

## Mikhail Gorbachev's address to the Presidential Council

Here follows the full text of the speech that Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev delivered at the first meeting of the Presidential Council of the USSR on March 27:

I  
Comrades,

We have a special day today. The first meeting of the Presidential Council symbolises our new statehood, a new stage in transformations resulting from perestroika, and one can say, in national history.

I have thought about the form in which the first meeting should be held. We should apparently exchange opinions and appraise the processes and the situation in the country. We should establish priorities.

First, considerations of a principled nature.

In implementing perestroika's policies, we have firmly started to democratise society and establish people's power from bottom to top.

Life shows that we have made the right choice. Democratisation and glasnost created the appropriate conditions for shaping and implementing progressive policies aimed at the renewal, one can say, revival of our society on the principles proclaimed in October 1917.

I am convinced that in the long run the success of perestroika can be ensured by consistently implementing a policy that develops and deepens democratic processes in our society. This refers to the economy, to the sphere of politics, to the social sphere, inter-ethnic relations, and so on.

It is in this context that the establishment of the Soviet Socialist Presidency should be viewed. This is not the revival of personal power in a new form.

The presidency is an important instrument for the protection and development of democracy on the road to the humanisation of society, the assertion of the liberties and dignity of the individual. It will serve in the interests of the people.

At the same time, the extent to which society is civilised, free and democratic can be measured by the degree to which it holds every man responsible to himself and to other people in moral, legal, economic and other areas.

### IN THIS ISSUE

President Gorbachev's appeal to the Lithuanian people ..... p111

Presidential Council members..... p112

Anatoli Lukyanov gives interview to Pravda ..... p114

Soviet Parliament in session..... p115

A German key to European security?..... p116

In short, all of our activity must promote the steady enhancement of social responsibility.

This is one of the vital tasks of the President's activity. The institute of Presidency was introduced at a difficult time in the country's development. Our society is passing a historic milestone.

Our actions and decisions should keep abreast of the times.

Analysing recent work, we have concluded that perestroika must be radicalised. We must introduce substantial correctives in the policy, methods and pace of transformations.

I have already said at the extraordinary Third Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR, and wish to repeat now, that is not only a need for more radical transformations. This need has existed for a long time. We have also experienced a new way of organising the economic, social and political spheres of society. There are legal and economic prerequisites in the form of laws that have already been passed and legal acts that are being formulated. Our federation will be profoundly transformed on their basis.

No less important is the fact that there have been profound changes in the consciousness of the working people. An awareness of the need for renewal is growing. And, finally, the actual socio-economic life and tension in society also necessitate speedier changes.

All this creates an absolutely new situation and opens new opportunities for policy and practical actions.

It can be said that society is unquiet and unstable. Order and discipline have slackened, inter-ethnic relations have become exacerbated. People experienced a lot of difficulties and disappointments and want a quicker solution to problems and a calm and normal atmosphere.

It is justifiable in these conditions to advance the further radicalisation of perestroika, of social transformations?

There is no denying that there are people who are gripped with nostalgia and who suggested back-tracking, returning to the period of stagnation and even the one that preceded stagnation. These are, certainly, dangerous prescriptions. We would make a gross blunder in policy and doom the country and people to new tragic trials, if we followed these suggestions. This must be said firmly and resolutely.

The solutions to problems and answers to emerging questions should be sought on the way forward, not backward. The advance should be increasingly decisive.

We must remain aware of the confusion that reigns in people's minds.

Correct assessments are the main thing. No truly revolutionary changes can be made without a struggle. On the one hand, all the inertia, everything conservative that has accumulated during the epoch of authoritarianism, during the rule of the administrative-command system, fiercely resists removal.

On the other, we come up against the impatience of those who would like to see tomorrow, if not today, the flourishing of a new life, the triumph of social justice, freedom, democracy,

material well-being and spiritual liberation.

In a human way, one can understand this, but real policies cannot be built on this. Impatience often results in extremism and destruction, which can affect the economy, democratic structures and ethnic relations.

If we want to accelerate social progress in the country – and we do – we can take only one road: the comprehensive stimulation of each individual's initiative and sense of responsibility, the emancipation of man and society, and the thought-out and balanced removal of everything that impedes the implementation of these tasks, while maintaining previously built foundation of social stability and culture.

Our perestroika is a revolution, but a special revolution. This is the first really large-scale peaceful social revolution in history.

One of the main tasks of our society, which is breaking old societal structures in a revolutionary way, is to stay on the non-violent road and to create insurmountable obstacles against forces pushing for confrontation, internecine war, mutual intolerance and ethnic strife.

It is important that everyone understands that the realistic forces of society must be consolidated in order to ensure perestroika's success.

If we understand this and implement this understanding into practical deeds, we will take an unprecedented step in civilisation's history. Our perestroika can become the beginning of an epoch of non-violent, bloodless social transformations.

However, the distance between a plan and its implementation is great and difficult to span.

But I am inspired by the fact that the present generation, learning lessons from the past and correctly assessing current realities, have mustered sufficient strength to assume responsibility for the fundamentally new socio-historic solution, despite the immense political, economic and psychological difficulties lying in store for us.

It is during this tremendously difficult time that the presidential power is entering into effect. Of course, it is no panacea and one cannot expect some supernatural, unbelievable results from it – there must be no illusions on that score.

But it gives society the possibility of achieving nationwide accord on new conditions and at a new level.

Assuming the presidential duties, I am well aware of the difficulty of this historic period, the scope and acuteness of problems that have accumulated in society, and my personal responsibility stemming from this.

I would like to share some considerations on immediate practical steps to implement perestroika and to accelerate social transformations.

### II

I think our immediate tasks include the comprehensive analysis of the state of our economy and the elaboration of specific measures to radicalise the economic reform.

We took a responsible approach to the work on the guidelines of the economic reform – we



had many discussions and consulted economic managers, scientists and work collectives.

We also took practical steps, above all, in transferring industries to work on the principles of cost-accounting and self-financing and developing the co-operative movement, the lease system and other new forms of economic life.

Yet, we have failed to implement the whole complex of measures. Economic levers are actually not used. This refers, above all, to price-formation, banks, the monetary-financial and taxation systems.

The lack of economic levers and the existing monopolisation, even super-monopolisation, of our economy have made the rights that we delegated to enterprises lead to serious imbalances in the income, investment and price policies and to the disorganisation of the market.

There are also imbalances in the co-operative movement although the latter has an immense positive potential.

In short, mechanisms of sound competition have failed to work. Direct ties are mostly of a pre-market, natural character. Commodity-and-money relations are not developing.

We do not have a normal market. In the generally-accepted sense of the word. This impedes the reform and has an effect on the general state of affairs in the economy and on the provision of the population with consumer goods.

It is the failure to solve economic problems that is the cause of the social and, to a considerable extent, ethnic tension. It also provides favourable conditions for the flourishing of the shadow economy and the speculation in scarce goods.

We always emphasised the importance of interest as the driving force of development and of the meeting of man's requirements.

But now interests are often manifest in destructive forms. As a result, labour productivity remains unchanged, while wages are growing.

Many factories do not work at full capacity, facilities are used inefficiently. Yet this in no way affects the economic position of enterprises and work collectives.

In many cases, economic mismanagement, far from diminishing, is even growing. All these losses are covered by the artificial price inflation which is possible due to the monopoly position of enterprises and to the availability of low-interest credits.

Ultimately, all this leads to the emission of more money and to discrepancy between the growth of the mass of commodities and money incomes.

Inflationary processes are growing in the country, threatening to put the economy out of control. We cannot leave it in such a state. We must say frankly that the existing mechanism of the economic reform needs to be radically corrected and completed.

We need measures that would help us overcome temporary difficulties and make the economy work at full capacity – on the basis of interest, the development of business activity and the formation of a normal, fully-fledged market for the just exchange of commodities and for the development of sound competition stimulating highly productive labour, scientific and technical progress and the production of high-quality goods.

If someone thinks that all this can be done under compulsion, pressure, by intimidation and other outdated methods, this is a harmful illusion. I think we need measures now to effect drastic changes in the management sphere, encourage joint stock and elaborate anti-monopoly legislation. We also need effective anti-inflation measures, to name but a few necessary measures.

The land reform is a special issue. We should become aware that the adoption of the law on land is a major turn in the agrarian policy.

We need to create the necessary conditions to enable the huge creative potential inherent in

this law to work at full tilt and the farmer to gain confidence that from now on and forever he is the complete master of the land.

It is obvious that new approaches and decisive steps in the economy are needed today. Their essence can be formulated concisely as a controlled transition to market relations. This calls, above all, for transforming the monetary and financial systems, switching to new relations between enterprises and banks, based on mutual interest and benefit. We need to pass more rapidly to a deficit-free state budget and to a reorganised price-setting system.

Looking at things realistically, we can say that state property will continue to prevail, but opportunities inherent in it should be tapped by using diverse and flexible forms of management coupled with the rational development of small-size enterprises on the basis of co-operation, family enterprise, and collaborative efforts with foreign firms and banks.

Transition to the market should involve the renunciation of all possible forms of fund allocation, rationing, barter exchange and distribution – everything that makes up the basis of real power by the command apparatus.

We really need to replace 'centralised' management based on barter and rationing with a true financial centralism, combining state control over macro-proportions with economic independence and the initiative of enterprises and citizens, which is implemented within the framework of their market equality and partnership.

A breakthrough towards satisfying human needs and improving the people's life seems possible only on this path. Moves to enhance social protection, primarily of small-income segments, must be prioritised in the package of measures.

In emphasising the urgency of this task, we need, however, to point out that protection should not allow encouragement of sponging and irresponsibility. Payment according to labour should underlie social justice.

In my estimation, we are at a critical point that calls for well-considered decisions. I propose to devote the next meeting of the Presidential Council to the discussion of these issues. We cannot drag our feet at this time. Instructions on this score have already been made and comrades say that in 10 to 15 days we can discuss these proposals in principle and in practical terms. Let us agree about this today.

### III

The economy is our number one practical task. But we cannot hope for successful economic transformations without implementing political reform, just as it is difficult to hope for a success in the political field without economic reform.

Elections have just been held in our country. The power of the people is asserting itself. The real and comprehensive transition of power to the soviets is taking place these days, weeks and months.

But, in my view, the importance of this turn in society has not been fully comprehended. Essentially, local soviets are now taking on responsibility for absolutely all matters concerning man's life. These are housing and food, health care and education, commerce, law and order.

As President, I see two key elements here. First, the passage and adoption in the Supreme Soviet of a law on local self-government, which would give all necessary powers to local bodies, needs to be accelerated.

Then we can hope that the renewed pool of deputies of local soviets will be able to accomplish a good deal and, without losing a single day, will join in the work to address matters, will take upon themselves the responsibility for resolving ripe problems and developing solutions to long-term problems.

The efficiency of the work of local soviets will largely depend on how soon and at what level a

competent apparatus will be formed.

Another important element. The soviets will be able to begin work rapidly and effectively if they find active support on the part of the Supreme Soviet, the government and, certainly, the newly formed executive presidency.

The Presidential Council should regard this support as its important task. On the other hand, no mechanism of implementing presidential decisions is more comprehensive and reliable than the soviets, their chairmen and executive committees. Everything is clear here. And although work ahead is enormous, it should be accomplished within the short term.

This is not all. Soviets should be pooling their efforts to begin the facelifting of the social aspects in the countryside.

In this case they will need assistance from cities, collectives of industrial enterprises, and at the present stage – impressive support for and due attention to this questions from central authorities.

To be more specific, we need to implement a large-scale programme to build housing, as well as cultural and service establishments in the countryside. We must construct roads and resolve issues concerning the storage and processing of agricultural produce.

Despite the importance of our work until now, this has not satisfied farmers and society as a whole. In a word, the presidential council should pay special attention to the unconditional implementation of the law on land and other decisions pertaining to the sweeping land reform.

The radical transformation of our federation on the basis of a union treaty is a priority among domestic political issues. I believe this is so important that there is no need to argue in favour of it.

Life and processes we are encountering in Transcaucasia, the Baltic republics, especially in Lithuania, and other regions necessitate the urgent examination and settlement of appropriate issues.

For this purpose I plan to hold a federation council meeting even this week.

The President and, naturally, the Presidential Council should focus activities on the observance of laws. We shall not make further headway in reforms or in democratic development if legal nihilism reigns supreme in society.

At today's meeting of the Presidential Council, I would like to emphasise the local soviets' responsibility for implementing new forms of management. The legislation, which is in force in the country, gives extensive rights to the soviets as regards the co-operative movement. How and on what foundation it will be further developed largely hinges on their position and practical work.

On the one hand, the scope of the co-operative movement does not satisfy us, and on the other, some miscalculations were made at the initial stage, which brought about imbalances and negative phenomena in the activity of some co-operatives. There is a large field of activity here and high responsibility before the people.

The soviets bear huge responsibility for carrying through the land reform. We have trodden a long path to it, encountering great difficulties and overcoming resistance. An uneasy quest was under way in society for our further approaches to agriculture and how to build a new agrarian policy.

But even now that the law on land, a programme law opening ample opportunities for transforming the countryside, was adopted, I am not sure that things will go fast and without difficulties.

Soviets must show power here and with their authority support the land reform. In choosing forms of management, all farmers should find in them reliable guarantors and assistants in this new and not easy matter.

As the Soviet President, I intend to make the

(continued on next page)



# President Gorbachev's appeal to the Lithuanian people

*Here follows the text of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's appeal to the Lithuanian people:*

Dear Citizens of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic,

I am addressing you at a difficult time for our country. The March 11 decisions of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet have brought us to a critical point.

The attempts being taken by the incumbent Lithuanian leadership to break the republic's ties with the Soviet Union and its tactics of unilateral and ultimative actions endanger the normal life and security of all people in the republic, Lithuanians and non-Lithuanians, and are a cause of grave concern in the country.

Is it normal when amendments to the Constitution, resolving the destiny of the republic and its people and concerning the interests of the entire country, are adopted in haste, without consultations and discussions, actually within one night?

The Third Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR urged the Supreme Soviet of the republic to renounce political recklessness. The Lithuanian leadership responded to this appeal for common sense with the escalation of irresponsible and illegitimate decisions.

This counterposes Lithuania to other constituent republics and the whole of the Soviet Union and undermines the historically established ties and co-operation between our peoples.

The actions being taken in Lithuania have no logical foundation. They are being taken at a time when we have begun to resolve vital issues of the Soviet federation on a really democratic basis.

What is our position? It is the sincere adhe-

rence to the ideas of the free and original development of all peoples of our country, and respect for their legitimate rights to self-determination and sovereignty. This fully refers to the Lithuanian people, too.

Now attempts are being made to convince you that genuine sovereignty within the Soviet Union, without breaking away from it, is impossible. Simultaneously, old grudges are being purposefully kindled and the dark sides of joint life are being emphasised.

Indeed, our past includes many things that we are mutually rejecting. And this refers not only to the Lithuanian people. But no one can say that in the years of perestroika any people in our country has been deliberately elevated or purposefully humiliated.

We have for years lived in one home. Does the past deserve only bad words? Have Lithuanian literature and poetry, theatre and cinema, music and architecture, education and sports faded and got lost in the multicoloured Soviet culture?

Was it not in the mutual work and with the fraternal aid from other republics that your industry and agriculture have been developing? Did Lithuania itself not extend a helping hand to other peoples in times of trouble?

Did Lithuanian citizens not support the USSR Constitution, by which Lithuania abided for years honestly and strictly as a fully-fledged republic?

The incumbent Lithuanian leaders are trying to convince you that their separatist actions will not affect the economic, scientific, technical and other ties with the other republics of the USSR.

But this is not so, because all these ties can develop normally and yield fruits only in a fa-

vourable atmosphere of confidence and mutual assistance and not in the situation of confrontation, ultimatums, disrespect for one another and ethnic strife.

The pointed disrespect for the USSR Constitution, the challenge to Soviet laws and the non-implementation of union obligations give rise to just indignation all over the country.

The President of the USSR, the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Government are receiving numerous letters and telegrams expressing utter concern and perplexity in connection with the developments in Lithuania.

People demand that the USSR Constitution be defended and that the union be protected from the harm caused by the actions of separatists. They propose taking effective economic, political and administrative measures.

People in Byelorussia and Kaliningrad region are raising the issue of returning territories transferred to Lithuania after it joined the USSR.

In general, the situation in the republic and around it has become dramatic. If the voice of reason is not heeded now, developments can have grave consequences for all of us. We must be united in striving to prevent this.

I have appealed to the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, proposing that it immediately annul the illegal acts it has adopted. This will open a possibility for discussing the entire range of problems on the solely acceptable basis – within the framework of the USSR Constitution.

I am expressing hope that my appeal will be supported by the citizens of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic.

(Moscow, March 31)

## GORBACHEV'S ADDRESS TO PRESIDENTIAL COUNCIL

*(continued from previous page)*

observance of laws one of the key areas of my activities. I believe that we should resolutely begin with raising the responsibility of all law enforcement bodies.

It is inadmissible, comrades, that, despite the powerful and far-flung system of these bodies, we permit growth in crime, and regular violations of human rights with impunity. In fact, personal security of people and their property are put into jeopardy.

There are problems of giving more financial support to law enforcement bodies and providing them with equipment. We have started to tackle them, and we shall do this work. But, even now, they have vast potentials to ensure law and order.

Society has the right to demand that their leaders, some of them are, incidentally, members of the Presidential Council, should resolutely step up the struggle against crime.

They should not make any references to difficulties, shortcomings of perestroika and other reasons. This should be done quickly and resolutely, relying on soviets, work collectives and public organisations.

To co-ordinate the activities of law enforcement bodies at this responsible stage, we should entrust this work to the following group of Presidential Council members: Alexander Yakovlev (convocation), Vladimir Kryuchkov, Vadim Bakatin, Veniamin Yarin, enlisting executives of other law enforcement bodies.

Urgent measures do not obviate the need for continuing the current judicial and legal reform, including and updating of penal, civil and economic legislation.

In a word, we must do our utmost to create a normal and calm situation in the country when every citizen, no matter where he lives, could count on real security and efficient protection of his rights.

### IV

As for international affairs, we pursue a clear-cut policy based on the principles of new thinking, which are approved by the nation and are met with a favourable response in the world. But it would be a delusion to believe that this is the end of our endeavours, and work will be done without our efforts.

Now that changes have gained new dynamism and another dimension, many new serious problems are arising. This concerns disarmament, the European Process and our actions in Asian-Pacific and other directions.

We should also rethink questions of our co-operation with East European countries. Vital new tasks are arising in the sphere of foreign economic relations. We have a limited time to resolve them.

It is necessary to begin urgent work on many specific questions. For instance, how shall we build our economic relations with developing countries?

These questions need clear replies. Incidentally, society displays greater interest in them.

Or take the problem of exports and imports. We cannot leave, without change, a situation when the country has turned, in fact, into a supplier of raw materials and now heavily depends on food supplies.

We should clarify until what time we import great quantities of pipes and rolled stock while

being the largest producer of metal in the world.

Last but not least, the problem of transition to world prices in trade with all countries and, consequently, of transition to the rouble's convertibility.

All this is so important that I believe a mechanism for analysis, drafting proposals and control should be set up at the level of the Presidential Council.

Summing up my considerations, I see the destination of presidential power in raising the efficiency of functioning of not only the top echelon but the entire system of state power and administration.

I mean deeper division of functions and higher responsibility of each administrative unit for fulfilling its duties. Without accomplishing this, I do not believe that we shall achieve aims we set while introducing executive presidency.

I hope for active work of council members, frankness and freedom of discussion. For my part, I shall strive for this and shall do my best to maintain this atmosphere. □

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# Presidential Council members

Here follows the official biographies of members of the Presidential Council published in Moscow on March 28:

## Aitmatov, Chinghiz

Aitmatov was born in 1928 and is an ethnic Kirghiz. He has been a member of the Soviet Communist Party since 1959. He graduated from the Kirghiz Agricultural Institute and Soviet Writers' Union high literary courses.

Aitmatov is a world-class writer. Among his many novels and stories are *Jamilya*, *The White Steamer*, *Farewell*, *Gulsary*, *The Day is Longer than a Century* and *The Block*.

Aitmatov is a prominent figure and founder of the Issyk-Kul Forum, in which intellectuals, writers and scientists meet to discuss modern culture. He is a member of world and European academies.

He is the Chairman of the Board of the Kirghiz Writers' Union and editor-in-chief of the magazine *Inostrannaya Literatura* (Foreign Literature).

Aitmatov is a Soviet People's Deputy, a member of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Chairman of the Council of Nationalities Commission on Culture, Language, National and International Traditions and Historic Heritage.

He is a laureate of the Lenin and three Soviet state prizes and Hero of Socialist Labour.

## Bakatin, Vadim Viktorovich

Bakatin was born in 1937 and is an ethnic Russian. He has been a member of the Soviet Communist Party since 1964. He graduated from the Novosibirsk Engineer-Building Institute and the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences.

Bakatin began working in 1960 as a foreman with a building department of Kemerovokhimitsroi Trust. He then worked as a construction manager, chief engineer, head of a building department and chief engineer of a building works in Kemerovo.

From 1973 Bakatin worked within the Party – Second Secretary of the Kemerovo City Party Committee, head of a department and then Secretary of the Kemerovo Region Party Committee. In 1983 he became an inspector of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party. In 1985 – Kirov Region Party chief. In 1988 he was appointed Interior Minister of the USSR. He has been a member of the Central Committee since 1986.

## Boldin, Valeri Ivanovich

Valeri Boldin was born in 1935. He is Russian by nationality, he has been a member of the Soviet Communist party since 1960, a graduate of the Timiryazev Agriculture Academy, the Economic Department, and the Academy of Social Sciences under the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee. Boldin is a MA(Science) and is the author of a number of scientific papers.

He began his career in 1953 as a radio fitter at the signals section of the Moscow-Ryazan railway. In 1960 he became a literary worker at the *Pravda* editorial staff as an observer for economic affairs. Later he became an editor of the *Pravda* agricultural section and a member of the editorial board. Simultaneously he worked as a teacher on the higher economic courses under the Soviet Planning Committee.

In 1981 he became an assistant to a secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Commit-

tee and in 1985 – an assistant to the Party's General Secretary. Since 1987 Boldin has been head of the Central Committee General Department. From 1986 to 1988 he was an alternate member of the Central Committee and in 1988 he became a full member. The September 1988 plenary meeting of the Central Committee approved him as a member of the Central Committee approved him as a member of the Central Commission on Party Development and Personnel Policy.

Valeri Boldin is a People's Deputy of the USSR.

## Kauls, Albert Ernestovich

Albert Kauls, a Latvian by nationality, was born in 1938 into a worker's family in the town of Skrunda, the Kuldiga region, in Latvia. He has been a member of the Soviet Communist Party since 1960.

Kauls began his career as a worker in 195. From June to November 1957 he worked as an instructor at the Skrunda Regional Committee of the Latvian Young Communist League. From November 1957 to April 1958 he served in the Army.

After demobilisation Kauls entered the Riga Soviet Party School at the Latvian Communist Party Central and became a junior agronomist and organiser of agricultural production. He was sent to work as head of a department at the Saliena State Farm, in the Riga region. In 1963 Kauls was elected First Secretary of the Riga Committee of the Latvian Young Communist League. In 1964 he became Chairman of the Lenina Cels Collective Farm, in the Riga region. In 1970, after graduating from the Vilnius Higher Party School, he was elected Chairman of the Ezerciems Collective Farm, in the Riga region. In 1973 he became head of the Agricultural Department of the Riga region.

In 1974 he was elected Chairman of the Adaji Collective Farm and in 1986 – of the Adaji agricultural firm.

Kauls is a Candidate of Sciences (Agriculture), a corresponding member of the all-union Academy of Agricultural Sciences and a Hero of Socialist Labour.

He is a People's Deputy of the USSR.

## Kryuchkov, Vladimir Alexandrovich

Kryuchkov, an ethnic Russian, was born in 1924 in Volgograd into a worker's family. In 1949 he graduated by correspondence from the All-Union Law School and in 1954 – from the Soviet Foreign Ministry Diplomatic School. He has been a member of the Soviet Communist Party since 1944.

Kryuchkov began working in 1941. He worked as a marker at plants in Volgograd and Gorky. In 1943 he began work in the Komsomol, from 1946 to 1951 – in prosecuting bodies of the Volgograd region.

His diplomatic career began in 1954, after graduating from the Soviet Foreign Ministry Diplomatic School. From 1959, he worked with the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee first as a consultant and then as a head of a sector.

In 1965 he was appointed an aide to a secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee. For the past 23 years he held senior posts in the Soviet KGB service – in 1978 he became deputy chairman and in 1988 – Chairman of the KGB. He is an army general.

Kryuchkov has been a member of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party. Kryuchkov was elected to the Politburo.

## Maslyukov, Yuri Dmitrievich

Maslyukov, an ethnic Russian, was born in 1937 in the city of Leninabad, Tadjikistan, into a worker's family. In 1962, he graduated from the Leningrad Mechanical Institute. He has been a member of the Soviet Communist Party since 1966.

He began his working career in 1962 as an engineer, deputy department head and first deputy director – chief engineer at the institute. In 1970 he became chief engineer of a branch of the Izhevsk machine-building plant, then – chief of the main technical department – member of the Collegium and Deputy Soviet Defence Minister.

In 1982 he was appointed first Deputy Chairman of the Soviet State Planning Committee. In November 1985 he became Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, in February 1988 – First Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and Chairman of the Soviet State Planning Committee.

Maslyukov is a member of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party. At the February 1988 plenum of the Central Committee he was elected alternate member of the Politburo and at the September 1989 plenum of the Central Committee he was promoted to full Politburo member.

## Osipyan, Yuri Andreevich

Yuri Osipyan is an Academician, Doctor of Sciences (physics and mathematics), professor, Hero of Socialist Labour, Vice-President of the Soviet Academy of Sciences and Director of the Institute of Solid-state Physics under the Soviet Academy of Sciences. He was born in Moscow in 1931. Osipyan is an Armenian by nationality. He has been a member of the Soviet Communist Party since 1959.

Academician Osipyan is the author of some 150 fundamental scientific papers on a number of spheres of solid-state physics, which determined to a considerable extent modern notions and directions of the development of theoretical and applied research in the sphere of material studies. He is a winner of the Lebedev Gold Medal.

Osipyan is a major organiser of Soviet science. He is doing much to coordinate fundamental and applied research in the USSR. Osipyan has headed a department at the Moscow Physical Technical Institute, organised by him, for over 20 years. He is a member of a number of foreign academies and scientific societies.

Osipyan is a People's Deputy of the USSR.

## Primakov, Yevgeni Maksimovich

Yevgeni Primakov, an ethnic Russian, was born in 1929 and spent his childhood and youth in Tbilisi. Primakov graduated from the Moscow Institute of Oriental Studies in 1953 and from graduate school at Moscow State University in 1956. He is a Doctor of Sciences (Economy) and Academician of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. He has been a member of the Soviet Communist Party since 1959.

Primakov began his career as a correspondent for the State Committee for Radio and Television. From 1962 to 1970 he worked as a *Pravda* observer, deputy head of a department and a correspondent in the Middle East.

After 1970 he engaged in scientific work within the framework of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. He worked as Deputy Director of the



Institute of World Economy and International Relations, Director of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Director of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations and a member of the Presidium of the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

From 1986 to 1989 he was alternate member of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party and in April 1989 he became a full member. In September 1989 he was elected alternate member of the Politburo.

Primakov is a People's Deputy of the USSR. From June 1989 to March 1990 he was Chairman of the Council of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

## Rasputin, Valentin Grigorievich

Valentin Rasputin, an ethnic Russian, was born in 1937. He is not a party member. He graduated in 1959 from the Irkutsk University Department of Philology. Until 1966, he worked as a journalist on Irkutsk and Krasnoyarsk youth newspapers. In 1966, he became a professional writer.

Rasputin is a member of the Soviet Writers' Union and is a Secretary of the Board of Soviet and Russian Writers' Unions.

Among his many novels and stories are — *Money for Maria, The Last Term, Live and Remember, Farewell to Matera and Fire*.

Rasputin has been twice awarded Soviet state prizes for his literary work. He is a Hero of Socialist Labour. He is a well-known public figure and environmental activist who has taken part in campaigns to save Lake Baikal, natural resources in Siberia and the Soviet Far East.

He has been elected Soviet People's Deputy, is a member of the Committee on Environment and Rational Resources Management of the Supreme Soviet and member of the Soviet Congress of People's Deputies Mandate Commission.

## Revenko, Grigori Ivanovich

Grigori Revenko, an ethnic Ukrainian, was born in 1936. He has been a CPSU member since 1962. He graduated from the Lvov Polytechnic Institute and the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences.

He began his working career as an engineer at an Odessa refrigerating equipment plant in 1958. From 1961 he held several jobs in the Komsomol — district Komsomol chief, Secretary, Second Secretary and chief of the Odessa Regional Komsomol Committee and from 1968 — Secretary of the Ukrainian Komsomol Central Committee.

In 1972, he was appointed an inspector of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, and then — Secretary and Second Secretary of the Kiev Regional Communist Party Central Committee.

In 1980-1984 he was a member of the Presidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet and Chairman of the Ukrainian Communist Party Auditing Commission. In 1984 he began work as an inspector with the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party and deputy chief of the Organisational Department of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party.

In 1985 he became chief of the Kiev Regional Party Committee. In 1986 he became a member of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party. He is a member of the Central Committee Commission on International Policy and an alternate member of the Politburo of Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party.

He is a People's Deputy of the USSR and a member of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

## Ryzhkov, Nikolai Ivanovich

Nikolai Ryzhkov was born in 1929 in the village of Dyleyevka, in the Dzerzhinsk district of Donetsk region. He is an ethnic Russian. He gra-

duated from the Kramatorsk Machine-Building Technical School in 1950 and from the Urals Polytechnical Institute in 1959. He has been a CPSU member since 1956.

Ryzhkov began his career as a shift foreman at the Uralmash Amalgamation. Later he worked at the same plant as a department head, workshop head, chief welder, deputy director and from 1965, chief engineer. In 1970 he was appointed Director of the Urals Heavy Machinery Plant. Between 1971-1975 Ryzhkov was General Director of the Uralmash Production Amalgamation.

In 1975 he became First Deputy Minister of Heavy and Transport Engineering and in 1979 First Deputy Chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee. Between 1982 and 1985 Ryzhkov was a Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, head of the Central Committee Economic Department. Since September 1985 he has been Prime Minister of the USSR.

Ryzhkov has been a member of the Central Committee since 1981 and Politburo member since April 1985.

He is a People's Deputy of the USSR.

## Shatalin, Stanislav Sergeevich

Stanislav Shatalin was born in 1934 in the town of Pushkino, Leningrad region. He is an ethnic Russian. He graduated from the Economic Department of Moscow University. Shatalin is a Doctor of Sciences (Economics) and member of the USSR Academy of Sciences. He has been a CPSU member since 1963.

Heading large scientific collectives at the USSR Academy of Sciences, State Science and Technology Committee and Moscow State University, Shatalin has made a great impact on developing the theory of the socialist economy, and modelling and forecasting national economic processes.

Shatalin played a major role in the elaboration of the theory and methods of balancing the Soviet economy, one of the main directions of Soviet economic science's development. Shatalin was awarded a 1968 national state prize for the development of accountable and planned interbranch balances.

Shatalin actively participated in the elaboration of the comprehensive programme of scientific and technological progress of the USSR. He is Chairman of the Commission Social Programmes, People's Welfare Promotion and Cultural Development in the Soviet Union, and Chairman of the USSR Academy of Sciences Scientific Council on Social and Cultural Development. He is acting academician-secretary of the economics department of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

## Shevardnadze, Eduard Amvrosiyevich

Eduard Shevardnadze, an ethnic Georgian, was born in 1928 in the village of Mamat, Lanchkhuti district, Georgia. Shevardnadze graduated from the Kutaisi Pedagogical Institute. He has been a member of the CPSU since 1948.

In 1946 he started working in the Komsomol. In 1957 he was First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Komsomol.

In 1961 he started working in CPSU organisations — first as Mtskheta District First Secretary, and then as Tbilisi's Pervomaiski Borough First Secretary.

In 1964 he was appointed First Deputy Minister, and in 1965 Public Order Protection Minister of Georgia. In 1968 he was appointed the Interior Minister of Georgia.

In 1972 Shevardnadze was elected First Secretary of Tbilisi City Communist Party Committee. Between 1972 and 1985 Shevardnadze held the post of First secretary of the Georgian Communist Party. He has served as Soviet Foreign Minister since July 1985.

Shevardnadze has been a member of the Party Central Committee since 1976. In 1978 he became an alternate member of the Politburo and in July 1985 — a full member. He is a Hero of Socialist Labour.

## Yazov, Dmitri Timofeyevich

Dmitri Timofeyevich Yazov, an ethnic Russian, was born in 1923 in the Yazov settlement of the Okoneshnikovskiy district of Omsk region. He is a graduate of the Frunze Military Academy and the Military Academy of the Soviet Armed Forces' General Staff.

Yazov is an Army General. He joined the Soviet Army in 1941 and the Soviet Communist Party in 1944.

Yazov fought in the Second World War. After the war he was a company, battalion and regiment commander and occupied various staff positions.

Since 1967, he had been a division, army corps and army commander, the First Deputy Commander of the Far Eastern Military District, and the Commander of the Central Army Group.

In 1980 he became the commander of the Central Asian Military District and in 1984 — the Commander of the Far Eastern Military District.

In January 1987 he became Deputy Defence Minister and in May, 1987, Yazov was appointed Soviet Defence Minister.

In 1981 he became an alternate member of the CPSU Central Committee, in 1987 — a member of the Central Committee.

In June, 1987, he was elected an alternate of the Politburo.

## Yakovlev, Alexander Nikolayevich

Alexander Yakovlev, an ethnic Russian, was born in 1923 in the Korolyevo settlement of the Yaroslavl district in Yaroslavl region.

He is a graduate of the Yaroslavl State Pedagogical Institute and the Academy of Social Sciences under the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee.

Yakovlev is a Doctor of History and a corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Yakovlev fought in the Second World War from 1941 to 1943.

Yakovlev joined the Soviet Communist Party in 1944.

Since 1946, he has held various Party posts and was a journalist. Since 1953, excluding his studies at the Academy of Social Sciences between 1956 and 1960, he worked in the CPSU Central Committee's apparatus as an instructor, section head and the First Deputy of the Propaganda Department.

Between 1973 and 1983 Yakovlev was the Soviet Ambassador Plenipotentiary and Extraordinary to Canada. In 1983 he became the Director of the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of World Economy and International Relations.

In July, 1985, he was appointed head of the CPSU Central Committee's Propaganda Department. In March, 1986, he became a Central Committee Secretary.

At the plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee in September, 1988, he was appointed Chairman of the Central Committee's Commission on International Policies.

Yakovlev has written several monographs and articles on history, political science, culture and international relations.

In 1986 he became a member of the Party Central Committee. In January, 1987, he was elected an alternate member of the Politburo. In June, 1987, he became a full Politburo member.

He is now a People's Deputy of the USSR.

(continued on page 115)



# Anatoli Lukyanov gives interview to *Pravda*

THE institution of a presidential system in the Soviet Union has not changed the place and role of representative bodies – the Congress of People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. On the contrary, presidential authority will provide an opportunity to implement the decisions of representative bodies better, Chairman of Soviet Parliament Anatoli Lukyanov said in an interview published in *Pravda* on April 2.

He believes that the institution of the office of executive president in the Soviet Union introduces changes to the functioning of the top echelons of state power. But the changes mean co-operation, not rivalry, with a clear-cut separation of functions and with the maintenance of counterbalances.

The President is the state's top executive officer uniting representative and executive agencies and personifying the unity of Soviet power in the country, Lukyanov explained.

Therefore the President acts as a person entrusted with the maintenance of the high prestige of representative bodies.

Since the President acts to a large extent as the guarantor of the quality of laws being adopted as well as of their faithful implementation, presidential authority will help strengthen the powers of and the effectiveness of decisions taken by legislative bodies, Lukyanov believes.

Touching upon relationships between the President, the Supreme Soviet, and the government, Lukyanov said that with such a pattern it becomes a major function of the President to coordinate the activities of these bodies. He believes that despite differing functions these bodies will act "parallel but in the same direction."

As far as the Federation Council and the Presidential Council are concerned, "there is no overlapping of functions here," Lukyanov said. They will work to ensure the closest co-operation between Parliament and the President to radicalise reforms in all fields: economic, political and legal, he added.

"The most essential matters now facing the Supreme Soviet are those which are connected primarily with ensuring the stabilisation of society. We stand on the threshold of a multi-party system," he emphasised.

"All currents and ideas converge in the Supreme Soviet and groups of deputies are being formed. Therefore the Supreme Soviet, acting

as a body practising political pluralism in actual fact, should try to combine these movements' efforts towards one goal – perestroika.

"The second task is to ensure a proper internationalist solution to inter-ethnic relations. The third function is to raise the quality of laws and decisions being taken by the Supreme Soviet," Lukyanov said.

It is also essential for the Soviet Parliament to master its powers more fully with regard to agencies accountable to it and to monitor ways these agencies enact the laws adopted by it, he believes.

"Several groups of deputies have already been formed in the Soviet Parliament and they act very energetically," Lukyanov emphasised.

"The Chairman of the Supreme Soviet is required to show both patience, tolerance and will – in short, show attention to every deputy and every group. Of course, I cannot be completely impartial, this is impossible. I am a communist and will remain a communist.

"At the same time I proceed from the premise that it was precisely my Party that in a pre-congress platform offered a dialogue to all forces that follow the course of perestroika. I shall do my best to promote the development of such dialogue," Lukyanov said. □

## Proposed price reforms in the USSR

THE absurdity of the price formation system, now openly recognised by the Soviet Government, is an obstacle to radical economic reform.

Prices in the USSR reflect neither socially required expenses for production nor the demand for products. An equivalent exchange not only between regions but also between sectors of the country's economy is therefore impossible. Wholesale, purchasing and retail prices are unconnected. Huge state subsidies, which now amount to over 100 billion roubles (the country's retail trade is 500 billion roubles) are the binding link.

What reform does the government propose this time? Members of the Soviet Parliament received an answer to the question at a meeting

on March 28 with Vyacheslav Senchagov, Chairman of the USSR State Committee on Prices.

The committee is now working on three price reform variants, he said. The first one boils down to a 20 to 30 per cent rise, on average, in wholesale, purchasing and retail prices. There will be no more subsidies and the financial market will become balanced. Prices of raw materials and fuel will increase by 80 per cent, prices of light industry and engineering products – 16 per cent. The rouble's rate against Western currencies will fall by 50 per cent at the minimum (confidence in the government, it should be added, will fall too. The transition to a market economy will by no means be easy).

The second version, an immediate transition to a Polish-style market, will increase by 3 to 5 times the price of oil and coal. The number of firms will be reduced by 80 per cent. Unprofitable enterprises will be closed and unemployment will increase rapidly. This variant will provide a rapid transition to the rouble's convertibility and the USSR's integration into the international division of labour (the rouble's rate will drop many times). It is unclear however whether the population of the country will reconcile themselves to such 'shock therapy.'

And finally, the third version, the government seems to favour. This is a kind of the synthesis of the first two. It makes for 'fixed' prices of oil, grain, cotton, sugar and other staple commodities, 'regulated' to part of the products when the government sets the upper limit, and from 15 to 30 per cent of 'free' or market prices. The deficiency of this variant is that it is obviously intermediate on the road towards establishment of a market economy. In the final account, Senchagov admitted, adoption of the second variant is inevitable – if during the transitional period, envisaged by the third variant, the population's confidence in the government does not fall as low as to make no reforms possible.

The price reform is part of the government's measures for a radical economic reform, Senchagov said. No final choice has yet been made, he added. □

## Nikolai Ryzhkov receives president of Interpol

SOVIET Prime Minister Nikolai Ryzhkov received Ivan Barbot, President of the International Criminal Police Organisation (Interpol), in the Kremlin on March 30. Barbot was invited to the Soviet Union by the Soviet Interior Minister to discuss the Soviet Union's possible joining of Interpol and to familiarise the Soviet Interior Ministry with its work.

Ryzhkov pointed out that Soviet contacts with Interpol – an authoritative international organisation with a membership of 150 countries – is the result of the changes taking place in the Soviet Union in recent years. The expansion of international relations in various spheres and the democratisation of political and economic life in this country are accompanied not only by positive processes, but also by some negative phenomena, for example, smuggling, including drug trafficking, terrorism and organised crime. The growing interdependence of countries makes it imperative to their law enforcement agencies to co-operate actively not only on a bilateral, but also on a multilateral basis.

Ivan Barbot expressed satisfaction with his visit to the USSR, his contacts and meetings at the Soviet Interior Ministry, the Public Prosecutor's Office and the Soviet Ministry of Justice. He spoke in favour of the establishment and development of co-operation with Soviet law enforcement agencies and pointed out that such co-operation can be effective and useful both for the USSR and other countries.

The conversation held in a friendly atmosphere was attended by Soviet Interior Minister Vadim Bakatin. □

## The Wonders and Problems of Lake BAIKAL

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

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# Soviet Parliament in session

THE two chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet at separate sittings on April 2 passed a bill providing for tougher penalties for the infringement of citizens' ethnic rights and forcible violation of the integrity of Soviet territory.

The law will be put into effect immediately after it is published.

As distinct from existing legal acts which place responsibility on individual citizens, the new law introduces responsibility of associations.

It describes as illegal the activity of any associations aimed at kindling ethnic or racial strife or disrespect, using violence on ethnic, racial or religious grounds, and forcibly violating the integrity of the territory of the USSR, constituent and autonomous republics, autonomous regions and territories.

Decisions to ban such activities will be made by courts, after which these organisations will be disbanded and their property will be confiscated.

Also during the session on April 2, one of Parliament's chambers – the Council of Nationalities – passed a law on the legal state of emergency regime. Under the law, a state of emergency is declared to ensure the security of Soviet citizens in cases of calamities, major accidents or catastrophes, epidemics and mass disorders.

A state of emergency is declared on the territory of a constituent or autonomous republic or in individual areas by the Supreme Soviet of the corresponding republic or by the USSR President. A state of emergency on the entire territory of the USSR is declared by the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The other chamber – the Council of the Union – will consider the adoption of the law on April 3.

The Council of the Union failed once again to elect a chairman. Yevgeni Primakov, who held this post, resigned in connection with his appointment as a member of the Presidential Council.

## Lithuanian President sends message to Gorbachev

LITHUANIAN President Vytautas Landsbergis has sent a message to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, assuring him that Lithuania "does

(continued from page 113)

### Yarin, Veniamin Alexandrovich

Veniamin Yarin, an ethnic Russian, was born in 1940. He has a secondary education.

Yarin joined the Soviet Communist Party in 1969.

He began working at a construction site when he was seventeen years old. In 1959 he was hired as an unskilled worker at the Nizhne-Tagil Metallurgical Plant and, after several years, became senior operator of the mill-650 control posts.

In March, 1989, Yarin was elected a People's Deputy of the USSR in the Nizhne-Tagil territorial district 302 in Sverdlovsk region.

He is now a member of the USSR Supreme Soviet and a member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Women's Affairs and Family, Mother and Child Protection. □

Ivan Laptev, the Editor-in-Chief of the newspaper *Izvestia* and Moscow lawyer Konstantin Lubenchenko, the candidates who were nominated on Wednesday, March 28, did not poll the required simple majority of votes from the total number of the council members.

A vote on three new candidates – chairman of parliamentary committees Nikolai Pivovarov, Nikolai Gritsenko and Yuri Kalmykov – again failed to elect a chairman.

### Both chambers of the Soviet Parliament to consider secession procedures.

The two chambers of the Soviet Parliament – the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities – are expected to consider at separate meetings a bill on the procedure for resolving matters connected with the secession of a union republic from the USSR. The bill will be examined in the second reading.

According to the bill, the question of secession from the Soviet Union shall be decided through a referendum involving all Soviet citizens permanently residing on the territory of a republic.

Not less than two-thirds of their votes are necessary to secede. Following that, a transitional period of not more than five years shall be established.

The Council of the Union will also consider a bill, already passed by the other chamber on April 2, on the legal status of a state of emergency.

The deputies will also return to the question of electing a chairman of the Council of the Union in place of Yevgeni Primakov who was appointed a member of the Presidential Council.

The council has already considered candidacies for the post on two occasions. However, none of candidates managed to poll the necessary majority of votes of all deputies on the council list. □

not intend to harm the Soviet Union in the policy of perestroika."

The message says the Presidium of the Republican Supreme Soviet paid attention to the USSR Government's "readiness to start the discussion of the legality of Lithuania's acts and resolutions concerning the Soviet Constitution."

Representatives of Lithuania are also ready to enter into dialogue with the USSR Government or its representatives at any level and to discuss the issue of Lithuania's legal status.

The Lithuanian Parliament resumed its session in Vilnius on April 2 after a three-day interval. The discussion of Gorbachev's appeals to the Supreme Soviet and people of Lithuania is a major item on the session's agenda.

Speaking in Parliament on April 2, Landsbergis proposed that deputies discuss a draft reply to Gorbachev's appeals.

He also said that the declaration of independence, passed by the Lithuanian Parliament, did not mean the immediate establishment of independence on the republic's territory.

At the same time, he noted that suggestions in the West that the Parliament was ready to waive independence were groundless. □

## Gorbachev's message to Parliament

SOVIET President Mikhail Gorbachev sent a message to the USSR Supreme Soviet proposing that the Soviet Parliament consider and approve as a matter of top priority a resolution on urgent measures to improve the position of women, mother-and-child protection and the strengthening of the family.

The message says that "this is a vital matter for our society, its present and future. No matter how urgent the situation is in other spheres, mother-and-child protection must be above anything else."

Gorbachev believes that it is inadmissible when women actually bear a double load, at work and at home. In his opinion, the existing system of state benefits and privileges does not provide adequate material well-being for many families.

"A comprehensive state programme for mother-and-child protection and the strengthening of the family is now being drafted. I gave an instruction to speed up its drafting," Gorbachev went on to say.

The Soviet President suggested revising the size, order and conditions of granting state allowances for children, as well as the duration of maternity leave and leave for child care.

The message suggests other measures to improve the position of working women, mothers and families with many children. □

## Abalkin talks to Pravda

DEMOCRACY and self-government should form socialism's political core, Deputy Prime Minister Leonid Abalkin said in an interview published in *Pravda* on March 30.

Socialism's economy should be based on multiple forms of property ownership, competition and economic freedom, Abalkin said.

"Socialism cannot be considered built if the worker is still alienated from the means of production and there are still food and housing shortages, and the principles of people's power have not been established," he said.

He then lashed out at "divvy-it-up sentiments" in society.

People now seem to think that everything should be divided up. It is clear that resources will not increase if you divide up everything, Abalkin said.

Reforms aim to put the country's economy on a market footing. This requires a conscientious choice based on a clear understanding of its inevitability and related difficulties, according to Abalkin.

The transition will not be easy and painless and "we will have to pay dearly for it," he said.

In market conditions, the state should "protect the weak and give freedom to the strong."

Abalkin called for radical renewal in the Soviet Communist Party, saying that "the Party should not split, but it needs to be cleansed of conservatives who are holding onto dogmas and opposing renewal and anti-capitalists who refuse to fight for socialist ideals."

Gorbachev said that the implementation of these measures would require a lot of additional expenses and stressed that the necessary money could be attained through the reduction and optimisation of state expenditures. □

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# A German key to European security?

By Vladimir Ostrovsky, *Novosti* parliamentary correspondent

"THE rapid process of change in Eastern Europe has rather unexpectedly made the German question central to the future of Europe," Alexander Dzasokhov, a member of the CPSU Central Committee on International Affairs, told the *Novosti* parliamentary correspondent.

The convergence of the two Germanys must, in pace and substance, be understood by the peoples of these countries and particularly by their political leaders, who are more capable of regarding relations between the two Germanys within the overall context of European security and co-operation. Dzasokhov takes the view that this is, on both the practical and political plain, a *sine qua non* for the future unification.

He noted that, as part of this process, the interest in it on the part of the European community is growing rapidly, and the thinking of the two military and political alliances in Europe is being actualised. Speaking on behalf of other members of the committee, Dzasokhov is positive that the old Soviet views regarding these blocs remain valid. Set up after the war, with tensions growing worse in the early 1950s, the Warsaw Treaty and NATO today appear increasingly inclined to change their functions, with the emphasis expected to shift away from military aspects to political.

Dzasokhov explained that Moscow's approach to the alliances in the run-up to German unification is that this process must by no means be destructive as regards the parity principles which the alliances rely on. There must be no confrontation or rivalry between them in the future. Soviet public opinion, Dzasokhov said, can be expected to accept such reunification as would not make the single German state part of NATO. Of course, many Western political lea-

ders take a diametrically opposite view, but, for some reason, they dismiss the argument that a different solution to the issue would in an open way disrupt the balance of forces in postwar Europe.

We all want to see a successful outcome of the talks in Vienna and in Geneva on conventional and strategic arms, Dzasokhov said. Of course, the emergence of a new powerful NATO component in Europe in the shape of a united Germany could upset parity between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO in favour of the latter.

What I think is most important here is the expectation of the countries and peoples of Europe and of the German people themselves in both Germanys - which we relate to our view of the future, with due regard to the factors which led to the establishment of two German states. Those who see the future united Germany as a land which will never be a bridgehead for threats of aggression nor a source of calls for revenge are correct. Wherever militarisation may take place, European nations must live in peace. Each stage of the future integration of the two Germanys requires a clear-cut political and legal commitment from them to ensure that German unification will provide an additional guarantee of security and stability in Europe. It is to be hoped that similar attitudes may be adopted in London, Brussels, Prague, Warsaw, Paris, and Washington, Dzasokhov said.

The more sensible way would be a phased reunification, even though this would involve a combination of many factors too. Some lie on the surface, others are deep-seated and not so obvious. The financial system, prices and social gains - it is differences in these dimensions that prompt a step-by-step approach. Another aspect of the issue is that it involves more than just two states becoming one, the so-called 1 + 1 formula. The Soviet Union would like its point of view

to be taken into account during all stages of this complex process and under the 2 + 4 formula too. Personally, I think it would be right and proper for other conterminous nations to have a say in the affair.

As for the military units of the two Germanys and the Soviet and American troops, I expect the political leadership in Bonn and Berlin to act on the assumption that these forces will remain in these parts of Germany for some period (months or years). This would make for a smooth process of unification. Then the dismantling of political systems would be gradual and less painful. And the amount of weapons and troop strengths in the two German states must not necessarily achieve the established ceilings but may be lower. Given genuine neutrality and a trend toward scaling down confrontation, any militarisation of the structures of society would be impossible and at odds with the natural scheme of things. I think that states moving toward reunification in political and geographical terms cannot proceed from the highest ceilings of armaments. Otherwise, the idea of unification itself would be discredited in the eyes of the world public, failing to make the Germans' future secure. □

## Gorbachev and Thatcher hold telephone conversation

BRITISH Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, in a telephone conversation on March 28 with Mikhail Gorbachev, congratulated him on his election to the post of President and confirmed her appraisal of the profound processes worldwide in connection with the USSR's perestroika.

The exchange of views was held, as always, in a spirit of mutual understanding and trust. Both stressed the importance of their forthcoming summit meeting during the British Week festival in the Soviet Union in the summer.

On the agenda will be issues of bilateral relations and world politics, especially with regard to Europe.

Thatcher and Gorbachev also discussed the question of German unification.

Replying to Thatcher's question, Gorbachev described the developments in Lithuania, which have emerged as a result of the violation of the Soviet Constitution.

Thatcher and Gorbachev agreed to continue informing each other about topical issues of international politics. □

## At the Congress Northern minority ethnic groups

MARY SYMON, President of the International Association of Arctic Circle Eskimos called for the development of mutual relations and expansion of co-operation between northern peoples in the Soviet Union, the Nordic countries, the United States and Canada.

She was addressing on March 31 the Congress of Soviet Northern National Minorities, which was continuing its work in the Kremlin for the second day. The Congress was attended by 337 delegates representing 26 ethnic groups uniting slightly over 180,000 people.

Symon said that all small ethnic groups are a

part of the international community. She stressed that northern peoples in various countries should pool their efforts to jointly tackle the problems facing them.

In her opinion, one of the main tasks is to preserve peace and the environment in the Arctic.

Elina, Director of the Northern Saami Institute, noted that problems and interests of people in northern areas of various countries are similar in many ways.

She warned that the language and culture of minority peoples of the north are on the verge of extinction and need protection. Hevender noted that Finland, Norway and Sweden where about 1,700 Saamis live, plan to set up a parliament of this people.

The Northern Saami Institute is pressing for the official status of the Saami language.

Addressing the Congress, Charley Johnson, a representative of the Federation of Indigenous Alaskan Residents (United States), favoured broader contacts with Soviet northern peoples.

In his opinion, an increase in visa-free exchanges between residents of Soviet and US northern border areas would promote this goal.

He conveyed an invitation to representatives of small ethnic groups in the Soviet north to take part in the annual conference of the Federation of Indigenous Alaskan Residents to be held in Anchorage (USA) This coming October. □

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