

Mikhail Gorbachev's *Pravda* article on Jawaharlal Nehru

"WITHOUT Jawaharlal Nehru the history of the 20th Century would have been incomplete. His name is pronounced with respect not only in India and the Soviet Union but all over the world," Mikhail Gorbachev writes in the November 13 issue of *Pravda* in an article entitled *The Great Son of the Indian People*. This is a preface to a jubilee collection, devoted to the life and activities of Jawaharlal Nehru, an outstanding Indian statesman and politician. The centenary of Nehru's birth is being widely observed in India and throughout the world by progressive people.

"Jawaharlal Nehru, as a thinker and politician, was ahead of his times. Nehru had a broad, multi-dimensional understanding of the world. Above narrow national interests, he acted on the basis of the principles in tune with what we now call new political thinking.

In this connection the Soviet leader pointed out Nehru's words that trying to use nuclear

weapons to solve international problems and conflicts is contrary to common sense and that no nation could survive, if a world conflict breaks out.

He called for 'a climate of peace' and for the absolution of mutual recriminations and hostile propaganda, for contracts and negotiations in the spirit of restraint and tolerance."

"Nehru's desire to assert in international relations five principles of the peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems, 'Panch Sila', fully accords with the tasks of present-day international politics," the Soviet leader wrote.

"Nehru's significance in the elaboration of the concept of the Non-Aligned Movement acquires pre-eminence. Under Nehru India became one of its recognised leaders.

"The great daughter of the Indian people Indira Gandhi pursued Nehru's cause in all areas of foreign and domestic policy. She made an unforgettable contribution to the ideology and revival of her country. The Soviet people highly praise her outstanding role in consolidating friendship and developing co-operation between our countries.

"The close link between politics and morals has become increasingly significant now that

mankind faces the problem of survival. Disregard for this link could lead to a nuclear apocalypse and the destruction of civilisation on Earth. A heightened understanding of this reality propelled us with India's Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi to seek measures to prevent such catastrophic developments. The Delhi Declaration was signed, inaugurating a programme to build a non-nuclear and non-violent world. The programme is based on the recognition of human life as the great asset not only in the ideal sense, but also in the political reality," Mikhail Gorbachev pointed out.

"During the nuclear age, the reliance on force of arms is without prospects. The insistent demand of the present is peace through reason, disarmament and development, not through force. Much has recently been accomplished in this area.

"When we think and work in this direction, we naturally rely on realities of the present and past experience. Once again we turn to Nehru. He believed that stockpiling weapons of mass destruction should make room for political restraint, that an equilibrium based on force and fear should be replaced by an equilibrium based on mutual confidence and disarmament, primarily nuclear," the Soviet leader wrote. □

The reasons that prompted the decision for the shipboard summit

THE announcement that the Soviet and American presidents will meet aboard ship in the Mediterranean in December generated much interest throughout the world.

There has been much speculation among analysts as to what impelled George Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev to agree to meet precisely at this time.

The outgoing year has been one of the stormiest in the entire post-war period. The rapid and in many respects unexpected turns in the development of events in a number of regions of the world have more than once called for responsible and difficult decisions and at the same time compelled the heads of leading countries to take into account the interests of one another.

This is why the contact which the Soviet Union and the United States maintained at the political level was so important.

There were exchanges of messages between the two countries' leaders and a substantive dialogue at foreign minister level.

However, there is no substitute for face-to-face talk and a substantive detailed discussion of

the entire spectrum of problems in an atmosphere of informal and frank contacts.

Due to the breakthroughs in Wyoming, conditions are taking shape for an official summit in Washington to be marked by major accords capable of influencing the course of world affairs for decades to come.

There are grounds to hope in particular that agreements on three key problems of disarmament — a 50 per cent cut in strategic offensive armaments, a reduction in conventional armed forces and a ban on chemical weapons — may be signed next year.

But these achievements would not come by

Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman on GDR border rules

THE decision to apply new rules on the border of the German Democratic Republic with West Germany and West Berlin is a sovereign act of the GDR Government, Gennadi Gerasimov, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman, said at a briefing in Moscow on November 10.

The new leadership of the German Democratic Republic, Gerasimov said, is carrying out a package of measures to renew socialism, stabilise the political situation in the country and democratise social life. These are not piecemeal measures. They are full-scale transformations affecting all spheres of life in the republic and its contacts with the outer world.

There is a nation-wide dialogue on problems that occupy the minds of the people in the GDR, Gerasimov said. The measures that have been

themselves. They may be promoted by an overall atmosphere of stability and normal evolution unburdened by old confrontation approaches.

A well-considered and responsible line in the policies of all countries, particularly the Soviet Union and the United States, will be needed, just as specific impulses to untie the remaining knots at the negotiations.

So, Gorbachev and Bush will have many subjects for discussion, both general and specific. This is what, it seems, prompted them to decide on an intermediate meeting on the way to an official summit. □

(TASS, Moscow, November 9)

IN THIS ISSUE

Eduard Shevardnadze and Sten Andersson discuss European issues	p386
Leonid Abalkin on economic reform concept	p387
Soviet-Italian political dialogue.....	p389
The 'Berlin-Wall' - TASS comment.....	p390

Eduard Shevardnadze and Sten Andersson discuss European issues

DURING talks at the Soviet Foreign Ministry on November 10, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and his Swedish counterpart Sten Andersson, in Moscow on an official visit, stated with satisfaction that new political thinking has fruitfully influenced bilateral relations and engendered promising forms of co-operation.

In discussing international issues, they pointed out that Soviet and Swedish views of major current problems are similar or identical.

The two sides give top priority to the earliest possible conclusion of an agreement on a 50 per cent reduction of Soviet and American strategic offensive weapons, the prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons and a comprehensive nuclear test ban.

Shevardnadze praised Sweden's active role in advancing these issues, including efforts within the framework of the Group of Six.

Andersson expressed hope that the Gorbachev-Bush meeting off Malta in December will further positive trends in Soviet-American relations and promote the solution of problems of disarmament and the settlement of regional conflicts.

The ministers discussed in detail the creation of a common European home, exchanged views on the course of the talks in Vienna and considered the implementation of accords in other spheres of the Helsinki Process.

The sides agreed that a steady movement towards overcoming the division between East and West has become visible in Europe. Foundations of a new world order meeting the imperatives of the times are being established.

There are every grounds to believe that the participants in the all-European process will achieve considerable results by the time of the Helsinki-2 meeting.

The Soviet Minister drew his counterpart's attention to the Soviet proposal to conduct the 1992 CSCE meeting in Helsinki at the level of heads of all 35 states, which was received with complete understanding by the Swedish minister.

Considering the reduction of conventional arms in Europe and confidence-building mea-

sures in the military field, Shevardnadze expressed satisfaction with Sweden's stance on these issues.

Discussing all-European subjects, the ministers paid special attention to regional co-operation in northern Europe.

Stressing that the Soviet Union attaches great importance to the consolidation of mutual understanding and interaction with Scandinavian countries, Shevardnadze dwelt on new elements of the Murmansk initiatives, announced by Mikhail Gorbachev during his recent visit to Finland.

These proposals are aimed at imparting a fresh impetus to regional co-operation in all areas, including ecology.

The Swedish minister highly assessed the Soviet Union's latest proposals on naval arms, advanced by the Soviet leadership in Helsinki.

Sweden supports the ecological revival of the Baltic, an idea expressed in the Soviet-Finnish declaration.

In the talks, the Soviet minister pointed to the considered and serious stance of the Swedish leadership concerning the processes taking place in the Soviet Baltic region.

He backed Sweden's efforts to establish contacts with the Soviet Baltic republics within the framework of Soviet-Swedish relations on the whole.

At Andersson's request, Shevardnadze explained the Soviet Union's attitude to the political situation in the German Democratic Republic. He said that the USSR views developments taking place in the GDR as a purely internal matter of the new leadership and the people of that country. Soviet people wish them success in their efforts, he added.

Of serious concern in this respect are statements by some West German leaders, directed in fact against the post-war setup and stability in Europe. The USSR and Sweden are resolutely in favour of the inviolability of the European borders.

Discussing regional conflicts, the ministers focused on the Middle East situation. Shevardnadze highly assessed Sweden's, and Andersson's personal role, in the process of the Arab-Israeli settlement.

Considering the Afghan problem, the Swedish Foreign Minister described the continued blood-

shed in that country even after the withdrawal of Soviet troops as "a profound tragedy of the Afghan people."

Agreeing with this assessment, the Soviet minister cited arguments in favour of convening an international conference on the political settlement in Afghanistan.

Andersson said that Sweden favours settling the Afghanistan situation only by political means. □



Nikolai Ryzhkov receives Swedish minister

NIKOLAI RYZHKOV, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received Swedish Foreign Minister Sten Andersson in the Kremlin on November 11.

During the meeting the two sides pointed out that considerable progress has been observed in all fields of Soviet-Swedish relations in recent years.

The potential of mutual trust and good-neighbourliness has grown stronger and the role of the human factor increased. New political thinking and active contacts at government and other levels promoted a mutually acceptable solution to a number of problems that burdened Soviet-Swedish relations which are now free from negative encrustations.

The proximity of the two countries' positions on many important aspects of international politics makes Swedish-Soviet co-operation possible in the realisation of the idea of a common European home and in the implementation of a number of peace initiatives in northern Europe, discussed specifically during Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's recent visit to Finland, Ryzhkov emphasised.

The two sides favoured continuation and activation of the political dialogue and large-scale development of trade and economic contacts between the two countries, including those at regional level.

It was pointed out in particular that the potentialities for deepening business co-operation are far from being utilised to the full. With due regard for that the two sides analysed the current state of affairs in this field and discussed specific measures for the future. □

Vladimir Petrovsky on the Soviet-American UN initiative

"THE fact that the Soviet Union and the United States have co-authored a draft resolution intended to pool the efforts of the international community in support of the United Nations and its role in strengthening international peace, security and all out co-operation proves that the Soviet-American dialogue is making headway," Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovsky stated after his return from the United States where he took part in the drafting of the resolution.

"It is difficult to overestimate the importance of this step on the eve of the Soviet-American summit off the coast of Malta," the Soviet diplomat stressed.

Petrovsky told TASS on November 10 that the draft resolution reflected the processes of renovation in the world and particularly in the United Nations. It is very important that a joint Soviet-American proposal has been tabled for

the first time in the history of the United Nations.

It is also important that the Soviet-American draft resolution calls on all UN members to strengthen peace, security and co-operation, that is to promote the global tasks inscribed in the UN Charter.

"It has often happened in the past that a Soviet-American dialogue would eclipse the efforts of other members of the world community," Petrovsky said. "The joint initiative shows that today the Soviet-American dialogue fits into the pattern of the ongoing international dialogue."

"The document actually formulates a 'concept of the constructive parallelism' of Soviet-American and multilateral efforts. This is an important prerequisite for normalising the international situation on the basis of growing mutual trust."

"I think that the adoption of this resolution by consensus on the eve of the Malta summit will create a favourable background for the meeting and will help the Soviet and American leaders to reach agreement not only on bilateral relations, but also on problems vital for humankind as a whole," Petrovsky said. □

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Leonid Abalkin on economic reform concept

"THE movement to socialism is not limited to some group of countries. This is a worldwide tendency. It develops in various directions and assumes at times various forms. This results in a real diversity of models of socialism," Academician Leonid Abalkin, Soviet Deputy Prime Minister, said in an interview published in the November 11 edition of *Pravda*.

He explained that a social democratic model of socialism is also included in the list.

A whole number of patterns that have been established in the West are 'embryos' of new social relations, rather than the distinguishing features of capitalism, Abalkin said.

This interpretation, I think, fully corresponds to the spirit of Marxist-Leninist theory, he added.

Speaking of the political economy of socialism, Abalkin emphasised that this is not an invention by some arm-chair scientists or political schemers.

"The socialist choice has been made as a result of centuries-long suffering in an agonising quest by outstanding thinkers and has been backed by the revolutionary enthusiasm of millions of working people," he said.

"It embodies the dream of a society in which there will be no social oppression, exploitation and servile dependence on the powers-that-be.

"The enthusiasm of renewal must be combined with the preservation of all values of Soviet society during the current revolutionary restructuring.

"In other words, progress includes elements of not only negation but of continuity as well. The traditions and experience of the democratic organisation of society, humanistic ideals, ethical norms and values of spiritual culture also belong to such elements, apart from material culture and technology.

"Such forms of the organisation of economic life, tried and tested during centuries-long experience, as market, co-operatives, banking institutions, life and property insurance systems, and many other things should also be included here," Abalkin said.

"These forms are of general economic content. They in themselves are not capitalist or socialist," he pointed out.

"Hired labour and socialism are incompatible. One should not confuse, however, the essence of the notion of hired labour and the legal form of hiring," he explained. □

On stages of Soviet economic reform

DESPITE its depth and radicalism, the Soviet economic reform aims not at socialism being replaced by another system or some amorphous society. It is to renovate socialism, to give it a new branch of life, Leonid Abalkin, Deputy Premier and Chairman of the State Commission for Economic Reform said in Moscow on November 13.

Abalkin was addressing an all-union economic conference, organised by the USSR Council of Ministers, the Academy of Sciences and the Academy of National Economy.

Describing the stages of transition to the new type of economy, Abalkin said that the first stage, to be completed by late 1990, is one of preparations for simultaneous implementation of a set of measures to produce a transition period mechanism.

These include adopting laws on a uniform system of taxation, the state bank (Gosbank), a price reform, labour remuneration, social insurance, reactivating enterprises' switch-over to leasing and transforming them into co-operatives, share-holding societies or other economic entities.

At this stage extraordinary measures for normalising the finances are envisaged, above all reduction of the budget deficit and restraining income growth and credit inputs and the printing of money.

By the end of 1990 all industrial enterprises running at a loss will have been liquidated and

the import structure changed.

The second stage, from 1991 to 1992, involves the implementation of a set of simultaneous measures and the launching of the economic mechanism for the transition period. It is at this time that all the above legislative acts will have entered into force, the state and collective farms running at a loss liquidated and remodelled along the lines of farms and co-operatives. Reform of the credit system will begin by reorganising the work of the state bank.

The development of the market will have made substantial headway, stimulated by permission to sell produce over and above the state order for freely set prices.

Manufacturers auctions and fairs will be transformed into goods exchanges and commercial centres and a stock exchange will be organised.

However, due to the incomplete nature of normalisation of finances and the remaining disparities in the manufacture of goods, shortages will probably persist.

The third stage, from 1993 to 1995, presupposes a 'live' testing of the transition period's economic mechanism and implementing the programme for the furtherance of the reform.

This period will see the completion of the financial normalisation. As a consequence of a widening market sector, prices and incomes will grow, the consumer market will balance and foreign economic relations will be significantly developed.

The last stage, one of the setting in place and development of the new economic system and the emergence of a structure of production and of social and economic relations in line with the system, is planned for 1996-2000 and beyond, Abalkin said. □

Central Committee secretary on future of Russia

THE establishment of administrative, economic and scientific management bodies in the Russian Federation is the subject of an interview with Yuri Manayenkov, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, published in the November 9 edition of *Pravda*.

"For a long time a number of managerial functions in Russia were entrusted to all-union bodies. This had a highly negative effect on the interests of both the republic and the entire union," he said.

"The all-union structure as it were eclipsed the Russian Federation, and it was the republic that primarily suffered from departmental diktat. Herein are the roots of the unfavourable situation in various spheres of our life and the disparity between the duties and rights of the Russian Federation.

"Measures have now been taken to set up appropriate republican state bodies in the Russian Federation," Manayenkov said.

"The all-union building ministries operating on the republic's territory have been brought under the authority of the Russian Federation. A republican ministry of the interior has been formed recently.

"The question of instituting a Russian academy of sciences is in the elaboration stage. The republic's press will also undergo development. The trade unions and the Young Communist League are planning to have their formations in the republic.

"Recently the Russian Parliament determined a new structure of power bodies and a procedure for shaping it — the establishment of two equal

houses of parliament — a council of the republic and a council of nationalities," Manayenkov went on.

"Russia is the republic with the largest number of nationalities and the interests of each should be really guaranteed and reliably safeguarded.

"It is essential to show great care for small ethnic groups in the north and the Far East. A proposal to form a state committee on ethnic affairs is now under consideration.

About the idea which is popular among a proportion of communists — to found a Russian Communist Party Manayenkov said:

"One can well understand them: the communists of all the other republics are united into independent parties and have their own central committees while communists in the Russian Federation do not.

"I agree that experience shows that it is necessary to create a Russian political structure. One should begin with setting up a Russian bureau at the CPSU Central Committee.

"The establishment of a Communist Party of the Russian Federation may enhance centrifugal trends in the CPSU and, clearly, in the country.

"There are 10.6 million communists in Party organisations in the Russian Federation.

"Does it mean that, according to the principle of democratic centralism, a Russian communist party within the CPSU will always have a majority? Would it not mean that the independence of the communist parties of the other republics would be infringed?"

"We know quite well that Lenin favoured a federation of the peoples but rejected a federation in the building of the Party. The duty of communists is to prevent division on an ethnic basis." □

Mikhail MOISEYEV

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Yevgeni Primakov talks of the visit to the USA on Soviet TV

YEVGENI PRIMAKOV, Chairman of the Supreme Soviet Council of the Union, spoke about his recent tour of the United States on Soviet television on November 13.

"Talks with President Bush and Secretary of State James Baker convinced me that the US Administration believes that the Soviet policy will continue along the same lines," he said.

"We will not change, we will continue our policy," he assured the viewers.

"We are becoming reliable partners, because we have renounced many foreign policy manifestations which happened in the past and proved wrong, which contradicted reality and the interests of the world community," Primakov said.

He stressed that this is the groundwork for normal relations with the United States.

Yevgeni Primakov also focused on other international and domestic issues.

"Perestroika has drastically changed Soviet relations with the socialist countries. The Soviet Union has abandoned a didactic attitude to-

wards other socialist countries," he said.

"It was previously believed that there is only one model of socialism - a command administrative one. It was thought that it was universal for all times and countries," he went on.

"Now there is a different theory about processes going on in the socialist countries.

"It is true that there are principles common to all socialist countries, but there are also specific traits of development based on different histories, traditions, interests and national differences. It is also true that such notions as the market, commodity and money relations and a banking system are not purely social notions. They can serve the development both of socialism and capitalism.

"We acknowledge that all nations have the right of choice no matter which development model they have chosen," Primakov continued.

"The right of free choice concerns both socialist and capitalist countries.

"This is why we take calmly and with understanding current developments in the socialist countries of Eastern Europe and China.

"We will be alarmed only when certain events

threaten to destabilise the international situation. But independently they will not lead to the destabilisation, unless someone interferes."

According to Primakov Soviet perestroika is influencing developments in the socialist countries and the world situation.

"This however does not mean that we are using perestroika to impose our policy. We pursue perestroika for the sake of ourselves."

In ethnic relations, Primakov called for the removal of deformations in relations between the centre and the republics and the preservation of a single national economy.

"Perestroika," he admitted, "as enemies at home."

He said, anti-perestroika forces are neither leftist, nor rightist, and differ only in the means they employ.

"The motto of these forces is 'the worse, the better'. They aim to thwart perestroika and return to the old ways. There are also forces which lack a coherent programme and philosophy, but seek power, trying to win popularity and support. Both forces do not have international support," Primakov said. □

Speech by Soviet representative in Vienna

By Vladimir Smelov, TASS correspondent:

NOT only the outlines of talks on conventional armed forces in Europe but also the structure and in some aspects contents of the negotiated agreements are becoming ever clearer at the talks under way in Vienna's Hofburg Palace.

Over the next 18-24 months the negotiating process could be conducted simultaneously on two planes, head of the Soviet delegation and Ambassador at Large Oleg Grinevsky told a news conference in Vienna on November 9.

Most complex unsolved problems, among them aviation, numerical strength, regional division and arms stockpiles can be discussed intensively at one level.

At the same time, work could continue on the editing of texts, and, above all, on the co-ordination of definitions of kinds of arms.

"We also propose to start co-ordinating documents on the exchange of information and verification, for they form the basis of the future agreement," Grinevsky said.

"In addition, we should start to co-ordinate a document on stabilising measures that would provide additional guarantees of security on the untrod path of European disarmament. Finally, we can start to work towards an agreement on the text of the very treaty during the current round," Grinevsky said.

"Naval armaments are very expensive, and competition in the area will be ruinous for all," Grinevsky told TASS.

"Because of our geographical position, we cannot use naval forces to the degree that the US can. To get into the open ocean, our ships need to pass through the bottleneck of straits. US ships can approach the coasts of the USSR and its allies within the range of a carrier-based fleet aviation and long-range non-nuclear cruise missiles. NATO has a large advantage in the number of these missiles," Grinevsky said.

"The question arises, is there any hope for reaching an agreement on conventional forces in Europe. Surely, there is.

"We want such an arrangement and we do not attach any conditions to the achieving of it.

"Nevertheless, we want to be certain that we shall not be involved in a naval arms race.

"Therefore the task of opening negotiations on the limitation and reduction of naval armaments is now acute. At the very least, we must apply confidence-building measures without delay, including information exchanges, to naval forces," the head of the Soviet delegation said. □

Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman on Warsaw Treaty

WESTERN official representatives have lately speculated - directly or indirectly, with or without reservations, on the Soviet Union's possible response if an allied state withdraws from the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadi Gerasimov said at a briefing in Moscow on November 9.

"A contradictory assessment of the treaty's role is being made," he said. "The organisation's stabilising character is seemingly admitted, yet hints are being made that reveal a sympathy for centrifugal tendencies and even their encouragement," he said.

The USSR will continue firmly abiding by the Warsaw Treaty, Gerasimov stressed. Our allies hold a similar stand, as is demonstrated by their intention to develop many-sided co-operation within the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, which was reaffirmed once again at a meeting of the Foreign Ministers' Committee held in Warsaw from October 26 to 27.

The allied countries favour the simultaneous disbandment of the military-political blocs in Europe. Until this is accomplished, they are ready to build relations between the Warsaw Treaty and the North Atlantic Alliance on a non-confrontation basis.

They do not deny NATO's role as a substantial element of the existing balance of forces. They hope that NATO member states are aware of the Warsaw Treaty's significance in maintaining stability and co-operation in Europe and in promoting the gradual unification of the continent. □

VISIT of Mikhail GORBACHEV to Finland

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Soviet-Italian political dialogue

A VIEW FROM MOSCOW ON MIKHAIL GORBACHEV'S FORTHCOMING VISIT TO ITALY

By Vsevolod Sukhov, head of the 1st European Department at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs

ADDRESSING the 1st Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR in May 1989, Mikhail Gorbachev spoke, among other things, of Soviet foreign policy. He noted that "it is addressed to the entire world. However, each specific case has its own special features and especially important accents, both from the viewpoint of bilateral relations and the viewpoint of regional and international purport."

The accent on European affairs in Soviet foreign policy has always been very strong. And now as the idea of building a 'common European home' is taking specific contours and being invested with a new meaning, dialogue between the Soviet Union and Western Europe, summit contacts included, becomes more and more dynamic. This year, despite an extremely busy schedule in the sphere of domestic policy (which is linked primarily with political and economic reforms being effected in the Soviet Union), Mikhail Gorbachev visited Great Britain, West Germany, France and Finland. Another trip by the Soviet leader to Europe in the remaining months of the current year, which can with good reason be called a 'European year', will be the visit to Italy scheduled for November 29 to December 1.

Preparations for that major event began in Moscow and Rome several months ago and are now entering the final stage. The matter at hand is the first ever visit to Italy at such a high level. It is called upon to give a fresh impetus to Soviet-Italian co-operation and promote concerted efforts of European nations in building a stable and democratic Europe. The Soviet Union regards Italy as a country playing an important role in Europe and capable of making a marked and constructive contribution to the development of sound East-West relations. Taking due account of the interests and views of both countries, we can determine possible areas where the Soviet and Italian leaders are to exchange views.

Europe is high on the list of Italy's foreign-policy priorities. Moreover, in our opinion, Italy regards Europe not only as a geographical notion but rather as a political and strategic notion, something which combines harmoniously cultural and other traditions of every nation. This is why we can see signs of Italy's vision of Europe and the Soviet concept of a 'common European home' being in consonance. I believe that this consonance may become even more harmonious during Soviet-Italian talks in Rome. One should think that the entire range of questions pertaining to the CSCE process and, in particular, the question of calling another summit for the 35 states participating in it will attract the special attention of the Soviet and Italian leaders.

The Soviet Union positively appraises the "nuclear weapon-free choice" made by Italy, that is, its decision not to possess nuclear weapons of its own, wary judgements of the Italian leadership regarding the efficiency of the nuclear deterrence factor and its balanced approach to the problem of modernising tactical nuclear weapons. Soviet diplomacy is aware of Italy's growing activity in the sphere of nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, as well as its growing interest in taking part in the effort to tackle disarmament problems and build up trust in Europe. It is therefore logical to assume that disarmament pro-

blems, including conventional armaments, will be one of the principal topics of the forthcoming talks in Rome.

One should not forget that Italy is a country situated in southern Europe and occupying a key position in the Mediterranean. Italy's sensitive attitude to and the Soviet Union's interest in problems of security in that region make it safe to assume that the leaders of both countries will also discuss the Mediterranean aspect of European affairs.

The situation in the Mediterranean is directly linked with the persistently explosive situation in the Middle East. Ways of resolving that conflict and other regional conflicts is a topic of regular Soviet-Italian consultations. So, this subject will evidently be covered during the Rome talks as well.

It is only natural that the development of Soviet-Italian relations will be one of the main topics during the forthcoming talks. Since the late 1950s — the early 1960s they have been traditionally stable and constructive, this being their permanent feature. Even at the time when international tensions notably deteriorated the political dialogue between the USSR and Italy remained intensive. Over decades the two countries have accumulated a valuable experience of mutually beneficial business co-operation. The Soviet Union appreciates Italy's orientation toward the search for new forms of interaction. Back in the 1960-1970s Fiat did much to help the

Soviet Union resolve the problem of satisfying the Soviet automobile market. More than 50 Soviet-Italian joint ventures have been registered and 60 more offers from Italian firms are currently under consideration by Soviet government agencies. It seems that the idea of bilateral co-operation in defence industry conversion is a very promising one.

Both countries are working intensively to draft about two dozen new inter-governmental agreements which are to be signed during Mikhail Gorbachev's sojourn in Rome. They will substantially consolidate the legal and contractual base of Soviet-Italian co-operation. What is more, co-operation between the two countries may spread into areas where the Soviet Union has never worked with any of its foreign partners before.

Thus, even at the preparatory stage, one can discern possible results of the forthcoming Soviet-Italian summit. One may hope that it will make it possible to elevate bilateral relations to a qualitatively new level which would be in consonance with present-day realities. Such hopes are all the more justified since in recent years the Soviet Union and Italy have forcefully reaffirmed their desire to develop bilateral contacts and co-operation. Another important factor in this respect is Italy's predominantly positive attitude to Soviet perestroika which is regarded as a long-term factor contributing to the improvement of the international situation. □

Supreme Soviet delegation in Japan

THE Supreme Soviet delegation, led by Politburo member Alexander Yakovlev, began its working day with a visit to the Japanese Parliament where it met Chairman of the House of Representatives Hadzime Tamura and Chairman of the Chamber of Counselors Iosihiko Tsutiya.

In meaningful conversations, attended by influential members of both chambers, representing both the ruling Liberal-Democratic as well as opposition parties of Japan, Yakovlev described the activities of the Soviet Parliament, perestroika in the Soviet Union and the substance of its present stage. Much attention was given to the development of inter-parliamentary links between the USSR and Japan as an important component of bilateral relations in which the changes for the better are increasingly felt.

The chairmen of the Japanese chambers of parliament pointed out that people in Japan followed with great interest the progress of perestroika in the USSR. They stressed the importance of the policy of new thinking for the betterment of East-West relations, easing of tensions and safeguarding peace and security in the world.

On the same day the delegation met the Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu. A conversation was held in a business-like and constructive spirit and touched on the various aspects of Soviet-Japanese relations. International problems of mutual interest were also raised. Toshiki Kaifu said the Japanese Government attaches major significance to improving relations with the Soviet Union and favours their balanced development.

For his part, Yakovlev said that the Soviet

side regards the Japanese position as constructive and intends to pursue the course of lending further dynamism to Soviet-Japanese relations so as to open a new chapter in these relations in accordance with the existing agreement. The need to impart this character to the bilateral relations is dictated both by the national interests of the two countries and by the wider objectives of safeguarding security and stability in the world and above all in our common home — the Asia-Pacific region.

The delegation met the Japanese Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama. Expressing their satisfaction with the positive changes in the world, which have also influenced relations between the two countries, both sides agreed that much was still to be done so that the quality and scope of Soviet-Japanese relations could fully match the USSR's and Japan's places and roles in the modern world. The further development of the political dialogue is called upon to play a major role in this. Now when the tentative time for the summit visit to Japan has been determined, it is necessary to get down to practical preparations for the visit and to build further Soviet-Japanese contacts from this position.

The Soviet parliamentary delegation also met the General Secretary of the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party Itiro Odzawa.

In the evening a reception was given on behalf of the chairmen of the two chambers of parliament in honour of Soviet legislators.

Greeting the Soviet delegation, Hadzime Tamura said among other things: "We hope that the visit of President Gorbachev to Japan, scheduled for 1991, will lead to a rapid development of Japanese-Soviet relations and will be epoch-making in the history of the two countries. We are also confident that the present visit of the

(continued on page 390)

The 'Berlin Wall' – TASS comment

By Yuri Kornilov, TASS political analyst:

THE GDR Government's decision to allow its citizens to travel abroad through control posts along the entire length of its border with the FRG and West Berlin has captured the spotlight of international attention.

"The Berlin Wall still stands, but it has lost its significance, the Paris *Les Echos* points out. The London BBC says that an end has come to the Berlin Wall, and the *New York Times* believes the Berlin Wall is crumbling. Such are the comments of foreign mass media.

"What is the Soviet Union's attitude to all this?" the NBC television network inquires.

The question is rhetorical. It would seem perfectly obvious that our country – the initiator of the new political thinking and of fundamentally new approaches to international affairs, the initiator of openness and democratisation in international relations – supports the GDR Government's steps. They facilitate the building of a common European home.

Fully in keeping with the spirit and letter of the Vienna agreement, these steps contribute to the strengthening of mutual contacts and relations, to the deepening of the ongoing dialogue, to the strengthening of mutual confidence and to the improvement of the political climate.

In short, the pulling down of the Berlin Wall, which has symbolised the division of Europe for many long years, is surely a positive and important fact. It demonstrates that the GDR leadership is resolved to continue its course of renovation and its in-depth reforms, designed to make

socialism politically democratic.

This is how the GDR Government's decision is assessed by most international press organs. We cannot overlook, however, some Western comments presenting the case in quite another light. Take, for instance, today's issue of the British *Guardian*. It claims that the new exit rules, announced in the GDR, call in question the existence of a border between the two Germanies and signify a dramatic recarving of post-war Europe's political map.

Those are very strange arguments. True, the Berlin Wall no longer isolates GDR citizens from the Western world. True, the GDR is living through a stormy process of renovation. It is unfolding towards the outside world. This process meets the spirit and letter of the Helsinki Final Act and the Vienna agreements. But in neither Helsinki nor Vienna was the question raised of abolishing or recarving state borders. On the contrary, the leaders of different European countries stressed the immutability of post-war Europe's borders.

Consequently, modification of the border regime, established by previous GDR authorities, does not mean that state borders are being abolished. Berlin remains today, as before, the capital of the GDR. West Berlin remains, as it was, a special political entity.

Freedom of movement does not involve the abolition of attributes typical of any state border – customs laws and rules. What are the grounds then for allegations of the sort published in the *Guardian*?

They could have been neglected, of course, if

they were an exception. But it is well known that the possibility of 'recarving' Europe's political map is being discussed these days in different Western newspapers and different Western political forums.

One gets the impression that today, when the GDR is living through a crucial period of its history, some people in the West are eager to 'channel' the events into a definite, pre-set rut.

In this connection it is pertinent to recall Egon Krenz's recent statement at the SUPG plenary meeting. The GDR leader stressed that the reasonable coexistence of two sovereign German states and the predictability of relations between them were inalienable prerequisites for stability in Europe.

It is also relevant to recall the recent government statement made by Walter Momper, the Burgomaster of West Berlin. He pointed out that the German issue should not be a stumbling block on the way to a peaceful European order.

Noting that this process should not be deliberately camouflaged by a reunification debate, leading into a blind alley, Momper said that a "European partnership ensuring security and establishing an all-European peaceful order" remains the principal goal.

Europe has lived for two days without the Berlin Wall. This is a tangible result of the restructuring process going on in the GDR, an important step towards a "Europe of partnership". Yes, precisely towards a "Europe of partnership" and not towards a Europe of "recarved borders". . .

(Moscow, November 10)

First reading of Soviet Bill on travel abroad

A BILL on travel abroad approved by the Soviet Parliament after its first reading on November 13 brings Soviet legislation into accord with the Vienna agreements and will help remove the last vestiges of 'the Iron Curtain'.

Presenting the bill to Parliament, Anatoli Kovalev, First Deputy Foreign Minister, noted that a great deal has already been done in the Soviet Union towards the implementation of the Vienna Accords related to exit and entry.

Applications of citizens for visits abroad on private business will now be considered within a shorter period of time. Formalities have been simplified. Applications from many people who had earlier been denied permission to travel, have been reconsidered.

The speaker noted that the bill contains a number of standards that had earlier been absent from Soviet legislation. Restrictions for tra-

vel for state security considerations should not be for more than five years.

Citizens will be informed of such restrictions when applying for jobs. In contrast with the rules operating now, relatives of citizens wishing to leave for permanent residence abroad will not have "the right of veto".

Only arrears in the payment of alimony can obstruct the procedure for granting exit permission.

Soviet citizens can leave for permanent residence abroad only if a foreign state agrees to accept them. This provision protects the interests of Soviet people, as Western countries become less ready to accept new arrivals.

In this connection Kovalev recalled that a similar provision had been registered in the final document of the Vienna meeting on the insistence of the United States, Canada and a number of other Western countries.

Although the bill is revolutionary for Soviet society (some journalists even regard it as radical as the new rules for exit introduced recently in the German Democratic Republic), some parliamentarians are still not satisfied.

Some even proposed the lifting of restrictions on state security grounds on entry into the USSR.

Nevertheless, it has been decided to discuss each of these proposals once again when the document is refined in parliamentary committees and commissions.

Problems not associated with the text of the bill have also been discussed. Deputies predict that the number of people leaving the USSR to travel abroad will increase dramatically.

Consequently, there is a need to enlarge the apparatus of the agency issuing passports for travel abroad, to introduce new flights and trains and, what is particularly taxing in view of the country's present economic situation, to accumulate currency to be exchanged. □

USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman on events in GDR

"THE very important decisions" made by the plenum of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany "should be viewed in connection with the renewal of socialism in the GDR announced by the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany," USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadi Gerasimov told a briefing in Moscow on November 9.

He said these decisions are called upon to ensure the implementation of this course.

Gerasimov answered numerous questions connected with events in the GDR from reporters. He remarked that events in the GDR are an internal affair of the republic. He added, however, that the USSR is following these events.

The GDR is an "important, one might say, strategically" of the USSR, the spokesman said.

Commenting on deliberations in the Western press about the possible reunification of Germany, he said, specifically, that this matter "cannot be viewed apart from the overall situation in Europe, which is, as of yet, split into two alliances." He appraised the deliberations in the press as an "preoccupation not related to practical policy."

If we remain on real ground, any unification of Germany is out of the question now, the Soviet diplomat said. □

(continued from page 389)

Soviet parliamentary delegations will permit making a new step towards establishment of friendship between the two countries."

In his statement in response Yakovlev said that it is five years since the previous visit by Soviet legislators to Japan, but this present delegation is from the new Soviet Parliament. Five years is no short period by the present yardsticks. In the life of the Soviet Union and of the whole world this period has been marked by serious and historic changes. □

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Soviet General's interview with Austrian magazine

General of the Army Vladimir Lobov, Chief of Staff, Allied Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation member-countries, replies to questions put by the Austrian news magazine Wochenpress.

WOCHENPRESSE: It is alleged in NATO that the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact have become stronger due to the fielding of new types of weapons and the inclusion of integrated formations in their structure, despite the reduction in the absolute numbers of servicemen and weapons systems?

VLADIMIR LOBOV: I cannot agree with that. Those who make such allegations put much – if not actually everything upside down. Military development in the Warsaw Treaty Organisation (WTO) member-countries proceeds in accordance with the defensive character of their military doctrines. This means a radical change in the orientation of operational and combat training of forces and their headquarters, as well as in criteria used to determine their efficiency. The command and personnel structure of the forces is also changing. All these changes are made on the basis of the concept of reasonable sufficiency for defence.

The reduction of forces and armaments is one of the changes I am speaking about. One can hardly prove that the Warsaw Treaty Organisation's military might is growing in consequence of it. The reverse is true. Make your own judgement: over two years our armed forces will be reduced by a number equal to 70 per cent of the Bundeswehr's strength (not counting cuts in troops stationed in the eastern and some other regions of the USSR).

Or take another fact. The number of tanks in the command structure of all-arms formations and units is being reduced by 20 to 40 per cent. A considerable number of tanks due for reduction are those of the latest models. They are either destroyed or modified to serve as heavy-duty tractors in the national economy or as simulators.

All that leads to a definite decrease in combat power of the armed forces of the WTO member-countries both in qualitative and quantitative terms. But, naturally, there is a level below which we must never go – a level giving us absolute confidence that an aggression against any country of our alliance will be repelled.

Will financial inputs of the allied countries change in accordance with structural changes in the Warsaw Pact's Armed Forces?

The WTO member-countries are reducing their military expenditures in parallel with cuts in their armed forces and armaments. It would be logical to assume, therefore, that the reduction will also apply to the funding of joint military activity of the allies.

Are there any fears as regards unity of the Warsaw Pact, especially in view of current processes in socialist countries? What will consequences be should one of the member-states wish to withdraw from the alliance?

I have always believed that the people of each country should decide its future on their own. Intervention from outside is impermissible. It is from this standpoint that I regard the process of socialist renewal in several countries of the socialist community and deep-running changes in their domestic and foreign policies.

Such a process has its special characteristics in each country. This is only natural and there is nothing bad in it. The time of feigned outward unanimity has passed. In my view, however, the thing that really matters is that socialist countries have a common political will for mutual understanding and interaction. They are uni-

mous in their approach to key problems of the world.

New realities of life in the socialist countries, in Europe and worldwide are making it essential to transform our alliance from a military-political one into a politico-military organisation.

As for the consequences of a possible withdrawal of one or another country from the Warsaw Treaty organisation, they may be, in my opinion, much more serious that it may seem at first glance. The most important thing that such a move will upset Europe's geopolitical stability which serves as a foundation for European security. I also believe that a country which decides to withdraw from the organisation will find it notably more difficult to become integrated into the system of economic links existing on our continent and in the world than if it remains a member of the alliance. Moreover, membership in the Warsaw Treaty Organisation is of great importance for domestic development.

President Gorbachev said at the UN that tanks and other heavy armaments due for withdrawal from Europe will be destroyed. However, Western media organisations report that they are simply being mothballed. What can you say on that matter?

I can only repeat what I already told you. A part (5,000) of the total number of tanks withdrawn from Europe is being destroyed, while the other part – also 5,000 – is being modified for civilian needs and for use as simulators. If someone doubts it, I would suggest that such people visit Soviet steel mills where arms are literally being beaten into ploughshares.

Are WTO forces still being trained in counter-attack operations during manoeuvres? If yes, what is the difference between an attack and counterattack in a war game? Are there plans, if at all, to give up this type of manoeuvres altogether?

I guess as long as armies exist soldiers must know how to fight in offensive and defensive operations. This is why they should be trained in that too.

What purpose such skills serve is just another matter. If they serve aggressive and expansionist purposes, they should be condemned. But if they serve defensive purposes, who can reproach a soldier for acting in a decisive and bold manner and using all combat means and techniques, including counterattacks, in the process of repelling aggression? You will agree that defence is not sufficient for ousting the aggressor from the territory of one's own country.

Such an approach defines the orientation of training of the WTO Armed Forces. The main place in it belongs to defence – on a strategic, operational and tactical scale. But this does not mean that the aggressor will be allowed to seize initiative. This is why the organisation and execution of counteroffensive operations and counterattacks is an important element in the training of HQs and troops.

What role is assigned to Austria in military planning of the Warsaw Pact?

We highly appreciate the status of permanent neutrality assumed by the Republic of Austria. It is without a doubt an important factor of European stability.

At the same time we cannot but feel concerned at the pronounced tilt in Austria's military and political course. Surely, Austria in and of itself does not pose a threat to any WTO country. However, its possible movement in the direction of NATO and in the direction of build-

ing up the Landwehr's combat power cannot be disregarded by us.

Do you think that Austria – if it relies on its neutrality – will manage to avoid being drawn into a European war, if such a conventional war breaks out?

Generally speaking, I think that neither a conventional nor a nuclear war should be allowed to break out in Europe. Both the WTO and NATO should do everything possible to preclude it.

But if we assume the worst, in my view, even a conventional war may well become the last one in the history of Europe. Destruction of water management projects, nuclear power plants, nuclear and chemical industry facilities will have disastrous consequences even for those countries which will not be directly involved in an armed conflict.

Does such a country as Austria need a strong army to defend its neutrality, should it be threatened? Can an army – any army – at present do without guided types of weapons, at least defensive ones?

It is up to the people of Austria and no one else to decide which army the country should have. We proceed from the premise that Austria will abide by its commitments under the 1955 State Treaty. □

Soviet military specialist visit

A GROUP of officers from the Gagarin Air Force Academy headed by the academy's chief, Colonel-General of the Air Force Boris Korolkov, arrived in Great Britain on November 13. They will spend several days in Great Britain to study methods of training officers at the Royal Air Force colleges in Bracknell and Cranwell.

The Soviet delegation's visit is in reply to a visit by a Royal Air group to the USSR. British military specialists were familiarising themselves with the work of the Gagarin Academy last July.

Air Vice-Marshal Sandie Hunter of the Royal Air Force, head of the Bracknell College, said in an interview with TASS that this is a new form of Soviet-British ties which is important from the professional viewpoint and helps enhance confidence between the countries. □

Address by
**Mikhail
GORBACHEV**
at the Meeting
to Mark
the 40th
Anniversary
of the
German
Democratic
Republic
Berlin, October 6, 1989

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Soviet spokesman on El Salvador settlement

THE Soviet Union favours a peaceful political settlement to the Central American conflict. It will continue to assist in the search for a solution to the crisis in the region and in El Salvador in particular, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said on November 13.

He was commenting on the latest developments in that country where, judging by the latest reports, the political situation and hostilities between the opposing sides have come to a head. There are reports of the shelling of densely populated residential areas in San Salvador, and other cities.

A state of siege and a curfew have been imposed and constitutional guarantees of civil liberties have been suspended.

Behind this is a difficult situation, which has characterised life in El Salvador for many years, the spokesman said.

But whatever the underlying causes of the current rise in violence, it will, given the actual alignment of forces in the country, give no ad-

vantage to any of the opposing sides and only take a heavier toll of human life.

One can see that these developments are also capable of frustrating the incipient negotiating process and hopes for a peaceful political settlement, generated by the recent meetings between Salvadoran government officials and the rebels in Mexico and Costa Rica.

In the present situation, fraught with the most serious consequences for a peace settlement in El Salvador and Central America as a whole, the opposing sides must exercise special restraint and reason, give up attempts to 'outplay' one another, strive for a reasonable compromise, having the interests of the Salvadoran people in mind.

The Soviet spokesman said that in these conditions all members of the international community, above all the parties directly involved in the Central American settlement and states with interests in the region, have to show maximum restraint in assessments and actions so as to prevent extra complicating elements from being introduced into the situation. □

Pravda comments on East-West relations

REPORTS on the forthcoming summit between Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush have evoked lively interest throughout the world and have brought the urgent issues of world politics into the limelight, Pravda's political analyst Vitali Korionov writes on November 14.

The meeting between the leaders of the two superpowers will take place at a very responsible time. International relations are at a turning point. Inter-governmental ties are gradually emerging from a period of confrontation and entering a stage of mutual understanding and co-operation.

The international community is now closely following the West's attitude to changes in the USSR and other European socialist countries, the analyst notes. Indeed, these changes have transcended the boundaries of the socialist world and have become a major international factor.

Realities of life put new tasks before people who chose the socialist path. New forms and methods have to be found to tackle these tasks.

But some people would like to exploit these changes for their own benefit. Some forces in

Western countries, including West Germany, are dizzy with the latest developments in the German Democratic Republic, Poland and Hungary.

It is easy to guess the fatal aftermaths of any an attempt to challenge the post-war agreements on the peaceful settlement in Europe and to abandon the spirit and letter of the Helsinki Final Act.

Even now there are those who would like to discuss the so-called German question. They would like to create mayhem by attempting to begin a reckless gamble with Europe's destiny.

Korionov stresses that it will be a great mistake for outsiders to try to interfere in the affairs of nations seeking to solve their domestic problems.

On the other hand, great wisdom is displayed by those statesmen and politicians in the non-socialist world who think that perestroika in the USSR accords with the West's interests. □

Shevardnadze's letter to US Secretary of State

G.P. TARASOV, senior aide to the Soviet Foreign Minister, special Soviet envoy on the Middle East, conveyed Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's letter to US Secretary of State James Baker at a meeting with Dennis Ross, State Department Political Planning Group Director, on November 13.

In the discussion that followed, the two diplomats focused on the settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Tarasov called for a comprehensive solution of the regional conflict with the participation of all interested sides on the basis of a balance of interests - including Arabs, Palestinians and Israelis.

The United Nations was cited as playing a key role in any long-lasting settlement.

Diverse peace efforts toward the resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the beginning of a genuine peace process are aimed at preparing for an international Middle East conference. □

Literaturnaya Gazeta to be published in English

THE influential Soviet literary weekly *Literaturnaya Gazeta* will now be published in English, journalists were told in Moscow on November 13.

The editorial staff of the paper have teamed up with the American Ansat Company to produce the paper.

General director of the joint venture Yuri Izyumov emphasised that the newspaper will not be a mere translation of the Russian edition. The English edition of *Literaturnaya Gazeta* will include translations of the best Russian articles and material written especially for the *Literature Gazette International*.

Izyumov said the *Literature Gazette International* will contain not only political commentaries but also commercial information about the Soviet Union of interest to businessmen.

The idea of starting a joint venture occurred more than a year ago during President Ronald Reagan's visit to the Soviet Union.

President of the Ansat Company David Pales believes that the English edition of *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, which is extremely popular in the Soviet Union, will also be successful in the United States and Great Britain, because many universities, public organisations, firms and private individuals have already expressed their wish to subscribe.

Readers of the first issue will be treated to a feature story about Soviet Prime Minister Nikolai Ryzhkov by Izyumov, an interview with Andrei Sakharov, articles by Arkadi Vaxberg and Yuri Shekochikhin.

The 20,000 copies of the first issue, which have already been printed in Moscow, will go to the United States. Some will stay in the Soviet Union where they will be sold for hard currency. Future issues will be printed by American and British publishing firms.

The *Literature Gazette International* will be issued once a fortnight in the United States and once a month in Great Britain. □

Pravda mourns the passing of La Pasionaria

IN view of the death of Dolores Ibarruri, leader of the Spanish Communist Party, the November 14 issue of *Pravda* carries an article about the life of this prominent figure of the Spanish and international communist and working class movement.

People all over the world knew Ibarruri as a distinguished and active participant in the peace movement and as promoter of friendship and peace among all nations, the article says.

Her tireless activities were marked by the Lenin International Prize for the strengthening of peace among nations, *Pravda* points out.

Ibarruri, who lived in the Soviet Union for many years, was a great and true friend of the USSR and Soviet people and was highly respected and loved by them, the newspaper emphasises. □

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