the Middle East if, naturally, its formula would take into account the interests of all Arabs and Israel, and would preclude its transformation into an "umbrella" for separate deals.

"We understand," Gorbachev said, "that the United States and other Western countries have interests in that region. The Soviet Union has no intention to infringe upon them. Besides, this is unrealistic."

"The Western countries, too, in their turn, should not pursue unrealistic objectives in settling the crisis."

On the whole, Gorbachev said, no matter how important and complicated individual problems might be, it would be much easier to resolve them through bringing international politics up to date, taking a realistic look at the world and discarding outdated principles and standards.

All members of the international community were confronted with problems that they had not known before — from the threat of nuclear war to the unprecedented role of the mass media.

"If the current situation and the alignment of forces are not analysed while policy is pursued only in response to developments, it will be doomed to wavering and unpredictable turns.

"It is time to review the previous foreign-policy concepts in line with the new realities. The world is saturated with diverse interests and differences. It is necessary to step over them for the sake of universal human values and to strive for a balance of interests.

"Our new mode of thinking rests precisely on that. We have started mastering it, and not only in theory. We have undertaken many steps. We are seeking to pursue a policy of realistic deeds. What is required is reciprocity. Alone, we will not build a bridge of peace.

"And this is not mere rhetoric. It is absolutely obvious that precisely a deficit of new thinking blocks solutions to urgent problems. It is important that all opportunities be used — including the realistic thinking of scientists, experts, public and voluntary organisations — to make an objective analysis of the world situation and of its individual problems, to seek optimal ways for building new international relations. But these efforts in and of themselves will not ensure changes if no change takes place in the foreign policy concepts of states.

"We are already making these changes. And we expect the United States to do the same. The time of imperial politics has passed. A new age should be built on new approaches. We are taking initiatives in the foreign policy field not to win some prize or appeal to someone but in

order to change international relations, including relations between the USSR and the United States, for the better."

The sides agreed that the United Nations should take a more active and vigorous stand in settling regional conflicts. The Soviet Union was prepared to promote in every way greater efficiency of its activities.

Answering Carter's question as to whether his interlocutor was sure of the success of reorganisation, Mikhail Gorbachev said: "We have started a major and difficult undertaking. We have gone through the most important phase of the initial period of reorganisation. The policy of change which we have proposed is approved by society and its implementation has started. A lot of new problems are cropping up. A serious readjustment of people's minds, of the mode and way of life is under way. We are overcoming everything that is holding back development. The atmosphere in society has changed greatly. Openness and democratisation have won broad backing and, relying on it, we are moving forward. Now that reorganisation is more than two years old, confidence in its success has increased substantially. We shall be following that road no matter how hard it may prove. There will be phases along the way: some aims will be achieved in the near future, others will require several years, and there are also more distant aims. There are opportunities for deep-running changes."

Jimmy Carter, quoting information which he had at his disposal as a result of his numerous meetings in various countries, declared that the wish for success to the Soviet Union in the transformations it had started was prevalent in the world.

Anatoli Dobrynin took part in the conversation. □

## Reorganisation means the real strengthening of socialism

By Gennadi Pisarevsky, *Novosti* political analyst

I think that the Law on the State Enterprise endorsed by the USSR Supreme Soviet on June 30 is a major document of the reorganisation drive. It provides a basis for the radical reform of economic management, both central and local.

What does it mean? In the first place, this implies the rejection of administrative methods of management, which prevailed for many years, and the switch-over to economic leverage. The enterprise becomes a kind of state-owned firm. It sells the output on the market, pays taxes to the state, and disposes of the profit at its own discretion. Of course, this is the simplest scheme.

Profit becomes the main index of operation of enterprises. Loss-making enterprises will be closed. Addressing the June 1987 plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, Mikhail Gorbachev said: "Of course, this is an extreme measure. It goes without saying that the state should show concern for providing working people with jobs."

The law lays down a juridical groundwork for combatting wage-levelling. Equal pay for unequal work is social injustice. A skilled and honest worker or specialist earns just slightly more than his lazy colleagues. This insults honest workers and suits bad ones.

Wage-levelling thrived at enterprises. Ministries arbitrarily took away a part of

profit from good enterprises and transferred it to enterprises which lagged behind. Such "kindness" cost society dear and hindered technological advances.

The most difficult thing in restructuring economic management is the shaping of a new economic thinking. The inertia of the outmoded and ossified cannot be overcome quickly. But the restructuring process is gaining momentum, although it is developing unevenly, with ups and downs. Too many problems have piled up, and they must be solved right away.

In my opinion pricing problems are the acutest. The state subsidises the production of meat, milk, many types of vegetables and fruits, and the municipal economy, among other things. The sum of subsidies has already reached 73 billion roubles a year (a rouble is roughly equal to 1.5 US dollars at the official exchange rate as of July 1, 1987).

We have very low prices for oil, gas, coal and electric power. On the other hand, prices for many commodities, especially clothes, footwear and furniture, are too high. Such pricing defects hinder normal economic relations. The supreme goal of reorganisation is more socialism, more democracy. We have achieved much over the seven decades since the October Revolution. We have no exploitation of man by man and no unemployment. There is no national oppression, poverty or illiteracy. People are socially protected. However, older generations have paid a high price for violations of socialist legality and democratic norms of life,

for voluntaristic mistakes and dogmatism.

Now we are carrying out revolutionary changes, cleaning up the great ideals of our immortal revolution from everything which is alien to us. We shall tackle all our problems, and they are very complicated, within the framework of socialism. We shall not retreat a single step from socialism. As Mikhail Gorbachev said, "what we already are doing, planning and proposing should strengthen socialism, remove everything holding back its progress, bring out its immense potential for the people, give play to all advantages of our social system, and lend it the most modern forms". □

### Expert Opinion

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# Andrei Gromyko's speech at reception for West German President

*A DINNER in honour of Richard von Weizsaecker, Federal President of the Federal Republic of Germany and his wife, was given in the Grand Kremlin Palace on July 6 on behalf of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.*

*The guest was accompanied by Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Federal Vice-Chancellor and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the FRG, and other West German officials.*

*Andrei Gromyko and his wife, Nikolai Ryzhkov, Vitali Vorotnikov, Viktor Nikonov, Nikolai Slyunkov, Eduard Shevardnadze, Alexander Yakovlev, Pyotr Demichev, vice-presidents of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and vice-chairmen of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, cabinet ministers, chairmen of the state committees of the USSR and other officials were present at the dinner from the Soviet side.*

*Andrei Gromyko, Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, made a speech.*

On behalf of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, he said, let me cordially greet in Moscow the distinguished guests, the Federal President of the Federal Republic of Germany, Richard von Weizsaecker, his wife and the accompanying persons.

We regard your visit as a good sign — an expression of the desire of the Federal Republic of Germany to improve mutual understanding and build up trust in relations between our countries.

We are saying to you "welcome" and express the hope that your forthcoming meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, your meetings and conversations on Soviet soil will give a new impetus to the development of political dialogue and expansion of diverse and mutually beneficial co-operation between the USSR and the FRG, and will make it possible to understand better each other's stand on issues of peace, security and disarmament.

Mr Federal President, you arrived in the Soviet Union at a very interesting time — the time of big changes and deeds in our country, the time when truly revolutionary processes of reorganisation and deep democratisation are unfolding in the life of Soviet society.

The plenary meeting of the Central Committee of our Party held a few days ago was devoted to specific tasks of this wide-scale work. It is of paramount importance for the life of our country. The session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR has just adopted the laws creating a dependable foundation for a dynamic development of Soviet economy and for improving the well-being of Soviet people.

The objective of reorganisation is to elevate our socialist society to a new stage of progress. All this is the best confirmation that the Soviet Union has no other plans except plans for peaceful constructive endeavours and work in conditions of peace.

The reorganisation and preparation for war are simply incompatible things. They are antipodes. All those who attribute bad intentions to us and continue scaring the world with a "Soviet threat" should think that over. Such people are still looking at the world through spectacles that are making them colour-blind, they do not want to see the world the way it really is.

Anti-communism, which, in the words of Thomas Mann, is the greatest stupidity of the 20th century together with its variety — anti-Sovietism — is as intolerable in the world today as efforts to work up hostility toward any other state.

In the course of your visit you will be able to see, Mr Federal President, that the strategy for perfecting society and improving the quality of life of Soviet people determine the philosophy of our foreign policy. Its essence is to avert a nuclear war and to promote the development of ties — in trade, in the economic sphere, science, technology and culture — with all states.

We stand for honest competition between the two systems which will preclude war, both hot and cold, economic and psychological, we stand for equal and mutually beneficial co-operation.

Our foreign policy has been repeatedly set forth openly and in detail by Mikhail Gorbachev.

Perhaps as never before we are now faced with this alternative: to survive or perish together. There can be only one joint reasonable choice — interaction, co-operation. We strongly reject the opposite course — that toward confrontation.

We are firmly convinced that peace and co-operation should be built to last on the foundation of disarmament and security for all. This is why the Soviet Union is proposing the programme for the complete abolition of nuclear weapons by the end of the current century.

## Disarmament and security for all

Outer space should remain peaceful, and it is necessary to explore it for the benefit of our planet, and not to its detriment. Our country has, jointly with the other socialist states, come out with the initiative concerning a cut in the conventional weapons from the Atlantic to the Urals. There is a real opportunity for a total ban on chemical weapons under strict international control. The Soviet Union unilaterally observed for many months the moratorium on nuclear tests, and is, as before, an ardent champion of an end to all nuclear tests. Unfortunately, in answer to our proposal we do not feel an adequate reaction from the Western partners corresponding to the present-day realities. They so far confine themselves to good wishes.

We live in Europe linked by a common historical destiny. Our duty is to maintain peace here, not on the basis of the postulates of strength but on the basis of the realities which have taken shape, along the principles of mutual respect and co-operation. The European process should naturally reach a new stage, whose most important element would be, real disarmament and build-up of confidence and co-operation in all areas.

We invite the Europeans, among them the Federal Republic of Germany, to work jointly on the concept of building a "common European home". Each of the inhabitants of that home will, indisputably, remain committed to its philosophy, to its political choice and preserve its identity. But all of them, as we understand, should be united by the wish for good-neighbourliness, for the creation of such a European order that would ensure a peaceful future for each state and exclude the very possibility of waging war on European soil.

The current talks in Geneva on freeing Europe from nuclear missiles — medium- and shorter-range ones — are a serious test of the

preparedness of the states to go over from words to deeds. Albeit they are being conducted between the Soviet Union and the United States of America, their outcome depends in a large measure on the stand of the West European nations. We hope that the FRG Government will contribute not just in words but in action to the success of these talks, to freeing Europe from whole classes of nuclear weapons.

Relations between our two countries are full of examples of how it is important to take the right step in time. By signing the Moscow Treaty in 1970, our countries drew a line under the past and opened the door into the future.

That Treaty, the treaties between the FRG and other socialist states, the Helsinki Final Act have consolidated the post-war political and territorial realities, accord with the requirements of stability and peaceful development in Europe.

People in the Soviet Union, Mr Federal President, remember your speech in conjunction with the 40th anniversary of the end of the Second World War. The thought that a threat to peace should never again emanate from German soil was aired in that speech. We appreciate this statement.

We believe that the USSR and West Germany, irrespective of their political and ideological differences, can be good partners. A new and broad approach in the spirit of the time is needed here, concrete deeds, contacts and ties are needed. These ideas are close to us.

One cannot call fortuitous such a fact: when representatives of the Soviet Union and West Germany start talking about bilateral relations, they invariably arrive at the conclusion that the objective conditions for their development do exist and are not small at that. This was so on more than one occasion.

It is symptomatic that this idea is expressed not only by West German officials but also by representatives of the business community. They perhaps emphasise to a greater extent that the two countries have potential opportunities for strengthening relations to mutual benefit. It would be good if this desire by both sides to advance trade, economic, scientific, technical and other ties be shunted over to the language of practice, the language of real deeds.

Allow me to express confidence that the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany will conduct affairs in such a way as to fill the subsequent pages of relations with rich and mutually useful content to the good of our peoples and the cause of world peace.

We wish you, Mr President and all our guests, good health, prosperity and a peaceful future to the people of the Federal Republic of Germany, Andrei Gromyko concluded. □

### Mikhail Gorbachev

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Prague, April 10, 1987

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# Soviet Government Statement on Persian Gulf

*Here follows the full text of a Soviet Government Statement:*

A DANGEROUS growth of tension is taking place in the Persian Gulf lately. A drastically increased number of warships, including warships of states located thousands of kilometres away from this important area, are plying international waters traditionally used for trade and other peaceful carriage. The continuation of the long and senseless war between Iran and Iraq objectively facilitates the aggravation of the situation. As a result, events there are approaching a danger line beyond which the regional conflict risks developing into an international crisis situation.

It is absolutely clear that these processes, if not stopped in time and not placed under control, might turn into a serious threat to international peace and security even contrary to the will and intent of the states drawn into them. Such a course of events causes the lawful alarm of the entire international community. Likewise this cannot but cause the concern also of the Soviet Union which is located in direct proximity to the expanding seat of conflict.

In these conditions there arises the pressing need to adopt urgent and effective measures that would promote a radical scaling down of tension in the Persian Gulf zone and the speediest ending of the Iran-Iraq war. What is meant are steps really directed at a genuine attainment of the said aims. Pseudo-measures supposedly motivated by concern for the safety of shipping

or "ensuring stabilisation" in the Persian Gulf but in reality prompted by selfish egoistic designs are absolutely impermissible. Precisely such actions are now being undertaken by the United States which would want to exploit the present alarming situation in the Persian Gulf area to achieve its long harboured plans of establishing military-political hegemony in this strategically important area of the world that Washington is trying to present as a sphere of American "vital interests". Such is the real explanation of the US policy of building up its military presence, although it is trying to cover this up with stereotype conventions about the existence of a "Soviet threat".

There are only a few naive people who are still prepared to believe such allegations, that serve only as a smokescreen for the United States' expansionist plans and actions. As to several Soviet warships staying in the Persian Gulf, to which they in Washington refer, they have to stay in the Gulf for they accompany Soviet merchant ships and have nothing to do with the heightening of tension in the area. Moreover, as is well known, the Soviet ships were sent to the Gulf at the request and with the knowledge of littoral states.

Proceeding from the need for radical measures to improve the situation in the region, the Soviet Government suggests that all warships of states not situated in the region be shortly withdrawn from the Gulf and that Iran and Iraq, in their turn, should keep from actions that would threaten international shipping. Such measures, moreover taken in the context of all-embracing settlement of the Iran-Iraq conflict, would help calm the situation and eliminate the threat of the spread of an explosive seat of military

tension.

The Soviet Union reaffirms its principled stand in favour of bringing about an end to the Iranian-Iraqi war and solving contentious issues between Iraq and Iran at the table of political negotiations, and not on the battlefield.

In this connection we attach special importance to the political efforts being made now within the framework of the United Nations Organisation with a view to directing the Iranian-Iraqi conflict into the channel of peaceful solutions.

At one with the other members of the UN Security Council, we come out in favour of effective measures in this direction, and, specifically, in favour of immediate cessation of fire and of all hostilities, and a withdrawal of all troops to the internationally recognised borders without delay.

The UN Secretary-General may play a substantial role in the cause of achieving a just settlement acceptable to the two sides.

The Soviet Union supports the peace-making mission of the UN Secretary-General, and calls on all the other countries to render every kind of assistance to its successful accomplishment.

The acuteness of the situation in the Persian Gulf area and the need to quickly bring about an end to the Iranian-Iraqi conflict requires that all countries pursue a policy of real constructive deeds, a policy prompted by the supreme interests of preserving peace and effectively strengthening international security, and not practise "gunboat diplomacy".

The Soviet Union is ready to co-operate with all those who really share these aims. □

(Moscow, July 3, TASS)

## To update fundamental research is our task

*By Guri Marchuk, President of USSR Academy of Sciences*

SOVIET science ought to lead the world in all basic directions. Reorganisation now under way poses us that task. The Academy is increasing the responsibility of its branches for the state of scientific research. That is one of the main lines of its present work. In fact, Academy branches will become the principal managing bodies. They are granted ample rights: to distribute material and money resources, to draw up research institutes' programmes, disband non-efficient departments, and maintain international contacts.

The Academy Presidium will focus its attention on major strategic tasks, coordinating the entire scientific research in the Soviet Union. We shall base our plans on state programmes for the period up to the end of this century, drawn on the basis of forecasts for priority directions of research. About 150 forecasts have already been made on many fundamental questions.

The personnel issue is prominent in improving and updating our work. The recent personnel evaluation has shown that some researchers are unable to cope with their tasks. Doctors of Sciences are the weakest link in the research chain. They used to be dynamic and efficient. They set up scientific schools. As they advanced

in years and lived on obsolescent ideas, they impeded their pupils' promotions. It was generally thought immoral for a pupil to aspire to his teacher's job.

As we see it, a scientific manager ought to give up his post in due time and engage in research. So we have imposed age limits for science managers. Starting from the age of 65, all but Full and Corresponding Members of the USSR Academy of Sciences shall leave their administrative posts in science to engage in research, generalise their experience, publish their works and teach young scientists.

Ever more democracy is being introduced into Soviet life. The Academy of Sciences, too, ought to critically re-appraise its routine. We have to be cautious about it, though. Take elections of research institute directors. If a good manager inadequate as a scientist is elected to the post, he may bring his institute to decline. Scientists alone shall elect their colleagues to scientific managing posts. As to economic managers, they ought to be elected by the entire personnel.

Another essential issue: that of coordinating fundamental and applied research. Fundamental studies may be epoch-making, but they take decades. As to applied science, its main task is to practically implement pioneer ideas without delay. Applied research is crucial for our national economy. Hence its priority funding. It also has priority right to material resources and cadres. Fundamental research institutions under the

USSR Academy of Sciences now have 50,000 scientists, as against the over 800,000 in applied ones: an impressive force to ensure our progress. Fundamental studies are essential, and to promptly implement them in applied studies is crucial.

To do that, fundamental research institutes ought to improve their laboratories, testing equipment and other plant. The USSR Academy of Sciences has recently set up a Department of Information, Computers and Automation, and a Department of Machine-Building, Mechanics and Management. The recent decision to boost the development of research instrument-making allows to create a dependable basis for bringing Soviet scientific equipment to the highest world level by 1995.

Fundamental and applied research, and that by colleges and universities will come ever closer together. The new Rules of Research Institutes under the USSR Academy of Sciences account for that. They allow us to make the institute structure more flexible and adjustable to new tasks. For instance, temporary collectives will become lawful structural institutions to cope with special-purpose programmes and projects for five-year and shorter terms. Institutes now may set up engineering centres, temporary research laboratories and teams, sometimes pooling efforts with other scientific research institu-

*(Continued on next page)*

# Warsaw Treaty and NATO: is it possible to dispel mutual suspicion?

By Dmitri Ardamatsky

THE Warsaw Treaty countries have launched a large-scale peace offensive. The aim is to convince NATO to set up a joint mechanism for harmonising and specifying positions, and removing the factors which create the ground for mutual suspicion. The Warsaw Treaty suggests tackling the fundamental problem of determining real intentions.

A year and a half ago Mikhail Gorbachev called for a dialogue between the military organisations of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO with a view to easing tensions in Europe. Then the East proposed a meeting between supreme allied commanders of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO, and secretaries-general of these organisations, a proposal which did not evoke much enthusiasm in the West.

Nevertheless, the topicality of the problem of determining real intentions of both blocs promoted the socialist countries to come up with new proposals last May. They adopted a document on their military doctrine which contains three provisions of principle. Having confirmed the defensive character of their alliance, the Warsaw Treaty members said that they will never launch hostilities against any country unless they themselves are attacked. Secondly, they will never use nuclear weapons first. Thirdly, they

regard termination of the arms race and implementation of real disarmament as their historic task.

This is not just a verbal declaration. It is enough to say that the Warsaw Treaty proposed holding this year consultations between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO at the level of experts and with the participation of military specialists so as to better understand each other's intentions, and ensure the defensive character of the military doctrines of both blocs.

## Consultations

The Warsaw Treaty countries cannot regard as defensive a strategy of nuclear "deterrence", or the NATO concept of a preventive nuclear strike which is a catalyst of arms build-up. The Rogers Plan aimed at turning conventional arms into near-nukes, and providing for a strategy of echelon targeting, is far from being unequivocal. Such concepts are openly destabilising, and even aggressive.

NATO also has its grievances against the Warsaw Treaty. Most often the latter is accused of conventional superiority. The Warsaw Treaty suggests studying this question at a meeting of experts and military specialists of both alliances, saying that the existing imbalances and asymmetry in individual weapons and troops of both sides, and a search for ways of removing

them, can also be a subject of the proposed consultations. This creates a real possibility for cuts which would remove the superiority of the sides over each other in individual categories of conventional arms, which would pave the way for their stage-by-stage mutual reduction to meet reasonable requirements.

The Warsaw Treaty suggests starting this process with a mutual withdrawal of the most dangerous types of offensive weapons from the zone of direct contact between the two military alliances.

The latest session of the NATO Council did not say a word on this score. What makes the West so "reserved"?

Moscow has gone further than the "zero option" on Euromissiles, and proposed its "double zero" option. Now the Warsaw Treaty offers NATO to discuss the real orientation of their military doctrines, to begin eliminating the disproportions in conventional arms, negotiate mutual reduction in arms spending, and hold a meeting of foreign ministers of the participants in the European conference to take a decision on the start of large-scale talks with a view to drastically cutting armed forces and conventional troops in Europe.

As distinct from the past, the West does not rush to denounce these proposals as "propaganda". Yet, as in the past, it is not ready to start a constructive dialogue. □

(Novosti Press Agency)

(from previous page)

tions, colleges, universities, and production associations.

We have another urgent problem: that of science in constituent republics. Some arrange their Academies on the USSR Academy of Sciences pattern, and borrow research topics from it. We can't afford to double research without due reason, or to encourage second-rate science. Constituent republics' Academies have enough top-ranking researchers, institutes and laboratories. These ought to be encouraged in the first place. Institutes which are not up to all-Union programmes have to be set other tasks. It is also reasonable to disband some, and distribute their resources between institutions in pioneer branches of science. □

(Izvestia — APN)

## Representation to the British Ambassador in Moscow

*The following representation was made to the Ambassador of the United Kingdom to the USSR in the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs on July 6.*

The attention of the British side has been repeatedly drawn to possible most serious consequences of the supply of the latest weapons, including *Blowpipe* anti-aircraft systems, to Afghan groups fighting against the legitimate Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

However, judging by reports in the British press, the British authorities did not take steps to stop the supply of weapons to the above-mentioned groups, and, besides, embarked upon the road of sending British instructors to train the counter-revolutionaries in handling the weapons.

Moreover, Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe and Minister of State Linda Chalker in their speeches in Parliament on June 26, this year, virtually admitted the government's involvement in such deliveries and even tried to justify them.

Thereby Britain practises complicity in the undeclared war against the people of Afghanistan, and performs actions aimed at undermining the national reconciliation process in that country.

The extremely dangerous consequences of the transfer of the up-to-date anti-aircraft missile systems to the groups which use them against civilian planes, too, are obvious.

This poses quite a serious threat to the safety of international civil aviation both in the air space of Afghanistan and in other parts of the world.

Civilians may fall victim to such policy of the British authorities, as has already been the case with the use of this type of weapons by the counter-revolutionaries.

The situation which is taking shape cannot but give rise to serious concern in the Soviet Union. Responsibility for its consequences and for possible loss of life also rests with London. □

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# Andrei Gromyko presents new bill to Supreme Soviet

ANDREI GROMYKO, President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, submitted a draft law on the nation-wide discussion of important questions of state life to the Soviet Parliament.

The bill, Andrei Gromyko said, developed the constitutional provisions on the participation of Soviet citizens in managing affairs of society and the state.

In accordance with the law, issues affecting the principal directions in the country's political, economic and social development, questions of exercising constitutional rights, liberties and obligations of Soviet citizens would be submitted for nation-wide discussion, he observed.

The law determined general principles governing the discussion of such questions. It contained reliable guarantees for the broadest possible expression of the Soviet people's view.

The principle of nation-wide discussion of major issues applied not only to all-union problems, but also to republican, regional and local ones. Andrei Gromyko went on to say.

"The law under consideration directly demands public debate not only on plans of economic and social development of the entire country, individual republics and regions, but also on questions of the operation of enterprises, institutions and organisations providing services for the population.

"There are other important issues that cannot be handled today without people's advice. These are problems relating to urban construction, location of industrial enterprises, building of new houses in city districts, demolition of old buildings, erection of monuments, naming and renaming of cities and streets.

"Local problems will be considered, naturally,

by the population of corresponding regions, cities and districts."

Andrei Gromyko said that "the large-scale and far-reaching reconstruction drive, currently under way in the Soviet Union, calls for tapping as fully as possible the democratic potential of socialism".

Precisely this aim was served by the law broadening the practice of nation-wide discussion in the USSR.

Gromyko mentioned that broad debates of major issues had taken place before, but many of them "were over-organised and in many ways were a formality". There was no proper analysis of the proposals and remarks made by people.

"The times, the large-scale renewal drive and the democratisation of society demand a precisely functioning mechanism of bringing out public opinion."

"The point at issue is not only bringing out the opinion, but also widely using it in decision-making," he said. The latter was especially important for it was not enough to make one or another project public, it was necessary to bring out fully and objectively the opinion of the broad mass of people.

That was what the draft law submitted for consideration to the session was about, he added.

Gromyko cited several examples when a public view, timely learnt and taken into account, helped avoid serious mistakes.

"One should admit," he said, "that the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government carefully heed the opinion of the public, including writers, scientists and workers in the field.

"Work has already been stopped on diverting part of the flow of northern and Siberian rivers. The pollution of Lake Baikal has been stopped.

"The positive changes, where they occurred, should be consolidated. Any surprise developments should be precluded."

"Very many urgent questions remain," Gromyko went on to say, "and they all should be tackled after an all-round consultation with the people. The law on the nation-wide discussion of important questions of state life is designed to serve that purpose."

Andrei Gromyko emphasised that the new law, broadening democratic rights and liberties of Soviet people, would "become a powerful stimulus for enhancing socio-political activity of the population".

Andrei Gromyko observed that the policy of openness helped concentrate attention on difficulties, shortcomings and abuses in society which hindered the nation's advancement. Openness helped eradicate them.

In this sense, he added, openness was increasingly becoming an organic part of Soviet society's life. It was planned to adopt a whole number of legislative acts with the aim of further expanding openness. The law submitted today for consideration to the deputies was the first of such acts, the President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet said in conclusion. □

(Moscow, June 30, TASS)

## Changes in the Presidium of Supreme Soviet

THE session of the Supreme Soviet (Parliament) of the USSR has made changes in the makeup of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet.

On the proposal put forward by Yegor Ligachev, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Rafik Nishanov, the new President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Uzbekistan, was elected Vice-President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet (vice-presidents of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR are elected from among presidents of the presidiums of the supreme soviets of the union republics).

Nikolai Slyunkov who was recently elected Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee asked the session to relieve him of his functions as a member of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Yefrem Sokolov, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Byelorussia, was elected to the Presidium in his place.

Gennadi Kolbin, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, was also elected a member of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The session relieved Dinmukhammed Kunayev who formerly headed the Communist Party organisation of Kazakhstan and Midkhat Shakirov, the former first secretary of the Bashkir Regional CPSU Committee, of their duties as members of the Presidium.

In compliance with the Constitution of the USSR the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet is a "collective presidency" exercising the functions of the highest body of state authority in the country between sessions of Parliament. □

(Moscow, June 29, TASS)

(N.B. The cross-heads in this bulletin were inserted by Soviet News—Ed.)

## The USSR's trade in 1986

FOREIGN trade of the USSR amounted to 130.9 billion roubles last year. Trade relations were maintained with 145 countries. These figures are cited in a collection of statistics, "The USSR's Foreign Trade in 1986", brought out by the USSR's Foreign Trade Ministry.

The vast 300-page volume of the collection contains information about Soviet foreign trade in the first year of the 12th five-year plan period as compared to 1985. It gives figures of the USSR's foreign trade as a whole and distribution of trade among groups of

countries and partner countries, the export-import structure and also figures on the USSR's export and import of a wide range of commodities.

The USSR's export totalled 68.3 billion roubles last year and import—62.6 billion roubles.

The CMEA member countries are the USSR's major trade partners. Trade with them reached 80 billion roubles. Last year witnessed the growth in trade with China and the People's Democratic Republic of Korea.

The USSR's foreign trade with industrialised capitalist countries went down by 23.5 per cent to amount to 29 billion roubles. At the same time, the export of machines, equipment, transport facilities, solid fuel, fish and canned fish to those countries grew. The import of virtually all types of goods dropped. The Federal Republic of Germany, Finland and Japan topped the list of the USSR's trade partners. Trade with them totalled 5.6 billion roubles, four billion roubles and 3.2 billion roubles respectively.

Along with machines, equipment and transport facilities the Soviet Union exported oil and oil products, ferrous metal rolled stock, chemicals and other goods to developing countries. On the list of imports were agricultural and industrial raw material, food (tea, cocoa beans, vegetable oil, fruit and nuts), fabrics, garments, perfumes and cosmetics. Our key partners here were India (2.2 billion roubles), Afghanistan (0.8 billion roubles) and Libya (0.7 billion roubles). □

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