

## Mikhail Gorbachev receives ministers from 'Frontline' states

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, received on April 29 a group of officials of the "frontline" states of southern Africa who are in Moscow on a brief working visit. The group includes Zambian Foreign Minister Lule Mwanashiku, Zimbabwean Foreign Minister Witness Mangwende, Tanzanian Foreign Minister Benjamin Mkapa, Angolan Justice Minister Jose Fransa Dias Vandunem and Mozambican Deputy Foreign Minister Daniel Saul Mbanze.

Mikhail Gorbachev and the visitors discussed some urgent international problems, such as the situation in the south of Africa and the causes of the explosive tensions there.

Mikhail Gorbachev noted that the Soviet leadership takes a positive view of the initiative of the "frontline" states, which had sent high-ranking envoys to the socialist countries to exchange views on the situation in southern Africa. Tensions are persisting in that part of the world and exerting their influence on world developments. The blame for this situation rests with the Western countries and South Africa, which would not reckon with the realities of the world and Africa today.

Meanwhile, these realities are such that developing countries have emerged from long struggle for national independence and as a result of the disintegration of the colonial system. These countries have embarked on the road of independent development and progress. They are absolutely dissatisfied with the machinery of

unequivalent exchanges put together by the neocolonialists.

At the same time the Western countries, which in the past built their prosperity in large measure through the exploitation of former colonies, would not give up these sources of enrichment.

The concrete problems facing the countries of the region are understandable in the context of this situation. It is clear, for instance, that South Africa, whose racist regime is deplored by the whole of the world public, is being assigned the role of policeman there and that it is simultaneously being used as a tool of economic pressure on neighbouring countries.

Mikhail Gorbachev said that the Soviet Union does not have any special interests in the south of Africa except the desire that the peoples and countries of the region should at long last be given an opportunity to decide questions of their development and their internal and external affairs in a sovereign manner and in the situation of peace and stability. We believe that the cause of the peoples of southern Africa is a just cause, we have taken their side and we are giving them assistance and support. This will remain so in the future as well.

The participants in the meeting said that the

battle against the apartheid regime will call for the considerable efforts of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia, the "frontline" states and the world community as a whole. In this situation special importance is attached to the further consolidation of the unity of African countries, primarily the "frontline" states.

The envoys from the "frontline" states said that they approved and supported the process of reorganisation being carried out in the Soviet Union and believed that it will serve the interests of not only the Soviet people but of all the progressive forces and friends of the Soviet Union. They also voiced support for the Soviet Union's efforts to avert nuclear catastrophe, achieve disarmament and guarantee the security of the peoples.

Mikhail Gorbachev's meeting with the envoys of the "frontline" states passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere of mutual understanding.

Eduard Shevardnadze, Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Anatoli Dobrynin, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Vladimir Kamentsev, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, took part in the meeting. □

## May Day parade in Moscow

A COLOURFUL May Day demonstration took place in Moscow's Red Square on Friday on what was almost the first really warm day this year.

As columns of festively dressed Muscovites filled the cobblestone plaza, it turned into a sea of banners, streamers and contrasting balloons.

There were fewer hlooms than usual — only those brought to the capital from southern regions or grown locally in greenhouses — since spring was late coming here this year and the last snow fell on Moscow as recently as a week ago.

The two prevalent themes stressed by the May Day slogans this year were the need to safeguard peace, scale down nuclear missile confrontation and prevent the arms race from spilling over into outer space, and the perestroika drive to speed up the country's development and renovate all aspects of life in Soviet society.

The number "70" was another visible presence on posters and floats, a reminder that this year marks the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution which has ushered in a new era, the era of socialism, in mankind's history.

The parade in vast Red Square next to the ancient Kremlin began at 10 a.m. and was reviewed from atop Vladimir Lenin's mausoleum by Mikhail Gorbachev, Andrei Gromyko, Nikolai Ryzhkov and other Soviet leaders.

The demonstrators were greeted from the guests' stands by people prominent in this country and foreigners invited to attend the festivities in Moscow, including delegations from more than 120 countries and representatives of many international organisations.

The heads of diplomatic missions accredited in the Soviet Union also attended.

Mass May Day demonstrations are a long-standing tradition in this country. It is a more recent custom that factories exhibit their latest achievements at such parades.

The new products Moscow workers took to Red Square this year included, among many others, samples of light fabrics, whose production has been mastered by local textile mills, and a model of the new Zil truck which is about to be put into full-scale production by the oldest car factory in the capital. □

## Results of Communist Subbotnik

THE all-union Communist Subbotnik devoted to Lenin's 117th birth anniversary was held in the Soviet Union on April 18. As many as 159 million people took part in it. According to preliminary information, 1,387 million roubles worth of industrial goods was produced on that day. A greater volume of products than usual was turned out in many work collectives. Considerable volumes of those products were manufactured with the use of saved raw materials and fuel. The participants in the subbotnik earned and contributed 208 million roubles to the fund of the five-year plan.

The CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers, the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions and the YCL Central Committee expressed gratitude to all those who took part in the all-union Communist Subbotnik.

Taking into account the wishes of the working people, the funds earned during the subbotnik are to be channelled into reconstructing overhauling and improving the facilities of hospitals, maternity homes, polyclinics, and equipping them with up-to-date means of diagnostics and care for patients. □

### Bessmertnykh meets Thatcher

ON April 29 Margaret Thatcher received Alexander Bessmertnykh, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR.

On instruction of the Soviet leadership Alexander Bessmertnykh informed Margaret Thatcher of the state of affairs at the Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space arms. The main attention during the conversation was paid to the prospects of reaching an agreement on medium-range missiles.

The Prime Minister outlined her stand on medium-range and shorter-range missiles. She spoke in favour of continuing the Soviet-British dialogue on key issues of disarmament and European security. □

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# Mikhail Gorbachev meets Georges Marchais

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV and Georges Marchais, General Secretary of the French Communist Party (PCF), had a meeting on May 4.

"It is with keen sympathies that the Soviet Communists follow their French comrades' campaign in defence of the interests of working people, for peace, social progress, freedom and socialism," Gorbachev said.

"In the present-day complicated situation the CPSU and the PCF are acting as true comrades-in-arms in efforts to stave off the threat of nuclear war, promote security and disarmament, and counter the aggressive policies of international imperialism."

Gorbachev and Marchais noted that since their previous meeting in September 1985 there have taken place major changes in the world, which are having profound and long-term effects on all social development.

The atmosphere of international life is changing.

Different social and political forces, trade unions, religious organisations, and outstanding cultural personalities are demanding ever more strongly that a nuclear apocalypse be averted and a lasting peace, general security and mutually advantageous peaceful co-operation among nations be ensured.

The ideas of the campaign for creating a nuclear-free world and saving civilisation and life on Earth are coming to dominate public opinion across the globe.

## Forces of peace

This important new historical reality is the result of the Soviet Union's unveiling of the programme for eliminating nuclear weapons by the year 2000 which has been concretised recently with Soviet proposals for eliminating medium-range and theatre missiles in Europe completely.

A real prospect has emerged for the first time for destroying a whole class of nuclear missile weapons. The proposals of the USSR have manifested new thinking on the problems of world development with a view to ensuring the future of the human race.

It was pointed out during the meeting that confrontation between the forces of peace and the forces of reaction and war is becoming more keen and tense every day.

The United States is effectively revising the mutual understanding reached in Reykjavik and pressing on with its "Star Wars" programme.

The need is growing to further strengthen the potential of the healthy forces of mankind, the forces of reason and peace.

Marchais said that the PCF is the only party in France to put up strong resistance to a bill for a military build-up programme, which has been submitted for endorsement by the National Assembly with the common consent of the President of the French Republic and the government, and the only party to vote against it.

The French Communists are consistent champions of their country's independence and sovereignty. Among other things, they press for an effective national defence policy and have made relevant proposals.

At the same time the country's security today depends also to at least an equal degree on political factors and a desire to act for the benefit of peace and disarmament. The law on the military programme ignores these requirements and leads to growing involvement by France in

the mad arms race.

This law indeed provides for significant increases in military spending, the development and production of nuclear and space arms, neutron weapons and chemical warfare agents, and continued nuclear testing on Mururoa Atoll.

This policy is being pursued contrary to the demands of the times and contradicts the unprecedented possibilities opening up thanks to the Soviet Union's proposals and measures for bringing about nuclear disarmament, eliminating chemical weapons and reducing conventional arms.

In these conditions the PCF is stepping up efforts to unite the French people in the campaign to safeguard peace, remove the threats posed by imperialism to the very existence of modern civilisation, and make sure that France facilitates the conclusion of treaties on balanced and verifiable disarmament and the elimination of all nuclear weapons by the year 2000.

## Soviet-French dialogue

Gorbachev and Marchais said that European countries, which have a tremendous economic, scientific, technological and human potential, are capable of playing a much greater role in improving the international climate.

Both parties are for continuing and broadening Europe-wide co-operation in economic, scientific, technological, ecological and humanitarian fields.

They demand decisive action to end discrimination and obstruction in developing contacts among nations and working people in Europe.

The CPSU and PCF attach much importance to the development of Soviet-French dialogue, and to the enhancement of its role as an important factor of security and detente and of tapping all reserves and possibilities for the development of co-operation between the USSR and France.

Both parties expressed their concern over the anti-Soviet campaigns in France aimed at worsening relations between the two countries. The lessons of history and the requirements of the present, the traditions of friendship between the two peoples and their present interests insistently demand a positive, even and constructive development of Franco-Soviet relations. Communists of the Soviet Union and France declare resolutely in favour of precisely such a development.

The tasks and responsibility of fighters for mankind's future become ever more important, their concerns ever more broad in scope. The ensurance of peace presupposes not only ending the arms race and taking resolute measures towards disarmament but also restructuring the entire system of international relations.

Hundreds of millions of underprivileged people — men, women and children — live in the countries of the third world. The huge sums squandered on the lethal nuclear arms race must be channelled for combating famine and resolving problems of developing countries. Peace and development are closely related and are in the focus of the demands for a new international economic order based on justice, democracy, co-operation and independence.

The CPSU and the PCF hold that there exist in the world objective conditions for creating a powerful and effective coalition of all peace forces capable of placing a barrier to the nuclear menace and ensuring the survival of humanity.

The Communist Parties, their creative efforts

and their vigorous participation in the anti-war movement, in dialogue and co-operation with various forces prepared for this, are called upon to play a great role in achieving this aim.

The importance of voluntary and equal co-operation of Communists of all continents is enhanced in view of this. The forms of this co-operation — bilateral and multilateral — might be diverse and unorthodox, meeting the national interests of every fraternal party and the common interests of the Communists the world over.

Gorbachev and Marchais declared in support of holding a major joint conference of most diverse forces in Europe declaring for disarmament. The PCF jointly with other parties is exerting great efforts towards holding that conference.

An exchange of opinions and information on the activities of the CPSU and PCF in their respective countries held an important place at the meeting.

Marchais spoke about the tasks and present-day policy of the PCF. He pointed out that self-governing socialism for which the PCF is struggling will assume its features proceeding from the requirements of the people of France, their specific features, as a result of which it will be from beginning to end the result of the creative work of French men and women. He spoke about the new road which the PCF proposes for advance towards this prospect — the rallying of the majority of the people, a new alliance in the struggle for anti-capitalist aims with constant reliance on the consciousness and activity of the popular movement.

## Strategy of acceleration

Gorbachev spoke about the course of the implementation of the strategy of acceleration and renovation adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress, about the reorganisation in various areas of public life, about the importance of the January (1987) plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, and about the preparation for a regular plenary meeting of the Central Committee.

"The historically young socialist society has covered in the decades of its existence a road which amounts to centuries. The point of the matter now is to bring it to a qualitatively new level of development. The reorganisation which comprises all aspects of life — the economy, political system, spiritual life, culture and ideology — is a manifestation of the vitality of socialism and its ability to upgrade itself. Realising the complexity of the tasks facing us, including the psychological ones, we are confident that our country will usher in the 21st century worthy of its challenge," Gorbachev said. "The guarantee of this is the vigour and energy of the masses, greater openness, and consistent democratisation of all elements of the social organism."

Comrade Marchais reaffirmed the complete support of the French Communists for the revolutionary strategy of the acceleration of social and economic development and the reorganisation and democratisation of Soviet society. He noted that this policy of the CPSU is dealing a strong blow at anti-Sovietism and is having a positive effect on the socio-political atmosphere and the class struggle in the world.

The 70 years since the Great October and its revolutionary ideas — peace, democracy, socialism — have not lost their dynamism in the slightest. Socialism in all its multiformity,

(Continued on next page)



# Andrei Gromyko receives Mexican Secretary of Foreign Affairs

ANDREI GROMYKO, Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, received in the Kremlin on May 4 Bernardo Sepulveda Amor, Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the United Mexican States, who was staying in the Soviet Union on an official visit.

Problems connected with the contribution of both states to the consolidation of peace and also relations between the Soviet Union and Mexico were central to the conversation.

For more than a decade these relations have been developing constructively and have been filled with substantial content, setting a good

example to many other states, Andrei Gromyko said. The ties of the two countries show that states with different social systems can cooperate successfully on a bilateral plane and on questions of an international nature.

The Soviet side spoke highly of the efforts of Mexico which together with other countries of the Delhi Six — Argentina, Greece, India, Tanzania and Sweden — declares for the removal of the nuclear menace and is against the spread of the arms race to outer space. Every meeting of the heads of state of the Delhi Six means a new step in mankind's struggle against the nuclear menace and makes a considerable imprint on contemporary history. There should be no doubt that another such meeting in Stockholm, planned for this June, will leave such an imprint, too.

The efforts of Mexico and other Contadora

countries towards achieving an equitable political settlement in Central America are noble efforts. This applies specifically to Nicaragua. The Nicaraguan people and all peoples of the area yearn for peace and reject the claims of any state or group of states to view Central American countries as their domain.

Andrei Gromyko noted with satisfaction Mexico's growing role in world affairs. The Soviet Union has been and is for Latin American countries having their weighty say in favour of peace. The Soviet people wish them success in this respect and extend the hand of friendship.

On behalf of the Mexican Government Bernardo Sepulveda positively assessed the Soviet peace initiatives set out in the statements of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and appraised the Soviet Union's approach to international affairs as innovative and effective. □

## Anatoli Dobrynin's speech at meeting of communist and democratic press editors

"THE realisation of the mere fact that nuclear war cannot be a means to attain any reasonable goals in the international arena whatsoever must be the major postulate for a responsible foreign policy now," stated Anatoli Dobrynin, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

He was speaking at a meeting of communist and democratic press editors in Moscow on May 4.

"Another such postulate is that it is no longer possible to win the arms race, just as nuclear war itself," Anatoli Dobrynin stressed. "Moreover the nuclear arms race reduces possibilities for stopping mankind's slipping down to a nuclear disaster.

"More weapons now mean less security, not greater.

"In present-day conditions only political means are suitable for guaranteeing it.

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renewing itself and strengthening, has been and remains a most important factor of world progress.

Gorbachev and Marchais emphasised that the ties between the CPSU and PCF are developing in the spirit of internationalist solidarity and fraternal friendship, on the basis of the principles of the joint statement adopted as a result of the summit meeting of the leaders of the two parties in September 1985.

Gorbachev wished Marchais and all French Communists success in the struggle for the interests of the working people, for peace and social progress and for friendship between the Soviet and French peoples.

Taking part in the meeting were Anatoli Dobrynin, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Vadim Zagladin and Anatoli Chernyayev, members of the CPSU Central Committee; André Lajoie and Maxime Gremetz, Members of the Political Bureau and Secretaries of the PCF Central Committee, Jean-François Gau, member of the PCF Central Committee. □

"To act through political methods is to take into account the interests of the other side. The security of each state is inconceivable without equal security for everyone," the speaker said.

"The Soviet Union," he recalled, "proceeds from the premise that the level of arms should be lowered to a reasonable sufficiency limit, i.e. to that necessary for the accomplishment of only defensive tasks.

"In recent years a number of opposition social democratic parties in Western Europe have put forward various kinds of non-offensive defence concepts. This is a quest in a reasonable direction. There is a basis in it for comparing views and exchanging opinions," Anatoli Dobrynin said.

"Through the efforts of the Soviet Union the nuclear disarmament issues have been raised to a new and radical level, for which the West proved unprepared," he pointed out.

"The emphasis on the elimination of whole categories of nuclear arms, and not on their quantitative limitation, has upset NATO's traditional notions and raised with still greater urgency the question of the need for a new way of thinking in its approach to nuclear disarmament issues.

"Arms control, which will lead to a qualitative change in the very nature of international relations, is becoming one of the major means for ensuring security," Anatoli Dobrynin said.

He described the ensurance of security in the political sphere as an essential element in preventing a nuclear disaster. "To assert trust in the world arena is the main thing in this task."

"Coming out in favour of peaceful coexistence of countries," the speaker emphasised, "the Soviet Union, naturally, holds that it presupposes the right of each people to choose the ways and forms of their development in a sovereign way.

"The Soviet Union strongly condemns the policy of 'neoglobalism'. We hold that regional conflicts should not be turned into arenas for deliberate confrontation or into a policy of antagonism between the two systems. A settlement of regional conflicts is to us a task which is prompted by the logic of the inter-dependence and integrity of the world," Anatoli Dobrynin stated.

"The new thinking must also find its reflection in the sphere of economic relations," he continued. "The economic security concept is one of the components of the fundamentals of a comprehensive system of international security put forward at the 27th Congress of the CPSU.

"The philosophy of Soviet foreign policy comprises as an organic element the humanisation of international relations. The CPSU sees a real way to it in raising the level of contacts between people and organisations, between parties and public movements."

Touching upon human rights issues, Anatoli Dobrynin emphasised that freedom from the exploitation of man by man was the major prerequisite for real assurance of all rights and freedoms of the individual.

"We favour the exercise in practice of the entire range of rights and freedoms which have been put forward by the struggle and political demands of the working-class and democratic movement," he stated.

Anatoli Dobrynin pointed out the need for all countries, irrespective of their social systems, to pool efforts in the work for lasting peace and international security. □

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# Meeting of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee

AT ITS meeting on April 30 the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) considered the results of the all-union Communist Subbotnik (labour given freely to the state on days off or overtime) which was dedicated to the 117th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir I. Lenin.

The Communist Subbotnik, in which 159 million people had taken part, had become a vivid illustration of the increase in the political and labour activity of Soviet people and in their creative efforts aimed at implementing the decisions of the 27th Congress and the January (1987) plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee and at worthily marking the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The Council of Ministers of the USSR, the All-Union Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions, and the Central Committee of the Young Communist League decided, with due regard for the wishes of the working people, to channel the money earned at the subbotnik, into the reconstruction and technical re-equipment of medical institutions.

The Political Bureau considered government-elaborated proposals on the main directions of

restructuring the state system for planning the economic and social development of the country and the system of material and technical supply with a view to bringing them into line with new requirements arising from the transition to economic management methods in the national economy.

The question of raising the role of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology in controlling scientific and technological progress in the country was considered.

The Political Bureau endorsed the results of the talks which Mikhail Gorbachev and other Soviet leaders had had with Hafiz al-Assad, General Secretary of the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party and President of the Syrian Arab Republic.

The talks which had been held in a spirit of trust and mutual understanding had confirmed the invariability of the course by the leadership of the two countries towards all-round Soviet-Syrian co-operation, and had opened up new favourable prospects for further development of the relations of strong friendship between the Soviet Union and Syria on the basis of the 1980 Treaty.

The community of views on a wide range of international issues, including those on the Middle East, was pointed out with satisfaction.

Mutual realisation of the need to overcome the logic of tension and confrontation which is being imposed by imperialist circles and their allies

upon the countries and peoples of the Middle East and to achieve a turn to resolving the conflict and to practical preparation for an international conference was evaluated as being of fundamental importance.

The results of the talks which Mikhail Gorbachev and Nikolai Ryzhkov had had with Georgi Atanasov, Chairman of Bulgaria's Council of Ministers, who had stayed in the USSR on an official friendly visit, were endorsed.

Having positively evaluated the work done to establish direct contacts and to set up joint Soviet-Bulgarian enterprises and amalgamations, the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee gave specific instructions aimed at raising the dynamism and effectiveness of the integration process between the USSR and Bulgaria.

The Political Bureau considered the results of the meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Rene Urbany, Chairman of the Communist Party of Luxembourg. The meeting had reaffirmed the importance of comradesly relations between the Communists of various countries and of their mutual understanding on the basis of commitment to the common ideals for the solution of their national tasks and success in the work for restructuring international relations in the interests of peace and security of all peoples.

The results of Yegor Ligachev's working visit to the Hungarian People's Republic were discussed. It was pointed out that the talks with the Hungarian leaders and the meetings with party officials and economic executives had contributed to identifying new possibilities for deepening economic, scientific and technological integration, to increasing ideological interaction and refining inter-party contacts, and making more active the joint study of the gained experience which promotes the advancement of Soviet-Hungarian co-operation.

Some other matters of domestic and foreign policy were also considered at the meeting. □

## Lev Tolkunov addresses meeting of Interparliamentary Union

LEV TOLKUNOV, leader of the Soviet delegation to the 77th Conference of the Interparliamentary Union in Managua, has said that the formidable realities of the nuclear age make it imperative for all politicians and statesmen, including MPs, to take a fresh look at international relations and adopt a new approach to solving urgent problems.

Tolkunov, who is Chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet, was addressing a full-scale sitting of the conference on April 30.

"The absurd and immoral situation where mankind's fate turns on the nuclear 'balance of terror' must give way to comprehensive security," he stressed.

"The basis of life in a nuclear-free world must be mutual understanding and trust," he added.

The leader of the Soviet delegation pointed to

the need to give up the fatal delusion, which was dangerous for all mankind, that a nation could enhance its security by building up arms and developing new weapons systems.

"The problem of security is basically a political rather than a technical problem and can only be resolved by political means," he explained.

Tolkunov also emphasised the need to adopt practical and immediate disarmament measures through agreements to do away with all nuclear weapons by the century's end, bar all arms from outer space as the common property of mankind, outlaw chemical weapons and destroy their stocks, reduce conventional arms and armed forces, and scrap medium-range missiles in Europe in linkage with shorter-range missiles.

"We are prepared to eliminate also battlefield nuclear weapons," he said.

The Soviet Union, he continued, is consistently pressing ahead with efforts concerning the whole gamut of issues discussed and to a large measure agreed upon in Reykjavik.

On behalf of the parliamentary group of the USSR, Tolkunov expressed solidarity with the courageous and rightful struggle by the Nicaraguan people to defend their sovereignty, independence and right to self-determination.

"A Central American settlement can and must be achieved by the efforts of Latin American nations on the basis of accords worked out as part of the Contadora process," he said.

"We are witnessing a complicated, crucial and remarkable time when nations are learning the difficult but vital art of living in peace with one another," the leader of the Soviet delegation went on to say.

"Our duty as parliamentarians," he stressed, "is to do everything we can to assist the unprecedented process of the moral and political recovery of sight by millions of people." □

## Statement by Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman

ALLEGATIONS by the US press that the socialist countries secretly use terror and narcotics against the West are absurd, Gennadi Gerasimov, chief of the Information Department of the USSR Foreign Ministry, said at a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists on April 30.

He said that the USSR, jointly with other socialist countries, co-operates actively in the struggle against international terrorism and the contraband of narcotics. The Soviet side has more than once thwarted attempts to carry via the territory of the USSR large consignments of narcotics to Western countries.

The Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman emphasised that the aim of these absurd accusations is to preserve by any means the USSR's image as that of an enemy.

That stereotype of the "enemy image" is artificially implanted by the most unlikely assertions. Thus US Vice-Admiral Lyons accused the USSR of backing Filipino insurgents. This assertion is false through and through, the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said. Its aim is obviously to set the Soviet and Filipino peoples at loggerheads and to sow the seeds of distrust and suspiciousness between them.

No less absurd are assertions that "Soviet agents" take miniature atomic bombs into the USA. In this case, too, the "enemy image" is implanted in the minds of American citizens, Gennadi Gerasimov said. □

### Mikhail Gorbachev

#### Receives George Shultz

April 14, 1987

#### Talks to the Delegation from the House of Representatives of the US Congress

April 15, 1987

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# Will the West show political will?

**SOVIET-AMERICAN talks on nuclear and space weapons have resumed in Geneva. The Soviet delegation has tabled a draft treaty between the USSR and the USA on liquidating Soviet and American medium-range missiles (MRMs) in Europe and on other measures to limit and reduce Soviet and American MRMs. The draft creates a good basis for working out a mutually acceptable accord.**

*An Izvestia correspondent talks to Yuri Lebedev, Deputy Department Chief of the Soviet Armed Forces' General Staff.*

As regards medium-range missiles, the United States has 380 such missiles in Europe at the moment: 108 Pershing-IIs and 272 Cruise. The Soviet Union has 355 such missiles on its European territory: 243 SS-20 and 112 SS-4. As is generally known, the Soviet Union has suspended further deployment of such missiles. Moreover, a number of SS-20 missiles have been unilaterally removed from operational duty. The United States, however, carries on with the deployment of its MRMs.

**QUESTION:** What about other weapons?

**ANSWER:** In Europe, the USSR also has shorter-range missiles with a range of 500 to 1,000 kilometres and tactical nuclear forces with a range of up to 500 kilometres.

The United States, in addition to the Pershing-II and Cruise missiles, has in Europe 640 carrier aircraft which can deliver strikes into the whole depth of the European socialist countries' territory and also into a considerable part of the European USSR, and its Sixth and Second Task Fleets permanently stationed in the Mediterranean and the Atlantic Ocean, with about 300 nuclear-capable attack aircraft on board their aircraft-carriers. Finally, surface ships and nuclear-powered submarines in those two fleets continue to be reinforced with new sea-launched Cruise missiles which have an operational range of up to 2,600 kilometres.

It must be added here that the armed forces of the West European NATO members have more than 700 nuclear-capable aircraft within the format of their tactical strike aviation, 72 Pershing-IA ballistic missile launchers and more than 100 nuclear-capable Lance missile launchers. The armed forces of the US and of its NATO allies also have more than 2,000 nuclear artillery pieces and more than 7,000 nuclear munitions.

The Soviet delegation was instructed to begin immediately, from April 23, together with the US delegation, the drafting of concrete agreements on MRMs and TMs (tactical missiles). In the other groups the American side has been offered to work out key provisions regarding a 50 per cent reduction by the Soviet Union and the United States of their strategic offensive weapons in conjunction with the settlement of the problems of reinforcing the regime of the ABM Treaty. First of all, however, I would like to remind you of something. During their summit meeting in Reykjavik last October, Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan agreed on the destruction of all Soviet and American medium-range missiles in Europe. The Soviet Union also suggested freezing the number of shorter-range missiles there with a range of up to 1,000 kilometres. Under that proposal, the Soviet Union could keep 100 medium-range missile warheads in Asia, and the United States the same number on its own territory, deployed so that they could not reach each other's territory. Together with the other proposals dealing with strategic offensive weapons,

prohibition of nuclear testing and reinforcement of the regime of the ABM Treaty, the proposals on medium-range missiles came as a package and called for a comprehensive decision.

Right after the Reykjavik summit a number of Western politicians tried to accuse the Soviet side of complicating the MRM issue under the pretext that the USSR was insisting on its consideration only as part of a package.

The Soviet Union made another constructive step. On February 28 it announced its preparedness to single out that issue from the block of other questions and sign an early separate agreement on medium-range missiles.

Moreover, the Soviet Union announced that right after the signing of such an agreement, it would remove its longer-range tactical missiles from the territory of the GDR and Czechoslovakia by arrangement with their governments, missiles which had been deployed there in response to the deployment of Pershing-II and Cruise, and expressed its readiness to start immediate talks on those missiles with a view to reducing and eliminating them altogether. The Soviet side hoped that the West would finally go for the signing of a relevant agreement.

The gap between the West's verbal declaration and actual agreement, however, proved to be too wide. The West started belabouring once again the old argument about the "Soviet military threat" and presenting the matter as if without the American Pershing and Cruise missiles Western Europe would be left "unarmed" and "defenceless".

Step by step, the American side started drifting away from the MRM agreements reached in Reykjavik, discussing variants for modifying Pershing-II medium-range missiles into Pershing IB missiles with a range of up to 1,000 kilometres and transferring American Cruise missiles from the land onto naval vessels. Under that scheme, the infrastructure of the American MRMs would remain unchanged so that, if necessary, they could be redeployed in Europe.

**QUESTION:** The decision of the Soviet leadership to separate medium-range missiles from the overall package of proposals put forth by us in Reykjavik was not at all easy?

**ANSWER:** Certainly. And I would like to note that in this separate handling of the cutdown and destruction of medium-range missiles the Soviet Union has left aside the US forward based nuclear systems — hundreds of land- or carrier-based nuclear armed planes capable of deep strikes at the territory of the European socialist states. Nor are the British and French nuclear forces considered here.

**QUESTION:** By the way, what is the strength of the nuclear forces of these states?

**ANSWER:** The nuclear forces of Great Britain include 4 atomic missile submarines, each of which is equipped with 16 launchers for Polaris A-3 TK ballistic missiles (six nuclear warheads per missile), with a range of up to 4,000 kilometres, as well as about 200 tactical nuclear-capable planes. In the early 1990s they plan to buy Trident-2 ballistic missiles to arm new British missile submarines.

France's nuclear forces include 6 atomic missile submarines with 96 launchers. Besides that, France has 18 silo launchers for ballistic missiles with a range of over 3,500 kilometres, up to 30 Mirage IVA bombers capable of carrying nuclear bombs and air-to-surface missiles, and over 70 nuclear armed planes of tactical strike aviation. The land forces of France have about 40 launchers of Pluto nuclear missiles with a range of over 120 kilometres.

At the development stage in France are the S-4 strategic ground-based missiles with a range of over 5,000 kilometres and M-5 sea-based missiles

with a range of up to 6,000 kilometres. The Hades missile with a range of over 350 kilometres is being developed for the land forces.

Speaking in Prague, Mikhail Gorbachev developed the Soviet position. It was suggested that discussion be started of the question of reducing and subsequently destroying the short-range missiles deployed in the European continent. Moreover, in his conversation with Secretary of State Shultz, Mikhail Gorbachev expressed readiness to write into the medium-range missile agreement a commitment by the Soviet Union to simultaneously dismantle its short-range missiles in Europe and hold negotiations on such missiles stationed in the east of our country and on US territory. During the period of negotiations, both sides would commit themselves not to build up missiles of this type.

The USSR is also prepared, at separate multilateral negotiations in accordance with the Budapest initiative of the Warsaw Treaty member states, to solve the question of tactical nuclear systems along with a reduction in the armed forces and conventional arms in Europe.

Therefore, the USSR has once again showed its determination to clear the obstacles in the way of eliminating nuclear missiles from Europe. The West cannot fail to notice this, and the American side must reply whether it is prepared for a mutually acceptable agreement in this field.

Once it involves reducing and destroying whole categories of armaments, the question of verification takes on a qualitatively new meaning. Therefore the USSR is for the development and application of the strictest measures in this field, including on-site inspections which must encompass not only the missiles and launchers to be left, but also all the other facilities — test sites, manufacturing plants, training centres, and so on. Inspectors must also have access to the military bases of the other side located on the territory of third countries.

**QUESTION:** How do you assess the prospects of achieving the agreement?

**ANSWER:** I shall say this: recent events have convincingly demonstrated the possibility of taking in Europe the first but very important step along the road to a nuclear-free world. Given political will from the West, primarily the United States, the Soviet proposals on eliminating medium- and short-range missiles from Europe can be realised in the immediate future and ensure the major change in the international situation which the peoples of the world are expecting with hope.

But one cannot fail to take notice of the nonconstructive position held by Washington and some of its NATO allies, behind which apparently stands their unwillingness to solve the problems of security on the basis of equality and reciprocity. Some, referring to their "Atlantic commitments", others to the outdated concept of "nuclear deterrence", intend to keep the US missiles in Europe and delay the solution of this highly important problem. The peoples of Europe have already understood this well, and the leaders of NATO must understand it too.

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# Soviet economy shows signs of healthy growth

By Gennadi Pisarevsky, *Novosti* political correspondent

THE Soviet economy from January to March 1987 showed signs of picking up steam, with industrial and agricultural production up 2.5 and 8.7 per cent, respectively, on the first quarter of the previous year. Analysts said the above two indicators were unusual, because industry in this country traditionally grew faster than agriculture.

That the farmers outpaced the industrialists is generally attributed to the fact that the ongoing reform was first introduced in agriculture and then in industry. Farms were granted more autonomy in economic decision making than industrial enterprises. Industrial growth may well start picking up strength following the adoption of the law on the state enterprise whose draft was announced recently for a nation-wide discussion.

We lived through a severe winter this year. But bad weather can no longer be an excuse for production failures, so farmers always must be prepared for the worst. Though the farm sector did well in the first quarter despite bad weather, it still faces quite a few problems and has to cope

with bottlenecks. Many farms reported shrinking output of hothouse vegetables and an alarming number of animal deaths due to cattle diseases.

Weaker industrial growth can also be attributed to, but not justified by, tougher demands for product quality and efficiency in all sectors of the national economy. Enterprises are no longer permitted to manufacture substandard products and breach contracts. Previously they could fail to supply their customers with required products and at the same time meet the plan target (estimated in roubles) by manufacturing costly produce.

## Quality standards

Some 80 per cent of industrial enterprises in the first quarter honoured their commitments to their clients. The remaining 20 per cent, which did not, have been denied bonus funds.

The government quality acceptance service was introduced at 1,500 enterprises from January 1, 1987. Its inspectors now check if all products manufactured by enterprises correspond to the established quality standards.

Wages dropped at and bonuses were denied to many enterprises in January. But workers

accepted this tough measure as a necessity, knowing that poor quality of manufactured goods was a nation-wide and most urgent problem. Some said they should not be paid at all for substandard produce. "It is probably the most crucial indication of the past two years that substantially revealed the position of our working class and of the working people of the country," said Mikhail Gorbachev in his recent address to the 20th Congress of the Young Communist League.

Poor quality of manufactured goods is a perennial headache of the Soviet economy and is therefore seen as pivotal to the drive for economic reform and reorganisation. The government acceptance service is just the first step to cope with a host of issues involving better quality. It is the customer that must decide whether a product is good or not. We have embarked on achieving that goal, but we are still at the beginning of the road.

In March industrial output was up 6 per cent on the same period last year. But even that impressive growth failed to make up for the losses sustained in January and February. Perhaps growth will rebound in the second quarter to match that of agriculture. Let us wait and see. □

## Economic rethink: what's new in it?

By Alexander Guber, *Novosti* economics correspondent

THE ongoing overhaul and restructuring of the entire Soviet economic order implies a profound reformation of economic thinking seen as central to the entire reform plan.

What are the basic features of a revised economic outlook?

More democracy comes first, meaning that the I-am-a-small-fry-that's-for-my-boss-to-decide attitudes to economic issues can no longer be tolerated. The restructuring of the economic mechanism encourages a feeling of responsibility.

It is a long and tricky subject. But there is one thing to be mentioned right away. Economic reorganisation in general and recasting attitudes to economic issues in particular vest every Soviet citizen, no matter where employed, with the right to be involved, if indirectly, in economic decision making. That, in turn, implies greater powers, duties and responsibilities. To put it differently, producers at shop-floor level, apart from doing their usual jobs, can be involved in production organisation and management, that is employ collective forms of governing to have a strong impact on economic and social policies pursued by their bosses.

Economic policy must no longer be stopgap. History put the Soviet Union in conditions where it had practically no free choice. It will be remembered that this country overcame the economic dislocation inflicted on it by World War One, the Civil War and foreign intervention only by 1926, fifteen years before Nazi Germany attacked the Soviet Union. But even in so short a period of time the Soviet people did a lot. They developed a vast network of power generating facilities and created a powerful industry. That was what really mattered in those years. Naturally, sacrifices were inevitable.

Then the Soviet people faced new challenges in rebuilding the country's economy ravaged by World War II. In short, circumstances taught the Soviet people to cope with shortages. When the nation had not enough bread they developed virgin lands, when oil was in short supply they tapped Siberian resources, when more electricity was needed they built new power plants.

Eventually, this way of dealing with economic troubles became habitual. No thought was given to the fact that if something, say steel, was scarce, it might not be because of under-production (incidentally, the Soviet Union makes more steel than any other country) but because of its inefficient use, waste, and substandard quality.

At one time we were badly short of machine-tools. Now we have more than enough. But on account of manpower shortages even the most advanced equipment sometimes remains idle. For decades people were taught to use equipment as long as possible. No wonder many were stunned and shocked to hear Mikhail Gorbachev suggest that staggered shifts be introduced to increase the time that new technology is in operation, and that all the remaining machinery, particularly the outdated, be scrapped.

Most difficult of all is getting away from the customary belief "the more the better, whatever the cost" to realistic economic accounting: we need better quality rather than quantity, and at an acceptable and not any cost.

It has become clear that other practices suited for the primarily extensive form of development are equally inadequate now. A case in point is economic growth through new construction rather than modernisation of existing facilities.

Yet it is not easy to switch over to new policies orienting the economy to balanced development based on intensive growth factors and state-of-the-art technology. That calls for the deep and

general realisation that we can no longer run the economy in the old fashion, and necessitates radical change in the economic machinery. Indeed, failing such change, even those who have recast their attitudes may back down, particularly when they come up against the old conservative management practices.

Even now some executives, faced with a situation where their district cannot meet the targets for grain sales to the State, will more often than not look to farms which can supply the needed amount. These executives seem unconcerned about the fact that in making a prosperous farm supply over and above plan to compensate for what inefficient farms failed to deliver, they rob it of incentive to work better and, simultaneously, corrupt those who may have already got used to living on others. What's more, in so doing, they believe that they work for the welfare of the State.

The new economic outlook totally rejects wage-levelling. Of course, a good worker is normally better paid than a bad one. But if it were not for wage-levelling practices, now roundly condemned, the difference in their performance could be far greater.

Until quite recently we had doubts as to whether high earnings were really a good thing. In particular, these doubts manifest themselves in "ceilings" being set in just about all industries

(Continued on back page)

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# A revolution must be able to defend itself

By Dr Stanislav Tyutyukin

"NO revolution is worth anything unless it can defend itself," Lenin said in October 1918 (*Collected Works*, Vol. 28, p. 124), almost a year after the triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia. Over the nearly seven decades since then, history has more than once borne out the correctness and validity of this important theoretical thesis of Marxism. It is also fully relevant today, as peoples who have decided to change the life of society in working people's interests find out over and over again.

Then, in revolutionary Russia, the fate of the world's first worker-peasant state absolutely depended on the correct understanding and the practical realisation of the Lenin thesis. The revolution's survival, the development of socialism was the top issue of the day.

## New society

The revolution had wrested power from the hands of the bourgeoisie and given it to the people: it had abolished man's exploitation by man, handed over the land to the peasants, nationalised the big factories owned by capitalists, declared a policy of peace and the equality of all peoples of Russia and annulled the inequitable treaties and plunderous loans of the tsarist government. The construction had begun of a new society based on the principles of democracy and social justice. But it turned out that this very right to build the new life had yet to be upheld and defended from the encroachments of internal and external counter-revolution in the civil war, unleashed by the exploiter classes.

Marxism-Leninism does not regard a civil war, that is, organised military struggle for power between different social classes, as an indispensable condition for the victory of a socialist revolution. However, as historical experience shows, exploiters do not surrender their positions without battle. So also was it in Russia, where right after the almost bloodless victory of the October Uprising in Petrograd (now Leningrad) there flared up a series of counter-revolutionary revolts, organised by ex-premier Kerensky and generals Krasnov and

Kaledin. The social base for counter-revolution was former capitalists and landowners, the upper bureaucracy, officers of the old imperial army, rich peasants (kulaks), and a part of the clergy. True, the first anti-Soviet revolts of late 1917 and early 1918 were quickly smashed, through the vigorous activity of the Extraordinary Commission for Struggle against Counter-revolution and Sabotage set up at that time. But forces of international imperialist reaction became involved in the civil war: there began foreign intervention.

## Defending its gains

Troops from Britain, France, the USA, Japan and other powers appeared in 1918 in various parts of Russia (the North, the Far East, Transcaucasia, Central Asia and the Crimea). Following a plan worked out in advance, the imperialists sought to achieve a common goal: to strangle the world's first proletarian revolution, bring back the bourgeois order, dismember Russia into "zones of influence" and turn it into an obedient tool of their policy.

Thus, from its inception the worker-peasant state faced the task of defending its gains. It could not be solved by using the old army inherited from the tsarist regime — it was too tired of the First World War, which Russia waged against Germany on the side of the Entente countries. The soldiers wanted only one thing — to return home to their families as soon as possible. Most of them did not understand that the development of the revolution was not yet over and that its gains had to be defended. The workers' Red Guard detachments, which played a significant role in the victory of October, were comparatively not numerous and had none of the required military skill. That was why Lenin, the Communist Party and the Soviet Government took a decision in January 1918 to create an army of a new type — the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army.

The creation of the Red Army was a practical realisation of the thesis of Marxism-Leninism on the need to break the bourgeois state machine and replace it with a new, revolutionary apparatus. How did the formation of the new army proceed?

Initially it was built on a volunteer basis. In the context of a catastrophic disintegration of the old army, this was the sole means of creating more or less efficient units. The Soviet Government took steps to prepare mass reserves for the army. Universal military training was introduced in April 1918. Within its system, working people received military knowledge and learnt the use of weapons and the tactics of warfare. Red Army commanders were promoted from among the most advanced workers and peasants, and also from among former soldiers of the tsarist army and part of the officers who went over to the revolution. An institution of military commissars — the best representatives of the working class and tried and tested communists — was established in the army. At first they supervised the activity of the old military specialists. Then their functions markedly expanded — they took up the organisational strengthening of the army and conducted explanatory work and political education in its ranks.

Internal and external counter-revolution was strong. Well-trained regular troops fought on its side. Therefore compulsory military service was introduced in the summer of 1918. But the class principle, harring exploiter elements from the

army, was strictly observed. Its numbers steadily grew. This was largely facilitated by Government and Party measures to combine the numerous units and detachments into regular units and formations. At the end of the year, there were about 1 million men in the ranks of the Red Army.

Measures were taken to strengthen the army organisationally and to improve its combat activity. A Revolutionary Military Council, the highest military body of the republic, was established. It was charged with the entire work of building the army and guiding its combat operations. The Red Army was turning into a regular army and winning one victory after another over the enemy. "We have surmounted all difficulties," Lenin noted, "even though it was hard to form an army in the midst of acute civil war. The army has been formed." (Ibid. p. 86).

As a result, a strong mass revolutionary army was created in the years of the civil war (1918-1920). By the end of 1920 its numbers had reached 5.5 million. It was distinguished by close links with the people, conscious discipline, high morale and firm conviction of the justness of the cause for which it fought.

## Tremendous effort

In the conditions of economic dislocation and famine, the building of the army required of the Soviet state, the Communist Party and the entire people a tremendous effort to arm it and supply it with food. Difficulties had to be surmounted on this road, too. The country's entire life was reorganised at that time under the motto: everything for the front, everything to defeat the enemy!

The big organisational and educational work of the Communist Party and the high revolutionary spirit and mass heroism of the people brought about the young Soviet state's historic victory over the forces of internal and external counter-revolution. "A nation in which the majority of the workers and peasants realise, feel and see that they are fighting for their own Soviet power, for the rule of the working people, for the cause whose victory will ensure them and their children all the benefits of culture, of all that has been created by human labour — such a nation can never be vanquished," wrote Lenin (Ibid., Vol. 29, p. 319). The justice of these words has been entirely confirmed by the difficult, at times tragic history of the Soviet state and the other peoples who have embarked on the path of social liberation. □

(Novosti Press Agency)

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# How the Soviet State handled the housing problem

By Yevgeni Vyazemsky, Doctor of History

HOUSING is one of the most acute social problems in the world, which explains why the UN designated 1987 Year of the Homeless. Today the homeless need at least 40-45 million flats, and at least 20 million homes have to be provided annually to accommodate the 80 million people born in the world every year. Meanwhile, no more than 10 million homes a year are built.

Immediately after the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917, the Soviet State tackled the housing problem as a social priority. There was an acute shortage of housing in tsarist Russia, with a total of just 180 million square metres for a population of almost 170 million. Worse still, during World War I (1914-1918) up to 28 per cent of housing in the country was destroyed. That was what a government of workers and peasants inherited from tsarism.

## Social priority

The aristocracy and bourgeoisie of the Russian empire resided in well-appointed houses and apartments, while the poor suffered from overcrowding, living in basement rooms, barracks, closets and dug-outs. Many workmen rented part of a room or even a cot.

In an effort to improve the living conditions of working people as soon as possible, the Soviet Government tackled the housing problem in a most revolutionary manner, expropriating part of the luxurious apartments belonging to the propertied classes and handing them over to working people, as had been suggested by Friedrich Engels.

On the third day following the Revolution, the Soviet Government, headed by Lenin, passed a

*(Continued from Page 158)*

on both pay and bonuses, such as for productivity, quality, resource savings and overall annual performance.

Despite the ongoing reorganisation and clear-cut instructions from the Party Central Committee and the Government, many of these limits remain because the economic thinking is that too much money corrupts. I would not think so. If money is well earned, it ennobles the person and his work.

When any particular person, factory or farm makes more of the products the community needs, and at a lower cost, they ought to be rewarded in full. Otherwise, we would see neither economic nor technological progress.

Today these seemingly elementary truths have found expression in full economic cost-accounting and self-financing, which represent a basically new form of relations of production in the Soviet Union. Factories and farms are going over to self-sufficiency principles. Totally self-supporting, they will not be getting funds from the State and will use their profits, and profits alone, for production development, modernisation, social welfare, and so on.

Forward-looking economists take the view that the future of the socialist economy and its prosperity depends exactly on these methods, which are already working in some industries. Eventually, advanced experience will be applied throughout the Soviet economy. □

decree which exempted from rent all servicemen and their families. And two days later, on October 30, 1917 it placed all living quarters within the jurisdiction of municipal authorities, giving them the right to take over all unoccupied premises suitable for living and, if necessary, requisition flats to give them over to citizens in need or those living in cramped quarters or conditions dangerous to health. That was indeed a complicated period in the life of the country, and for a number of reasons the right to own tenement-houses was abolished as late as August 20, 1918. The legislation to that effect gave equal rights to landlords and tenants, obliging them to pay rent on equal terms

## Constitutional right to housing

As early as November and December 1917 the Moscow Soviet (local authority) moved 20,000 workers and their families into 216 requisitioned houses in the city. By the late 1920s, when the Soviet State, with much effort, drove off the foreign invaders and home-grown counter-revolutionary forces, 100,000 workers and their families had been moved into houses formerly owned by the bourgeoisie.

The Soviet Government's approach to housing had widespread popular support. In Petrograd, now Leningrad, the promulgation of the law abolishing private ownership of real estate in cities with a population of over 10,000 (this provision safeguarded the interests of the working people and the owners of small tenements) triggered off workers' meetings in support of the legislation under the banner of Palaces to the People. By September 1919 about 30,000 workers and their families moved into well-appointed homes.

Farm labourers and the village poor were allowed to move into manors confiscated under the Real Estate Act passed by the Second All-Russia Congress of the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies on October 26, 1917, with limited living quarters allocated to the former landowners and their managers. Some requisitioned premises were turned into schools, hospitals and community centres, and others into orphanages where children studied and learned a trade or were used as summer cottages for children of pre-school age, and for other purposes of improving the welfare of the younger generation.

Thus, putting into effect the principle of social justice the government of workers and peasants, within months of its inception, achieved major results in dealing with a most acute housing problem through a reallocation of the housing stock.

Between 1918 and 1940, when the country created the base of socialism, 408.9 million square metres of housing was built. Work in this area was interrupted in 1941 as Nazi Germany and its satellites attacked the Soviet Union. Nazism was crushed, but the Soviet Union suffered massive human and material losses. The four-year war claimed over 20 million lives. The Nazis burnt, destroyed and sacked 31,850 industrial enterprises and almost 100 collective and state farms. As many as 1,710 cities and towns, upwards of 70,000 villages and more than 6,000,000 buildings were totally or partly destroyed and burnt down, and some 25 million Soviet people were left without shelter. The nation had to make tremendous effort to raise the economy out of ruins and provide people with housing.

In the years of socialist development, the country's economy has immeasurably gained in strength and housing possibilities have increased manifold. The housing stock in 1985 amounted to 4,071 million square metres, including 1,658 million in individual ownership. The right to housing is laid down in Article 44 of the USSR Constitution, which is the fundamental law of the land. It says: "Citizens of the USSR have the right to housing.

"This right is ensured by the development and upkeep of state- and socially-owned housing; by assistance for co-operative and individual house building; by fair distribution, under public control, of the housing that becomes available through fulfilment of the programme of building well-appointed dwellings, and by low rents and low charges for utility services." Rents have remained unchanged since 1928 and, with utility charges, work out at 3 per cent of an average family income.

## Fair distribution

In the past three five-year development periods, an average of 2 million apartments a year were built and turned over for occupancy, with about 10 million people moving into new or better homes every year. Today upwards of 80 per cent of the urban population live in single-tenancy apartments, whose average floor space has increased. The State bears over 75 per cent of all expenses on home-building. Yet waiting lists still exist, and quite long ones at that, for the urban population is growing, as is the number of families, and the government also has to spend on renovation of the existing housing stock. As the ruling party, the CPSU takes all these factors into consideration. The updated Party Programme says, in part: "The Party considers as a matter of special social significance an accelerated solution of the housing problem, which will ensure that by the year 2000 practically every Soviet family will have a single-tenancy apartment or a house of their own." Measures are in hand to make sure that 630 million square metres of housing is built in this five-year-plan period, which is more than originally planned. □

(Novosti Press Agency)

## Alexander Volkov new USSR Civil Aviation Minister

THE Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet has appointed Alexander Volkov Minister of Civil Aviation of the USSR.

The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet relieved Boris Bugayev of the duties of Minister of Civil Aviation of the USSR in connection with another appointment.

Colonel-General of Aviation Alexander Volkov was born in 1929. He is Russian and a member of the CPSU.

In 1951 he graduated from the Air Force Flying School. He served as a pilot in units of the USSR Air Force. After graduating from the Air Force Academy and the Military Academy of the General Staff he held a number of command posts with the Air Force. He was commander of military transport aviation for seven years, and since 1986 was Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Air Force. □

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